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An English Commentary on Dante's Divina Commedia

Henry Frowde, M.A.
Publisher to the University of Oxford
London, Edinburgh
New York

An English Commentary on Dante's Divina Commedia

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Oxford
At the Clarendon Press
1901

Oxford
Printed at the Clarendon Press
By Horace Hart, M.A.
Printer to the University

PREFACE

THE primary aim with which these notes have been written is to make Dante's meaning clear to the reader of his poem; and with a view to this, in interpreting the harder passages, translations, paraphrases, or explanations have been introduced, according as one or other of these methods appeared better suited to that purpose. With the same object—in accordance with the principle which is now generally accepted, that 'Dante is to be explained by Dante'—numerous references have been made, especially for the uses of words and phrases, from one part of the poem to another, and also to Dante's prose works, in which, owing to the numbering of the lines in the Oxford edition, passages can now be easily found. The origin and exact meaning of archaic and otherwise unusual words have also been investigated; and the more marked peculiarities of syntax and metre have from time to time been noticed. Further, I have endeavoured to elucidate the allusions and illustrative statements with which the *Divina Commedia* teems, as far as the restricted limits of such a work as the present admit, and the needs of ordinary students require. With a view to this, attention has been paid to the sources of Dante's facts and references, an accurate knowledge of which is of great service towards the interpretation of his meaning; and as works written in Greek, except where they were translated, are excluded from consideration by Dante's ignorance of that language, and generally the number of books which were in circulation in his age was limited, it is possible in a large number of cases to determine his authorities with some confidence—the more so because the Poet is fond of introducing into his verses expressions

and graphic touches which occur in his originals. The contents of each Canto have been briefly sketched in the Argument prefixed to it; but in such portions of the narrative as call for special analysis, and still more in the philosophical and theological disquisitions, more complete summaries are introduced in the notes. Attention is also drawn as occasion requires to the allegorical element which underlies the story. For the sake of clearness the discussion of different interpretations of the same passage has been avoided, except in cases where the balance does not greatly preponderate in favour of any one of them. I am in hopes that by this mode of treatment this Commentary may prove useful to students of one of the sublimest of poems.

The text which I have followed is that of the Oxford edition of the *Divina Commedia* (1900); but the notes are intended for use with other editions also: and with this object the more important variations in the text have been noticed, and the meaning of the passages has been explained accordingly.

The following are the works which I have chiefly used in studying the poem with a view to these notes. For the valuable assistance which I have received from them I cannot be too grateful.

Blanc. Versuch einer bloss philologischen Erklärung mehrerer dunklen und streitigen Stellen der Göttlichen Komödie.
Vocabolario Dantesco.
Grammatik der Italiänischen Sprache.

Butler. Edition of the poem, with prose translation and notes; three vols.

Cary. Verse translation with notes.

Casini. Edition with Italian notes.

Diez. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen; 4th ed., 1878.
Grammaire des Langues Romanes; three vols.

Fay. Concordance of the *Divina Commedia*.

Körting. Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch.

LONGFELLOW. Verse translation with notes; three vols.

MOORE. Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the *Divina Commedia*.
Studies in Dante; first series.
The Time-references in the *Divina Commedia*.
Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri (the Oxford Dante).

PHILALETHES. German verse translation with notes; three vols.

SCARTAZZINI. Two editions with Italian notes, the larger in three vols., the smaller in one vol.

TOYNBEE. Dante Dictionary.

VERNON. Readings on the Inferno of Dante; two vols.
Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante; two vols.

Vocabolario Tramater; seven vols.

WITTE. La Divina Commedia, ricorretta sopra quattro dei più autorevoli testi a penna.

(The references to Aristotle are made to the Oxford edition of Bekker's text.)

My best thanks are due to many friends, who have supplied me with information on subjects illustrative of the *Divina Commedia* with which I am myself imperfectly acquainted; and especially to those accomplished Dante scholars, Dr. E. Moore and Mr. Paget Toynbee, who have always been ready to lend me their assistance. To the latter of these two gentlemen I owe a further debt of gratitude for having with great kindness read through the proof-sheets of the present volume, and having favoured me with various corrections and valuable suggestions.

H. F. T.

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AN ENGLISH COMMENTARY ON DANTE'S 'DIVINA COMMEDIA'

INFERNO

CANTO I

PREFATORY NOTE ON DANTE'S CONCEPTION OF HELL.

HELL, as conceived by Dante, is a vast funnel-shaped cavity, extending from the neighbourhood of the earth's surface to its centre. The area which is thus formed is divided into nine concentric circles, which descend one below the other, gradually narrowing, until the pit of Hell is reached, where Lucifer is stationed. In each of these circles a different form of sin is punished; and the upper part of the area, containing the first five circles, is assigned to the less heinous sins; the lower part, containing the four remaining circles, to the more heinous sins. The latter of these portions, which is called the City of Dis, is separated from the former by a strong wall of circuit. Within the gate of Hell, but on the hither side of the Acheron, beyond which stream the first circle commences, is a sort of Ante-Hell, in which the pusillanimous, or those who did neither good nor evil, are punished, together with those angels who were neutral at the time of Lucifer's rebellion. The first circle is the *Limbus*, which contains the souls of the virtuous heathen and of unbaptized children; the suffering of these is confined to regret for their exclusion from the presence of God.

In his journey through Hell Dante follows a leftward course throughout, that direction being intended to signify that the forms of sin which he passes become steadily worse as he descends. In contrast with this, his course through Purgatory is continuously towards the right hand.

The time occupied by Dante's transit through the Inferno is between twenty-four and twenty-five hours.

ARGUMENT.—Dante loses his way in a dark forest, and when at last he has escaped from this, and has regained the sunshine, he finds himself at the foot of a hill, which he proceeds to ascend. But his progress is impeded by the sight of three beasts—a panther, a lion, and a wolf—which stop his way, and he gradually retreats into the forest. There he espies a human figure, which he summons to his aid. This proves to be the spirit of the poet Virgil, who undertakes to conduct him through the regions of Hell and Purgatory, intimating at the same time that under other guidance he may visit Heaven also; and Dante departs in his company.

LINE 1. **Nel mezzo**, &c.: 'midway in the course of our mortal life,' i. e. at thirty-five years of age, in accordance with the saying of the Psalmist, 'The days of our age are threescore years and ten,' Ps. xc. 10. Dante was born in 1265, and consequently his 'conversion,' which was the turning-point of his spiritual life, and which he ascribes to the effect of his Vision upon him, took place in 1300. This date was a marked one, both in the history of the time, as being the great year of Jubilee, and in Dante's career, since it was the year of his Priorate at Florence.

2, 3. **selva oscura**: by this is meant, allegorically, 'the world' in the unfavourable sense of the term—the social influences which darken a man's perception of the truth, and prevent him from seeing the right path. Similarly in *Conv.* iv. 24, ll. 123–6, Dante uses the term 'the wood of error of this life' for the world and its temptations—'l' Adolescente, ch' entra nella selva erronea di questa vita, non saprebbe tenere il buon cammino.' **Che**, &c.: 'where (in which wood) the right way was lost.' If, with Witte and Scartazzini, *Chè* (accented) is read, the meaning will be 'for the right way was lost to me'; this explains why Dante found himself in the wood of error.

4–6. **quanto a dir,** &c.: 'as for describing that wood . . ., which at the mere thought of it renews my fears, 'tis a hard task.'

7. **Tanto è amara,** &c.: understand *questa selva*; the sufferings of the life of worldliness are hardly exceeded by the pains of death.

8, 9. **del ben,** &c.: of his conversion. **altre cose**: the horrors of the wood, which otherwise he would not willingly recall.

10. **I' non so ben,** &c.: the deadening influence of sin prevented him from tracing the manner and the stages of his fall.

12. **Che**: the antecedent is *punto*; 'at the moment when I deserted the way of truth.' *Che* is frequently used for 'when,' especially where, as here, the preposition which supplies that meaning is found with the antecedent.

13, 14. **un colle**: this hill, which in l. 78 is said to be 'principio e cagion di tutta gioia,' is the Mountain of Salvation—'the hills from whence cometh help,' Ps. cxxi. 1—which is enlightened by the beams of divine grace (ll. 16–18), but has to be reached by the steep ascent of perseverance. **valle**: the *selva*; cp. Inf. xv. 50, 'mi smarrì' in una valle.'

17, 18. **pianeta**: the sun, which represents allegorically the light of God's grace. According to the astronomy of the period the sun was one of the planets. **altrui**: 'persons,' 'men'; the word is here used in a general sense; cp. Inf. ii. 89.

20, 21. **nel lago del cor,** &c.: 'had settled in my heart's depths'; **lago** is used of the heart as being the receptacle of the blood. **pieta**: 'distress'; Dante uses *piéta* only in the sense of 'sorrow,' 'distress'—not, like *pietà*, for 'pity.'

26, 27. **a rimirar lo passo**: 'to look back on the wood through which I had passed,' i. e. on the life of sin from which he had escaped. **Che non lasciò,** &c.: 'which never suffered a soul to escape alive'; i. e. the life of sin (if persevered in) leads to inevitable ruin.

28–30. **ei**: for *ebbi*; this form was used by other writers of Dante's period; see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 259. **Sì che,** &c.: this implies that he was ascending the hill, because in mounting the lower foot is that on which the weight of the body is thrown.

32. **lonza**: 'panther'; the three beasts which are here introduced—the panther, the lion, and the wolf—were suggested by Jer. v. 6. The primary allegorical meaning of these is three forms of temptation—lust, pride, and avarice—which present themselves to

the converted soul on its upward course; the *lonza* is thus interpreted in Inf. xvi. 108, the *lupa* in Purg. xx. 10. The prevalence of pride and avarice (or greed) in Florentine society at this time is noticed in Inf. vi. 74, 75; that of corrupt living in Purg. xxiii. 94 foll.

37. **dal,** &c.: 'at morning prime'; for this use of *da* cp. Par. xxxi. 118, *da mattina*, and the expressions *da mane*, *da sera*.

38–40. **quelle stelle**: the constellation of Aries, in which the sun is in the early spring; it is this season of the year which is here intended. In the middle ages the world was believed to have been created at the vernal equinox. **quelle cose belle**: the heavenly bodies.

42. **Di**: lit. 'concerning'; take with **bene sperar**—'good hope of escaping or conquering that beast.'

46–8. **venesse**: archaic for *venisse*. **che l' aer ne temesse**: the expression is hyperbolical, expressing the excitement of Dante's feelings at the moment—an instance of the 'pathetic fallacy.' Cp. Tennyson's *Godiva*, where, as she is described as riding naked through the town—

> 'The deep air listened round her as she rode,
> And all the low wind hardly breathed for fear.'

49. **Ed una lupa**: understand *parea che contra me venesse*. If *E d' una* is read, it must be *la vista* (l. 45) *d' una lupa*.

54. **dell' altezza**: of reaching the height.

55. **quale è quei,** &c.: the turn of the tide of fortune against the money-making man, and his consequent despondency, is introduced to illustrate Dante's discouragement arising from the check to his upward course.

58–60. **senza pace**: 'merciless.' **là**: to the darkness of the *selva oscura*. **tace**: 'doth not shine'; for a similar transference of the impressions of one sense to another cp. Inf. v. 28, 'loco d' ogni luce muto.'

61. **rovinava**: 'was hastening down to,' lit. 'falling down'; the **basso loco** is the *valle* (l. 14) of the *selva*. Allegorically, 'while I was speeding on my downward way towards the life of sin.'

63. **Chi,** &c.: 'one who appeared enfeebled by long silence'; i.e. he looked like one who, from long want of commerce with other human beings, had lost vitality. Dante thus describes the impression made on him by a disembodied spirit, which he now sees for the

first time; he doubted whether he could be 'very man' (*uomo certo*, l. 66), though he had the aspect of a man (cp. Inf. vi. 36, *lor vanità, che par persona*). **Fioco,** wherever it occurs in the *Div. Com.*, signifies 'feeble,' 'faint,' and it is used both of the bodily powers, as in Inf. xxxiv. 22, and of the voice, as in Inf. iii. 27. In the present passage, as it refers directly to **Chi**, it is more natural to take it of the former. Every interpretation of the passage which turns on the *sound* of Virgil's voice—as, 'hoarse from long disuse of speech,' and Cary's, 'whose voice seemed faint through long disuse of speech'—is excluded by the fact that he had not yet spoken. Blanc's view, that it means 'one whose long silence seemed to show him faint' (*Versuch*, p. 12), avoids this error, but is open to the objections (1) that, as Virgil appears suddenly to Dante, there was no great opportunity for long silence; (2) that Dante's doubt as to Virgil's being *uomo certo* seems to arise from something in his appearance rather than from his not speaking at once.

68. **Lombardi:** observe the anachronism; similarly in Par. vi. 49 the Carthaginians are called Arabs, and in *Conv.* iv. 5, ll. 160–4, the Gauls are called Frenchmen.

70. **sub Iulio:** if this means 'when Julius was head of the state'—and it probably does so, for to Dante Julius Caesar was the first of the dynasty of the Caesars—it is an error, for Virgil was born in 70 B.C., and at that time even the first triumvirate had not been formed. But if it means 'in the time of Julius,' it is admissible, since Julius Caesar was already a prominent man at that time. The use of Latin in **sub Iulio** is probably due to its being a date in Roman history; cp. *ab antico* in Inf. xv. 62. **tardi:** various explanations are given of this; perhaps the best is, that Virgil had not risen into prominence before Caesar's death in 44 B.C.

73. **giusto:** Aeneas is described by this epithet in Virg. *Aen.* i. 544, 545, 'quo iustior alter Nec pietate fuit,' &c.

77. **il dilettoso monte:** the *colle* of l. 13.

83. **il lungo studio:** an evidence of this is found in Dante's frequent quotations from Virgil's poems, which amount to about two hundred; see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 4.

87. **Lo bello stile:** i.e. his poetic taste, as already manifested in his lyric poems.

89. **saggio:** on the mediaeval estimate of Virgil's knowledge see Prefatory Note to Canto II.

91. **altro viaggio**: the nature of this journey Virgil describes below in ll. 114 foll.

94. **gride**: archaic for *gridi*. Similar archaisms in the vowel endings of the inflexions of the verbs will be found in the rhymes throughout the poem. It may here be remarked once for all that Dante does not arbitrarily alter the forms of words for the sake of the rhyme, though he employs every available license in producing variety, e. g. by using archaic, dialectic, Latin, Provençal, and other forms. The chief archaic and dialectic forms in the *Div. Com.* are to be found in Nannucci, *Voci usate da Dante in grazia della rima*, and Blanc, *Grammatik der ital. Sprache*.

95. **la sua via**: the way that she guards.

100. **Molti son**, &c.: from speaking of the general character of avarice Virgil passes to its influence in Italy, where it was the moving power in a variety of intrigues.

101. **il veltro**: 'the greyhound.' The discussion of the question, Who is meant by this expression? has given birth to a considerable literature. It has been interpreted of Christ, of an unknown but hoped-for saviour of Italy, of Henry of Luxemburg, and of Can Grande della Scala of Verona. The principal points in the description of the personage referred to—viz. his most prominent virtue, and the scene of his influence (see the notes on ll. 103, 105)—are suitable to Can Grande, if we allow for the vagueness which is inseparable from an oracular intimation like the present; and the term *veltro* is most easily explained as referring to the name Can Grande, and to the mastiff on the coat of arms of the Scaligers. When we add to this that Can Grande was a strong supporter of the imperial cause, which Dante had so much at heart, and that he was a prominent patron and entertainer of the poet himself, it is not unnatural to suppose that Dante was, at least indirectly, referring to him. But at the same time the function which he assigns to the *veltro* in what follows is evidently one of too widely extended influence to be restricted to any local potentate; so that we are led to the conclusion that the poet intends that his words should also bear a more extended application as pointing to a 'coming man'—a ruler who was to be both politically and socially the regenerator of Italy. Such a personage is again foreshadowed in the DUX of Purg. xxxiii. 43, where also the expressions used cannot be limited in their application to any definite person.

103–5. **peltro**: 'pewter,' i.e. lucre; the meaning is, 'he will not be greedy either of land or lucre.' This virtue is specially attributed to Can Grande in Par. xvii. 84. **nazion**: 'dominion.' **tra Feltro e Feltro**: between Feltre near Belluno towards the north and Montefeltro in Romagna towards the south. The territory thus indicated was the scene of the greater part of Can Grande's operations in the imperial cause.

106. **umile**: 'in her low estate.' As it is Virgil who speaks, and characters from the *Aeneid* are introduced in the next two lines, this epithet is probably borrowed from *Aen.* iii. 522, 'humilemque videmus Italiam.' The meaning 'low-lying' in which Virgil there uses it—for he is describing the low ground of the heel of Italy—is inapplicable here; and consequently we must suppose that Dante has made him adapt the word to his present purposes in speaking of the depressed condition of Italy in the thirteenth century.

107, 108. **Cammilla**, &c.: in Virgil's description in the *Aeneid* of the struggle between the Trojans and the native races for the possession of Italy, Nisus and Euryalus met their deaths on the side of the former (*Aen.* ix. 433–45), Camilla and Turnus on the side of the latter (*Aen.* xi. 831; xii. 952).

111. **invidia**: the envy of the devil which caused the Fall of man; cp. Wisd. ii. 24, 'Through envy of the devil came death into the world.' With the Fall sin arose, and in particular the sin here mentioned, covetousness.

112–4. **me'**: = *meglio*, 'benefit.' **loco eterno**: Hell; cp. Inf. iii. 8, 'io eterno duro.'

117. **Che**, &c.: as regards the construction—**Che** and **ciascun** are in apposition, and the latter is the subject to **grida**, which consequently is in the sing. number. The meaning is, 'who one and all invoke the second death,' i.e. express their longing for annihilation; cp. Inf. iii. 46 and xiii. 118, in both which passages *morte*, in the sense of extinction, is used of those already dead. Instances of the use of *gridare* in the sense of *chiedere gridando* are given in the *Vocab. Tramater.* Others take **grida** in the more usual sense of 'proclaim,' and **la seconda morte** as the state of the damned after the final judgement, when their torments will be increased after they have reassumed their bodies; for this cp. 'the second death' in Rev. ii. 11; xx. 14.

118. **color**: the souls in Purgatory.

122. **Anima**: Beatrice.

126. **per me si vegna**: 'that any should enter by my guidance.'

134. **la porta di san Pietro**: the gate of Purgatory, the keys of which are entrusted by St. Peter to the angel that guards it; cp. Purg. ix. 117, 127.

CANTO II

Prefatory Note on the Position of Virgil and Beatrice in the Poem.

The office which Virgil discharges in the *Divina Commedia* is that of being Dante's guide in his journey through Hell and Purgatory. In the allegory of the poem he symbolizes human reason in its highest development, while Beatrice, who conducts the poet through Paradise, represents theology or revealed truth; this is clearly explained in Purg. xviii. 46–8. Thus in the first two *Cantiche*, where moral questions—the punishment which sin brings in its train, and the discipline by which its injurious effects can be remedied—are being treated of, the knowledge with which Virgil is gifted suffices for Dante's guidance; but in the third section of the poem, which deals with spiritual truths and heavenly mysteries, the aid of an inspired teacher is required for his instruction. The relation in which Dante's two guides stand to one another is shown in the Earthly Paradise, where, as soon as Beatrice appears on the scene, Virgil, the object of whose mission is now accomplished, disappears (Purg. xxx. 49).

We may assume that Dante's primary reason for assigning to Virgil so prominent a place in the action of the poem was his sense of the debt which he owed him in respect of the formation of his own poetic style. This feeling on his part towards the Roman poet he definitely expresses in Inf. i. 85–7. He also admired him as being in the *Aeneid* the poet of the Roman Empire, the belief in which institution was the basis of his own political creed. At the same time it was only natural that Dante should select him to be the representative of human intelligence, in consequence of the extraordinarily high estimate that was formed of his powers during

the middle ages. From various causes, in the minds of the vulgar Virgil had come to be regarded as a powerful magician, and among the learned the character almost of omniscience was attributed to him; while Christian teachers—chiefly owing to the supposed prediction of the birth of Christ contained in his Fourth Eclogue—in some cases ranked him among the ancient Prophets. Dante himself in Inf. i. 89 addresses him as *famoso saggio*; and in Purg. xxii. 73 Statius is made to attribute his conversion to Christianity to his prophecy. (See on this subject Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*; trans. by E. F. M. Benecke.) Dante also no doubt felt that the fact of his companion and guide being a famous poet would contribute to the treatment of the subject an element of grace and sympathy which would otherwise be lacking; and this result of their spiritual affinity constantly impresses itself on his readers in the courteous and affectionate relations which they feel to exist between them.

Argument.—Dante discloses to Virgil his doubt, whether he is qualified to undertake the proposed journey. Virgil, in order to restore his confidence, describes how Beatrice—at the instigation of Dante's special saint, St. Lucy, who in turn had been prompted by the Blessed Virgin herself—had descended from heaven to Limbo, where he was, to implore him to rescue his brother poet from danger. Dante, being thus assured of the protection of heaven, professes himself ready to start without delay.

Line 1. **Lo giorno se n' andava**: the time is the evening of Good Friday, April 8, 1300. That the day was Good Friday is clearly implied by what is said in Inf. xxi. 112 (where see note). That the year was 1300 A.D. has already been deduced from what is said in Inf. i. 1 concerning Dante's age at the time of his Vision; and in that year according to the calendar Good Friday fell on April 8. From the determination of Good Friday evening as the time of Dante's entrance into Hell, it further follows that he passed the Thursday night preceding in the *selva* (Inf. i. 21), and that the whole of Good Friday was occupied by the struggle with the Beasts and his meeting with Virgil. It should be noticed that Eastertide 1300 is carefully observed throughout the *Div. Com.* as the date of Dante's Vision, so that all references in the poem to events of a later date than this are to be regarded as prophetic.

(For additional proofs of the points mentioned above see Moore's *Time-References in the Divina Commedia*, pp. 6 foll.)

4–6. **la guerra**: 'the painful struggle.' **ritrarrà**: 'will recount'; cp. Inf. iv. 145. **che non erra**: not 'unerring,' 'infallible,' but 'which does not stray,' as being fixed intently on its purpose.

7. **O Muse**: Dante defends the use of poetical invocations in his letter to Can Grande, *Epist.* x. § 18, ll. 306–12. Observe that the invocation, which in the two other *Cantiche* occurs in Canto I (Purg. i. 8; Par. i. 13), is here found in Canto II, the reason being that Canto I is introductory to the whole poem. This is also the explanation of there being thirty-four Cantos in the Inferno, whereas there are thirty-three in the other parts. **ingegno**: 'spirit of genius,' of which the Muses are the representatives.

8. **scrivesti**: sc. on the tablets of memory; cp. Inf. xv. 88.

12. **alto passo**: 'hazardous transit' through the world of spirits. **alto** adds a superlative force to the substantive, like that of 'supreme' in English; and so in the present connexion may mean 'dread,' 'momentous,' or 'hazardous.'

13–5. **di Silvio lo parente**: Aeneas, whose son Silvius is mentioned in *Aen.* vi. 763. **Corruttibile ancora**: 'while still clothed in human flesh'; cp. 1 Cor. xv. 53, 'for this corruptible,' &c. **secolo**: 'world'; Virgil in the sixth Aeneid has described Aeneas' visit to the world of spirits. **fu sensibilmente**: 'was there in the body,' not in a vision.

16–9. **Però**, &c.: 'Wherefore, if the adversary of all evil (God) was gracious to him, in consideration of the mighty result which was to proceed from him (viz. the Roman Empire), and the person (the Emperor), and his greatness, this cannot but approve itself to a reflecting mind.' According to Dante's political views, which he has developed in the *De Monarchia*, the Roman Empire was the embodiment of the true principles of government, and the type to be followed in succeeding ages. **i**: = *gli*; cp. Inf. xxii. 73; Par. xxix. 17. **il chi, e il quale**: these expressions are the *quis* and *qualis* of the Schools; **quale**, lit. 'of what sort,' i. e. how great.

20. **alma**: 'fostering.' **suo impero**: note the synizesis, *suo im-* being pronounced as one syllable.

22–4. **a voler dir lo vero**: this form of asseveration seems to be a profession of faith on Dante's part in the relationship of the

Empire and the Church which is here implied; perhaps also it contains an apology to Virgil for giving a Christian interpretation (and therefore a different one from his) of the foundation of the Roman Empire. **maggior**: the most exalted of that name.

25–7. **onde**, &c.: 'for which thou dost celebrate him,' in the sixth Aeneid. **Intese cose**, &c.: the meaning is:—He heard the prophecies concerning the Roman Empire, which gave him confidence to conquer Italy, and so to cause the foundation of Rome, the future seat of the Papacy.

28–30. **Andovvi**, &c. St. Paul, the 'chosen vessel' (Acts ix. 15) was caught up to the third heaven (2 Cor. xii. 2). **vi** = *ad immortale secolo*, l. 14. **conforto**, &c.: 'support (derived from the sight of the spiritual world) to faith, which is the starting-point,' &c.

31–3. **io perchè venirvi**: 'why should I come thither'; the infin. is used, because it is a rhetorical question, which does not expect an answer, and it is hurriedly uttered. **il crede**: 'believes this,' viz. that I am worthy.

34–6. **se del venire**, &c.: 'if I consent to come,' lit. 'if I resign myself in the matter of coming.' For the use of *abbandonarsi* cp. Purg. xvii. 136; Par. xvii. 108; xxxi. 75. **me' ch' io non ragiono**: 'better than I express it in words.'

39. **dal cominciar**, &c.: 'withdraws wholly from what he has begun.'

41. **Perchè**, &c.: 'so that through reflexion I cancelled the enterprise.'

45. **offesa**: 'impeded,' as by a stumbling-block; 'the impediment that checks thy spirit is cowardice.'

48. **falso veder**: 'mistake of sight.'

52, 53. **sospesi**: 'in the intermediate state'—a condition intermediate between salvation and damnation, that of Limbo; cp. Inf. iv. 45. **donna**: Beatrice; see l. 70.

55. **la stella**: for 'the stars' generally. Cp. *Vita Nuova*, § 23, ll. 176, 177, 'Poi mi parve vedere appoco appoco Turbar lo Sole ed apparir la stella'; *Conv.* iv. 19, ll. 30, 31, 'Siccome è 'l cielo, dovunque è la stella'; also the use of *la fiammella* for *le fiammelle* in Inf. xvii. 33.

56. **soave e piana**: take *in sua favella* with this—'in sweet low tones,' lit. 'sweet and low in her manner of speaking.'

60. **quanto il moto lontana**: the meaning is 'to the end of time,' lit. 'as far as motion extends into the distance,' the motion being that of the heavenly bodies, by which time is determined. *mondo* is also read here, and it is difficult to decide whether this or *moto* is right. As regards the authority of the MSS., the balance is slightly in favour of *mondo*; on the other hand, *moto* is the harder of the two to explain, and therefore the less likely to have been substituted for another reading (see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, pp. 270–272). The general meaning with *mondo* is practically the same as with *moto*, viz. 'to the end of the world,' lit. 'so long as the world is ever moving onward.' Some authorities regard **lontana** not as a verb (for *si lontana*), but as an adj., agreeing with *fama*; in this case the construction will be, 'la fama durerà tanto lontana ('so far into the distant ages') quanto il moto (or, mondo) durerà.'

61. **L' amico**, &c.: 'one whom I love, but fortune loveth not.'

66. **Per quel**, &c.: 'from what I have heard'; this is explained in ll. 107, 108.

67. **parola ornata**: 'skill in speech'; cp. *parole ornate* in Inf. xviii. 91.

70. **Beatrice**: on the position which she occupies in the scheme of the poem see the Prefatory note to this Canto.

74. **Di te mi loderò**: 'I will express myself pleased with thee'; this is the proper meaning of *lodarsi di*; cp. Inf. xxii. 84, 'ciascun se ne loda.' It is noticeable that the present passage implies that the consciousness of God's approbation could be a source of happiness to a spirit in Limbo. This view seems to be corroborated by a passage in the Appendix to St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa*, Q. 1, Art. 2, referring to the position of unbaptized children in Limbo, who were excluded from heaven for the same cause as the virtuous heathen, viz. from the lack of Christian faith and baptism. 'Quamvis pueri non baptizati sint separati a Deo quantum ad illam coniunctionem quae est per gloriam, non tamen ab eo penitus sunt separati, immo ei coniunguntur per participationem naturalium bonorum; et ita etiam de Ipso gaudere poterunt naturali cognitione et dilectione.'

75. **tacette**: for *tacque*; cp. Inf. xxvii. 98.

76–8. **sola per cui**, &c.: the meaning of this, as addressed to Beatrice, is, 'It is only by means of Theology, i. e. the knowledge of Divine truth, that the thoughts of man rise above this sublunary

sphere.' The first of the concentric spheres which form Dante's heaven is that of the moon (see Prefatory Note to Canto I of the Paradiso); and as this is the nearest to the earth, which is the centre of the system, it is the smallest—**ha minor li cerchi sui.** Thus the expression 'everything contained by that heaven'—**ogni contento Da quel ciel**—is equivalent to 'everything sublunary.' The idea which is embodied in these lines was probably suggested to Dante by a passage in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, with which work we know from Par. xxii. 133 foll. that he was familiar. It is there said of the sphere of the moon (§ 4)—'Infra autem iam nihil est nisi mortale et caducum praeter animos munere Deorum hominum generi datos: supra lunam sunt aeterna omnia'; after which it is added (§ 6)—'haec caelestia semper spectato, illa humana contemnito.'

79–81. These lines must be taken in connexion with what follows in l. 82, *Ma dimmi la cagion*, &c. Virgil assures Beatrice of his anxiety to comply at once with her request, but at the same time his longing for an explanation of her willingness to descend from heaven to hell overpowers his desire to do so. First he says, with polite extravagance of speech, 'obedience to your behests comes to me all too late, even were it already paid,' in other words, 'I would readily, and more than readily, obey on the spot'—'but,' he adds, 'I am anxious first to ask a question.' **talento:** 'desire.'

82–4. **che:** 'for which (reason),' 'why.' **centro:** according to Dante the earth was the centre of the universe, and hell extended from just within the surface of the earth to its centre. **ampio loco:** the highest or Empyrean heaven, the seat of the Blessed, which embraces the other spheres of Paradise; cp. Purg. xxvi. 63, 'più ampio si spazia.'

85. **saper cotanto addentro:** 'to know so much of the heart of the matter,' 'investigate the matter so closely.'

89. **altrui:** 'persons,' 'men'; cp. Inf. i. 18; Purg. iv. 54.

91. **sua mercè:** 'thanks to him,' an elliptical expression.

94–6. **Donna è gentil:** the Blessed Virgin is meant, who symbolizes prevenient grace. Her name, like that of Christ and other sacred names, is not allowed to be pronounced in Hell; see note on Inf. iv. 53. **impedimento:** 'the hindrance to Dante's onward course.' **ove:** 'to deal with which.' **Sì che,** &c.: 'so that she mitigates the strictness of God's judgement,' i. e. she causes mercy to prevail against justice in Dante's case.

97. **Lucìa**: St. Lucy, the martyr of Syracuse, who represents illuminative grace. This idea arose from her name (*Lucia* from *luce*), and for this reason she is represented in art as carrying a lamp (Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. ii. p. 614).

98. **il tuo fedele**: this expression implies that Dante was a devotee of St. Lucy. This was probably due to her being the patron saint of those who suffered from diseases of the eyes (Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 617), for Dante tells us that he was affected by weakness of sight, first through weeping for the loss of Beatrice (*Vita Nuova*, § 32, ll. 1–4), and afterwards from the effects of overmuch reading (*Conv.* iii. 9, ll. 149–153).

100–2. **nimica**, &c.: gentleness was one of St. Lucy's characteristics. Probably, as the term *crudelitas* in Aquinas is used of 'over-severity in punishment,' it is implied here that she would naturally second the efforts of the Virgin to cause mercy to triumph over justice. **che**: 'I who was sitting'; or perhaps, 'where,' the notion of place being supplied by the antecedent *loco*. **con l' antica Rachele**: cp. Par. xxxii. 8, 9.

103–5. **loda di Dio vera**: cp. *Vita Nuova*, § 26, ll. 17–19, 'Ed altri dicevano: Questa è una meraviglia; che benedetto sia lo Signore che sì mirabilmente sa operare.' **uscìo per te**: it was his determination to celebrate Beatrice which caused him to devote himself to study, and thus to rise to distinction; ibid. § 43, ll. 1–7.

108. **la fiumana**, &c.: 'the rushing torrent, than which the sea is not wilder,' lit. 'over which the sea may not boast itself.' **Fiumana** signifies 'a full rushing stream.' The meaning of the passage is not literal, but spiritual and allegorical. The rushing stream is the 'world,' and the death which threatens Dante is spiritual ruin.

113, 114. **parlare onesto**: 'skill in speech,' like the *parola ornata* of l. 67. **e quei**, &c.: the meaning apparently is:—'and those who have heard and imitated it'; cp. Inf. i. 86, 87.

118, 119. **volse**: for *volle*; cp. Inf. xxix. 102. **quella fiera**: the wolf; cp. Inf. i. 49–54.

121, 122. **Dunque che è?** this is the answer to Dante's objections as to his fitness for the journey. **allette**: for *alletti*, 'give entrance to'; *allettare* is from Lat. *adlectare*, 'to entice,' 'invite,' frequentative of *allicere*; cp. the use of *allettarsi* for 'to find entrance' in Inf. ix. 93.

128. **gl' imbianca**: 'lightens upon them'; cp. Par. vii. 81.

132. **franca**: 'resolute.'

142. **alto e silvestro**: 'deep and wild.' For *alto* in this sense cp. Inf. xvi. 114, 'alto burrato.' The meaning 'deep' is suitable here, because the way lay through a valley (Inf. i. 14); and its association with **silvestro** suggests that it is a descriptive epithet. *Cammin silvestro* for 'wild road' occurs again in Inf. xxi. 84.

CANTO III

ARGUMENT.—Dante, following Virgil, passes through the gate of Hell, after reading the inscription over it. He then enters the vestibule of Hell, a space on the hither side of the river Acheron, where are punished the souls of the pusillanimous and indifferent, together with the angels who were neutral at the time of Lucifer's rebellion. When the Poets reach the bank of the Acheron, they find there Charon, and a crowd of spirits whom he is preparing to ferry across in his boat. An earthquake now occurs, by which Dante is overpowered and loses consciousness.

LINES 5, 6. The three qualities here mentioned—power, wisdom, and love—represent the three Persons of the Trinity; cp. *Conv.* ii. 6, ll. 62 foll., where Dante speaks of 'la Potenza somma del Padre,' and 'la somma Sapienza del Figliuolo,' and 'la somma e ferventissima Carità dello Spirito Santo.' In the Paradiso *amore* or *primo amore* is several times used as a name of the Holy Spirit; cp. Par. vi. 11; x. 1; xiii. 57, 79.

7, 8. **Dinanzi a me,** &c.: Hell was created at the time of the fall of the rebellious angels, and at that time the only things that existed were the **cose eterne,** i. e. the angels, the heavens, and other imperishable things. **io eterno duro**: 'I endure everlastingly,' **eterno** being adverbial. If *eterna* is read, it agrees with **io,** i. e. *la porta* of l. 11.

12. **duro**: 'appalling'; and **sospetto** in l. 14 means 'timidity,' as in Inf. ix. 51. If **duro** is taken as 'hard to comprehend,' **sospetto** must mean 'doubt'; but the former interpretation is probably right, because ll. 14, 15 are in imitation of the words of the Sibyl to Virgil, when he enters the infernal regions (*Aen.* vi. 261), 'Nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.'

13. **accorta**: 'well-advised,' as being acquainted with the region and its influences.

16–8. **io t' ho detto**: see Inf. i. 114 foll. **il ben dell' intelletto**: the knowledge of God, in which the spiritual happiness of man consists.

22. **Quivi**: they have now passed the gate of Hell, and have entered the vestibule (see the Argument to this Canto). This vestibule is a creation of Dante's own.

25. **Diverse**: 'strange,' as in Inf. vi. 13; vii. 105; xxii. 10. The word gets this meaning from that of 'different from our experience.'

27. **fioche**: 'faint,' in contrast to **alte**; cp. 'sospiri, pianti ed alti guai' in l. 22. **suon di man**: smiting the hands together in despair.

28–30. **s' aggira**: 'swirls.' **senza tempo tinta**: 'dark for evermore.' **quando**, &c.: 'when the wind blows like a whirlwind.'

31. **orror**: 'terror.' The majority of the MSS. here read *error* (Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 275); but **orror** is almost certainly right, the passage being imitated from Virg. *Aen.* ii. 559, 'At me tum primum saevus circumstetit horror.'

37. **quel cattivo coro**, &c.: the neutral angels, like the vestibule itself, seem to have been a conception of Dante's own. The contempt which he expresses for them corresponds to that which he elsewhere displays towards persons who were neutral in their views, whether political or otherwise.

40, 41. **Cacciarli**, &c.: 'the heavens expelled them lest their brightness should be dimmed by their presence, and the depth of Hell refuses to receive them.' Observe that their expulsion took place *once for all*, whereas the refusal to receive them was *permanent*; this accounts for the difference of tense between **Cacciarli** and **riceve**. The failure to perceive this gave rise to the reading *Caccianli*.

42. **Chè**, &c.: the meaning is:—'so that (as a consequence of their being admitted) the criminals in Hell should be able to glory in seeing them, who had not rebelled against God, but had been cowardly, in the same condemnation with themselves.' To prevent this they are excluded from Hell by the divine laws.

46. **morte**: this in their case is extinction, the *seconda morte* of Inf. i. 117.

49, 50. **lassa**=*lascia*; cp. *lassi* in Inf. ii. 18. **Misericordia**,

&c.: 'mercy disdains them and justice too.' Observe the sing. vb. with two subjects; Dante often avails himself of this use for the sake of the rhyme.

53, 54. **girando**: 'moving hither and thither.' **indegna**: for *indegnata*, 'it appeared to me to scorn delay.' The punishment of dull apathy is to be kept in restless movement, goaded on by stings, and treated with ignominy. Their having all to follow one banner implies the want of individuality in their characters.

59, 60. **Vidi e conobbi**: this implies that the person spoken of was some one personally known to Dante. It is usually regarded as being Pope Celestine V, who abdicated within a year of his election in 1294. Dante refers again to his **rifiuto** in Inf. xxvii. 105. The Poet's view of the Papal office would naturally lead him to regard such an act with great disfavour, and so far the identification is suitable; but a doubt arises with regard to it, from its being uncertain whether Dante could have seen Celestine.

64. **sciaurati**: for *sciagurati*. **mai non fur vivi**: cp. *Conv.* iv. 7, ll. 106, 107, 'veramente morto il malvagio uomo dire si può.'

70. **mi diedi**: 'I set myself to look.'

71 foll. The greater part of the remainder of the Canto was suggested by Virg. *Aen.* vi. 268 foll. Besides Charon's boat and the crossing of the Acheron, the following may be noticed as the most striking points of resemblance between the two passages: the description of Charon, *lanose gote*, l. 97 ('canities inculta,' *Aen.* vi. l. 300); *occhi di bragia*, l. 109 ('stant lumina flamma,' l. 300); the appearance of the Acheron, *livida palude*, l. 98 ('vada livida,' l. 320); the faint light, *fioco lume*, l. 75 ('sub luce maligna,' l. 270); the shades crowding to the stream, *di trapassar sì pronte*, l. 74 ('concursus ad amnem,' l. 318); and the simile of the leaves in autumn, *Come d' autunno*, &c., l. 112 ('Quam multa in silvis auctumni frigore primo,' &c., l. 309).

73. **costume**: 'ordinance.'

76. **Le cose ti fien conte**: Virgil explains them in ll. 121 foll. **conte**: 'known,' 'clear'; cp. Inf. xxi. 62. *Conto* is the Lat. *cognitus*.

80, 81. **Temendo no**: cp. Inf. xvii. 76. The usage corresponds to that of the Lat. *vereor ne*. **mi trassi**: 'I restrained myself,' 'abstained.'

83. **bianco per antico pelo**: similarly in Purg. i. 34, 35, it

is said of Cato, 'Lunga la barba e di pel bianco mista Portava, e i suoi capegli simigliante.' Charon in the Inferno is intended to be a sort of prototype of Cato in the Purgatorio.

91. **per altri porti**: 'by another port,' viz. the port for the crossing to Purgatory. The souls bound for Purgatory met at the mouth of the Tiber, and were ferried across from there by an angel; see Purg. ii. 100, 101. Charon means that Dante was not a condemned soul, and therefore ought not to pass by the way of Hell, but by that of Purgatory. The form of expression in ll. 91, 92 is elliptical, and as it stands it seems to involve a contradiction. In 'per altri porti Verrai a piaggia,' *piaggia* would mean the *further* bank, while in 'Verrai a piaggia per passare' it would mean the *hither* bank. Charon's meaning is 'per altri porti verrai a piaggia, non verrai qui per passare.'

93. **Più lieve legno**: the *vasello leggiero* of Purg. ii. 41, in which the souls were ferried to Purgatory.

94–6. **non ti crucciare**: 'be not indignant' at having to transport him. **colà**: in Heaven. **dove si puote**, &c.: 'where power accompanies will.'

106. **si ritrasser**: 'they congregated,' lit. 'drew in,' 'drew together.'

110, 111. **le raccoglie**: i.e. in his boat. **s' adagia**: 'delays to enter.'

112–4. **si levan**: 'are stripped off.' **Vede**: for a similar act attributed to a tree Scartazzini compares Virg. *Georg.* ii. 82, 'Miraturque novas frondes.' *Rende* is also read, but it has less authority, and is *lectio facilior*.

117. **per cenni**, &c.: 'at (lit. because of) his signals, as a bird (falcon) at his recall.'

128, 129. **E però**, &c.: 'and therefore, if Charon is distressed on thy account, thou canst clearly understand now what his words imply.' The cause of Charon's vexation is that the laws of Hell are being broken by an uncondemned soul being admitted (ll. 88, 89). This implies that he recognizes Dante as 'anima buona,' and therefore destined to be saved. Virgil gives a pleasant interpretation to Charon's threats.

130. **Finito questo**: 'when Virgil had ceased speaking.'

CANTO IV

ARGUMENT.—When Dante wakes, he finds himself on the other side of the Acheron, and the Poets now enter the first Circle of the Inferno. This is Limbo, or the abode of the virtuous heathen and unbaptized infants, whose suffering is confined to the longing, without the hope, of seeing God. When Dante inquires whether any spirits had ever been delivered from this spot, Virgil answers that Christ, when He descended into Hell, released the souls of the Patriarchs and many others. They now perceive a bright light in the distance, and as they approach it they are met by Homer and three other of the greatest poets of antiquity, who greet Virgil on his return, and allow Dante to be numbered in their company. They all enter a noble castle, within which on a verdant meadow are assembled a number of famous historical personages, and also a group of philosophers and men of science, among whom Aristotle holds the most conspicuous place. Leaving these, they pass into the darkness of the second Circle.

LINE 2. **tuono**: we learn from l. 9 that this was the concentrated sound of the lamentations in Hell.

7. **la proda**: this is the rim of the first and uppermost Circle of the Inferno. We are not told how Dante was transported hither across the Acheron. Similarly at the beginning of Canto VI it is not explained how he passed while in a state of unconsciousness from the second into the third Circle.

11. **per ficcar**: 'for all my fixing'; cp. Inf. xvi. 93, *per parlar*. More usually *per che* with the subj. is used to give this sense, as in l. 64.

13. **cieco mondo**: the world of those who are spiritually blind, on whom the light of God and reason never shines; cp. Inf. vi. 93.

16. **del color**: of his pallor.

22. **la via lunga**, &c.: 'the length of the journey urges haste.'

24. **primo cerchio**: this is Limbo, in which place are found the unbaptized infants and the virtuous heathen—those who were excluded from Heaven only through lack of baptism and of the knowledge of the true faith. Dante repeats this in Purg. vii. 25–36.

The Patriarchs also were believed to have previously been in this abode, but they were delivered from it at the time of Christ's descent into Hell. The Schoolmen generally divided Limbo into two parts, the *Limbus Patrum* and the *Limbus Infantium*; Aquinas, however, says (*Summa*; *Partis* iii. *Supplementum*, Q. 69, Art. 6) that while the *L. Patrum* and *L. Infantium* differed in the character of their reward or punishment, the position of the two was probably the same, only the *L. Patrum* was above the *L. Infantium*.

25, 26. **secondo che**, &c.: 'as far as I could judge from hearing.' **Non avea**, &c.: 'there was naught of lamentation beyond sighs.' **avea** = *vi era*; cp. *ha* for *vi è* in Inf. vii. 118. Blanc remarks (*Gram.*, p. 483) that this use is common in Boccaccio. **ma' che**, 'except,' is the Lat. *magis quam*.

28. **duol senza martiri**: this is exactly the view of Aquinas, *Summa*, 3. Q. 52, Art. 2; 'non puniuntur poena sensus (by physical pain) propter peccatum actuale, sed solum poena damni (by feeling what they have lost) propter peccatum originale.'

30. **D' infanti e**: hiatus between vowels in separate words, as here—**infanti | e**—is very rarely admitted by Dante, unless the former of the two is accented; but, strange to say, *i* is unelided before *e* three times in this Canto; cp. l. 73, *onori | e*; l. 122, *conobbi | Ettore*.

34–6. **mercedi**: 'deserts,' arising from good works. **parte della fede**: 'an article of the faith.'

41. **sol di tanto offesi**: 'we only suffer thus far'; for **offesi** in this sense cp. *offense* in Inf. v. 109.

45. **sospesi**: 'suspended,' i. e. in a negative condition, which is neither happiness nor misery, but deprivation of the presence of God; cp. Inf. ii. 52.

47, 48. **per voler**, &c.: 'from the wish to certify myself concerning that faith (the Christian faith) which overpowers all error.' Dante regards the truth of Christianity as indisputable, but he desires to fortify his belief in it by verifying the fact of Christ's Descent into Hell, which is an article of the Creed. There is much to be said, however, for the interpretation 'from the wish to be certain with such faith as masters all error.'

49. **Uscicci**: 'did any go forth from hence.' The use of *ci* for *di qui* occurs again in *trasseci*, l. 55; cp. *uscirci* in Inf. xxiii. 130.

51, 52. **coperto**: 'veiled'; what was implied, though not

expressed, in Dante's question is, 'Is it true that Christ descended into Hell and delivered the souls of the Patriarchs?' **nuovo**: Virgil died in 19 B. C.

53. **un possente**: Christ. His name—like certain other names, which are sacred either in themselves or from some association attached to them, as God, the Blessed Virgin, and Beatrice—is not allowed to be mentioned in Hell. A similar feeling is shown in the case of the Sun, as being God's dispenser of light; for though the name of that luminary occurs in a few places in Dante's account of Hell (e. g. Inf. vii. 122; xxvi. 117; xxviii. 56), yet no computations of time are made by it, the Moon being referred to instead.

56. This line and those which rhyme with it are ten-syllable lines. The justification of this exceptional metrical usage is that one of the rhyming words (here **Noè**) is a proper name accented on the final syllable. This explanation applies to six others out of the total number of fourteen groups of ten-syllable lines in the poem, viz. Inf. xx. 70, *può*, *co*, *Po*; xxviii. 32, *Alì*, *qui*, *così*; xxxii. 26, *Osteric*, *Tambernic*, *cric*; xxxii. 62, *Artù*, *più*, *fu*; Purg. iv. 68, *Sion*, *orizzon*, *Feton*; xii. 41, *Gelboè*, *te*, *fe*.' See further in notes on Inf. xxxi. 145, and Purg. xxiii. 74.

57. **ubbidiente**: this is equivalent to the title 'servant of God,' which is five times applied to Moses in Scripture. As a mere epithet the word would be out of place here.

60. **per cui**, &c.: 'for whose sake he (Jacob) served so long,' viz. two periods of seven years; Gen. xxix. 20, 30.

64. **Non lasciavam**, &c.: 'we did not halt on our way, for all his converse.' **perchè**: 'for all that,' 'however much,' as in Inf. viii. 121 and elsewhere. **dicessi**: for *dicesse*; cp. *chiudessi* in Inf. ix. 60.

68, 69. **di qua dal sonno**: 'on the hither side of the place of my repose,' i. e. from the entrance to the first Circle, where he awoke, l. 1. **foco**: the light here mentioned proceeds from, or is associated with, the *castello* (see ll. 103–6). The idea of it was suggested by Virg. *Aen.* vi. 640, 'Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit Purpureo,' in which passage the abode of the blessed spirits is described. It represents allegorically human reason, the light of which, proceeding from the good and wise heathen, illuminates that half of the dark Circle of the Inferno in which they are (**emisperio di tenebre**).

70, 71. **Di lungi,** &c.: 'we were still distant from it a space, but not so far,' &c.

74. **cotanta onranza:** sc. that of being in the light, while the rest are in darkness.

77. **nella tua vita:** i. e. among living men.

86. **spada:** Homer holds the sword as being the poet of a warlike epic, the *Iliad*.

89. **Orazio satiro:** Dante calls Horace 'magister noster Horatius' in *De Vulg. Eloq.*, ii. 4, ll. 33, 34. **Satiro** means 'moralist' rather than 'satirist,' for Dante's writings furnish no evidence of his acquaintance with Horace's *Satires*. In like manner he does not speak of him as a lyric poet, for the *Odes* of Horace were almost unknown in the middle ages (Moore, *Studies*, i. pp. 28, 29).

90. After Virgil, Ovid and Lucan are the poets whom Dante quotes most frequently—Ovid about 100, Lucan about fifty times. Next to them comes Statius, whom Dante glorifies in the Purgatorio (Moore, p. 4).

91–3. **Perocchè,** &c.: 'because each of them enjoys, as I do (lit. 'corresponds with me in'), the name (of poet), which was proclaimed by the solitary voice (l. 79), therefore they do me honour.'

94–6. **la bella scuola:** the five poets here introduced are quoted together in the *Vita Nuova*, § 25, ll. 72–97; in the *De Vulg. Eloq.*, ii. 6, ll. 79–81, the specimen poets whom Dante names are Virgil, Ovid, Statius, and Lucan. **Di quei signor,** &c.: 'of those masters of the highest flight of song, which soars,' &c.

99. **di tanto:** 'thereat'; cp. *a tanto*, 'thereupon,' Inf. ix. 48.

104, 105. **cose,** &c.: 'high themes, which it is as becoming not to mention now, as it was becoming to discuss them there.' The high themes, we may suppose, were the principles of the poetic art; to discuss them in that company was delightful, to retail them now would be out of place.

106–10. **nobile castello,** &c.: the Castle of Limbo and everything connected with it are regarded as allegorical. The castle itself is philosophy, and its seven walls, by which the eminent heathen are marked off from the rest, are the seven virtues. The seven gates by which it is entered are the seven subjects of learned study, which form the Trivium and Quadrivium of the Schools, and

which Dante elsewhere compares to the seven Heavens of the Planets (*Conv.* ii. 14, ll. 55–8). The river is oratory (cp. *largo fiume di parlar* in Inf. i. 79, 80); and this the wise pass over dryshod, because they are not dependent on the influence of persuasion.

111. **prato,** &c.: this feature is taken from Virg. *Aen.* vi. 638, 'Devenere locos laetos et amoena vireta.'

115. **dall' un de' canti:** 'on one side of the meadow'; cp. Inf. ix. 46, *dal sinistro canto.*

118–20. **diritto:** 'in front of us.' **Che,** &c.: 'so that my spirit is exalted at having seen them.' For the sentiment cp. Par. xvi. 18, 'Voi mi levate sì, ch' io son più ch' io.' **ne** is resumptive of **del vederli,** and **esalto** is used as if reflexive.

121–3. **Elettra:** not the Greek heroine, but the mother of Dardanus the founder of Troy; cp. *De Mon.* ii. 3, ll. 68–76, where Dante quotes Virg. *Aen.* viii. 134, 135; 'Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor, Electra, ut Graii perhibent, Atlantide cretus.' **compagni:** these are personages connected with Troy and its offspring Rome, especially Hector, the defender of Troy, Aeneas, who transferred the kingdom to Italy, and Caesar the founder of the Roman empire. **occhi grifagni:** 'falcon eyes'; Suetonius (*Vita Caesaris,* § 45) speaks of his black and lively eyes—'nigris vegetisque oculis.' Possibly Dante got the idea from some traditional description.

124–6. The characters in this tercet are from the *Aeneid.* Camilla has already been mentioned as one of the martyrs of Italy (Inf. i. 107); Latinus is introduced because of his alliance with Aeneas, Lavinia because she became Aeneas' wife. Penthesilea forms a pendant to Camilla, because she died fighting for the Trojans, while Camilla fought against them; but her name seems to have been suggested to Dante by its occurring in a simile about Camilla (*Aen.* xi. 662), who like her was an Amazon (ibid. 648; cp. i. 490).

128. **Julia** is the daughter of Julius Caesar, who married Pompey. Marcia is introduced as being the wife of Cato; cp. Purg. i. 78 foll.: Cornelia as being 'the mother of the Gracchi.'

129. **solo in parte:** 'by himself apart'; *in parte,* like *a parte,* bears this meaning. This solitary position is assigned to Saladin because he is of a remote race and country; see note on Inf. xii. 118. He is mentioned here as a specimen of an exalted character

because of his magnanimity, to which reference is again made in *Conv.* iv. 11, l. 126.

131. **il Maestro,** &c.: Aristotle, who in the middle ages was called 'the Philosopher' *par excellence.*

134–8. In these lines the leading Greek philosophers are enumerated.

136. **a caso**: the reference is to the atomic view of the origin of the world which Democritus held. Cicero, who here is Dante's authority, explains this as if Democritus maintained that the world had come into existence by chance—'concursu quodam fortuito,' *De Nat. Deor.* i. 24. In reality this was not Democritus' opinion.

139. **accoglitor del quale**: collector of information on the qualities of plants. Dioscorides wrote a work on plants, chiefly from the point of view of their medical qualities.

140–4. The characters whom Dante presents to us in the course of his poem are wont to be introduced in a somewhat bewildering fashion, but something of method may usually be found in the grouping. Thus here, in consequence of the rhythmical connexion between music and oratory, Cicero (**Tullio**) is placed between the fabled musicians Orpheus and Linus; and after Seneca, who represents Moral Philosophy (**Seneca morale**), and the mathematicians Euclid and Ptolemy, come the writers on medicine, Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna (Cent. x), and Averroës (Cent. xii). **morale**: the special reason why this epithet is introduced here, is to distinguish Seneca the philosopher from Seneca the writer of tragedies. Strange as it now appears, the view was commonly held in the middle ages that the works on these two subjects which bear the name of Seneca were produced by two separate persons; and this is Boccaccio's opinion in his note on this passage.

144. **Averrois**: he wrote a commentary on Aristotle's works, and both he and Avicenna were famous in the West from their study of the Aristotelian philosophy.

145–7. **ritrar di**: 'give an account of.' **al fatto,** &c.: 'my tale falls short of the reality,' i. e. much is omitted. In other parts of his poem also Dante speaks of the omissions necessitated by the limits which he had assigned to himself. See Purg. xxxiii. 136–41; Par. xxxii. 139–41.

148. **La sesta,** &c.: 'the company of six (i.e. the six poets) is reduced to two,' viz. Dante and Virgil.

150, 151. **che trema:** sc. through the influence of the *bufera infernal*, which prevails in the next Circle (Inf. v. 31). This is contrasted with the **aura queta** of this Circle, which is only moved by sighs. **non è che luca:** 'there is nothing to give light.'

CANTO V

ARGUMENT.—In the second Circle the sin of unchastity is punished, the sinners being borne hither and thither in a great tempest, and buffetted by it. At the entrance Minos, the judge of the dead, is stationed, by whom the spirits, when they have confessed their sins, are dismissed to their appointed place in Hell. Minos warns Dante against proceeding farther, but Virgil explains to him that his journey is ordained by Heaven. Among the most conspicuous instances of incontinency which are seen in this Circle, Semiramis, Dido, Cleopatra, and Achilles are pointed out to Dante. His attention is especially attracted by two spirits moving in company, and these at his request approach to converse with him. They are Francesca da Rimini and her lover Paolo Malatesta, and the former of these relates to him the story of their passion and their fall.

LINES 2, 3. **men loco:** as the Circles of the Inferno are concentric, they become narrower as they descend. **pugne a guaio:** 'goads (the sufferers) to lamentation.'

4. **Minos:** Minos is the judge of the dead, as he is in Virg. *Aen.* vi. 432, 433. Like Charon and other personages who will be met with below, he is a figure borrowed from classical mythology. One or more such personages are attached to each of the Circles of Hell, and these are either Guardians of those Circles, or Representative Figures; and a symbolical resemblance is usually, though not always, traceable between the Figure and the sin punished in the Circle over which he presides. In the present instance there is no such resemblance, because the character of Minos is determined by his function of judge. The grotesqueness of these figures, as they are introduced into the *Div. Com.*, seems to have been largely due to Dante's regarding the heathen gods as devils, following, no doubt, the statement of St. Paul to that effect in 1 Cor. x. 20. It

was reserved for Milton to infuse an element of dignity into the portraiture of devils; in Dante the majesty (so to speak) of guilt is found in the powerful, but perverted, human characters who occur here and there in his Inferno.

6. **manda,** &c.: he dispatches the criminal to his appointed place of punishment according to the number of the folds he ties; this is explained in the following lines. **avvinghia** is used absolutely.

7. **mal nata:** 'born in an evil hour'; cp. Inf. xviii. 76, and *ben nati* in Purg. v. 60.

11, 12. **Cignesi,** &c.: the process is again described in Inf. xxvii. 124, 125. **gradi:** Circles of the Inferno.

18. **l' atto,** &c.: 'the performance of that dread function.'

21. **pur:** as this word is often used with verbs in the sense of 'to do nothing else than,' perhaps here it means, 'why *persist in* clamouring?'

22, 23. **fatale:** 'destined,' i. e. appointed by Providence. **Vuolsi,** &c.: cp. Inf. iii. 95, 96, where Virgil addresses the same words to Charon.

25. **incomincian.** In the vestibule of Hell lamentations and fierce exclamations were heard (Inf. iii. 22 foll.), but Limbo had intervened, where there were only sighs; here first the acute cries of woe caused by the pains of Hell resound.

28. **d' ogni luce muto:** for the form of expression cp. Inf. i. 60, 'dove il Sol tace.'

31. **che mai non resta.** It should be remarked that throughout the scheme of the Inferno a correspondence, either real or symbolical, is traceable—sometimes more, sometimes less clearly—between the sins which are expiated and the retributory punishments which are inflicted. This idea is found also in the *De Imitatione Christi*, i. 24. 3, 4, where it is said, 'In quibus homo peccavit, in illis gravius punietur. . . . Nullum vitium erit, quod suum proprium cruciatum non habebit.' In the present instance, where the correspondence is symbolical, the wild and ceaseless movement to which the unchaste are exposed represents the violent, uncontrolled passion, the restless want of self-command, which they displayed in their lifetime. The darkness, also (**aura nera,** l. 51), symbolizes the darkening, blinding influence of carnal sin.

32. **rapina:** its 'furious rush' which sweeps them along; cp. *Conv.* ii. 6, ll. 149, 150, 'la rapina del Primo Mobile.'

34. **alla ruina**: the definite article **la** seems to imply that **ruina** is something with which the reader is already acquainted. This is in favour of the explanation which takes **ruina** to mean, like *rapina* above, the 'headlong rush' of the storm. In this case what is said here must be intended to refer to the spirits when they first reach their place of torment. 'As soon as they find themselves face to face with the fury of the tempest, thereupon (**Quivi**) arise,' &c.

37–9. **Intesi**: 'I conceived'; Dante does not tell us how he came to this conclusion, but implies that it was 'borne in upon him' by what he saw. **Enno**: archaic for *sono*; cp. Par. xiii. 97. **talento**: 'the desires.'

40 foll. **E come**, &c. Both the similes which follow express rapid, rushing, continuous motion, but the two represent different features—the starlings the restless movement of the spirits, the migratory cranes the cries uttered by them. Of the latter Bewick says (*British Birds*, vol. ii. p. 31), 'The course of their flight is discovered by the loud noise they make, for they soar to such a height as to be hardly visible to the naked eye.' Probably Dante had in his mind Virg. *Aen.* x. 264–6, 'quales sub nubibus atris Strymoniae dant signa grues, atque aethera tranant Cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.'

46. **lai**: 'dirges'; cp. *tristi lai* in Purg. ix. 13. It is the Provençal *lais*, 'a lay.' For the crane as typical of sorrowful laments cp. Is. xxxviii. 14, 'Like a crane or a swallow so did I chatter.'

49. **briga**: 'harassing movement,' 'whirl.'

54. **favelle**: 'tongues,' i. e. 'nations' or 'races,' in which sense the word is often used in Scripture.

56, 57. **libito fe' licito**, &c.: this is from Orosius, i. 4. 7, 8, where it is said of Semiramis, 'Tandem filio flagitiose concepto, impie exposito, inceste cognito, privatam ignominiam publico scelere obtexit. Praecepit enim, ut inter parentes ac filios nulla delata reverentia naturae de coniugiis adpetendis ut cui libitum esset liberum fieret.' Orosius was a leading authority in ancient history and geography with Dante and his contemporaries.

59, 60. **succedette**, &c.: Oros. i. 4. 4, 'Huic [Nino] mortuo Samiramis uxor successit.' This is a sufficient disproof of the conjecture *sugger dette* ('gave suck'), the only argument of weight

in favour of which is, that it avoids the inverted form of statement involved in **fu sua sposa** following **succedette**. **la terra**, &c.: the country here meant must be Egypt, for 'the Sultan,' of whom Dante speaks as governing it in his time, can hardly be other than one of the Mameluke Sultans in that country. Hence it has been supposed that Dante has confused the kingdom of Babylonia (or Assyria) with the Roman fortress of Babylon (Old Cairo) in Egypt, and believed that the latter was the seat of Semiramis' empire. This however is hardly credible, when we consider the amount of ignorance which it implies on Dante's part both of the Scriptural references to Babylon, and of Orosius' statements concerning the Assyrian monarchy. There is more to be said for Benvenuto's explanation, that Dante believed that Semiramis extended her kingdom so as to include Egypt.

61. **colei**: Dido; her faithlessness to her dead husband Sichaeus was involved in her subsequent passion for Aeneas.

63. **Cleopatras**: the form is peculiar; in Par. vi. 76 the name is Cleopatra. The rhythm of the line seems to show that it is to be pronounced Cleopatràs.

66. **Che con amore**, &c.: 'whose final (and fatal) antagonist was love'; Achilles, after engaging many combatants, at last met love as his match. The reference is to the story of Achilles having been killed by Paris, after making an assignation with Polyxena, to which he went unarmed. Dante got this from Dictys, *Bell. Troi.* iv. 11.

67. **Paris**: this is not Paris, the hero of mediaeval romance, but the Trojan Paris, who is often coupled with Tristan in poems of the middle ages, when instances of the sufferings caused by love are mentioned; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 419. **Tristano**: Tristan, the nephew of King Mark of Cornwall, fell in love with Iseult, whom he was commissioned to escort from her home in Ireland to be the bride of his uncle. By him Tristan was slain, after his meetings with Iseult were discovered.

69. **Che . . . dipartille**: **Che** is 'whom,' and *le* a pleonastic repetition; cp. Inf. xxviii. 113, 114, 'cosa *ch*' io avrei paura . . . di contar*la* solo.'

75. **al vento . . . leggieri**: this trait is symbolical of their lightmindedness.

81. **parlar**: for the omission of *a* here in consequence of this

preposition occurring just before with **noi**, see note on Purg. xi. 51. **altri**: God, whose name may not be pronounced in Hell; see note on Inf. iv. 53.

82. **Quali**, &c.: this simile is taken from Virg. *Aen.* v. 213–17, where *Qualis . . . columba* corresponds to **Quali colombe**, *dulces . . . nidi* to **dolce nido**, and *celeres neque commovet alas* to **Con l' ali . . . ferme.**

85. **della schiera**, &c.: it is inferred from this that the condemned souls in this Circle were divided into two groups, viz. (1) those who were mastered, like Dido, by one sinful passion; (2) those who, like Semiramis, abandoned themselves to carnal sin.

88–90. **animal**: 'being.' **perso**: 'dark'; lit. 'purple black'; cp. *Conv.* iv. 20, ll. 14, 15, 'Il perso è un colore misto di purpureo e di nero, ma vince il nero.' **tignemmo**, &c.: the meaning is, that adultery is a primary cause of bloodshed in the world.

93. **mal perverso**: 'distracting suffering'; **mal** here can hardly be 'sin,' for its nature had not been mentioned so that Dante should be able to compassionate it.

94, 95. **Di quel**, &c. This pathetic story is one of the best-known passages in the *Div. Com.* The pathos, it is true, consists in the mode of telling, and in the present circumstances of the lovers—not in the story itself, which is a rather commonplace tale of adultery and revenge in the higher walks of life. According to the version of it which Dante has adopted here, Francesca was married for reasons of state to Giovanni Malatesta of Rimini, a man of ill-favoured appearance, but was in love with his brother Paolo; and some time after his marriage Giovanni surprised his wife and his brother together, and slew them both. **vui**: archaic for **voi.**

97–9. **la terra**: Ravenna, which is on the coast of the Adriatic (**la marina**), southward of the mouths of the Po. She was known as Francesca *da Rimini* because her husband was of that place. **seguaci sui**: its tributaries.

100. **Amor**: notice how this word, which is the theme of Francesca's discourse, is repeated at the beginning of three tercets. It may here be remarked with a view to future reference, that all the instances that are found in the poem of the recurrence of initial words at the commencement of tercets may be classed in respect of what they denote under two heads, viz. (1) a succession of forcible examples of something which is to be illustrated; Purg. xii. 25 foll.;

Par. xix. 115 foll.; xx. 40 foll.; in the last instance the words recur in alternate tercets: (2) emphasis or rhetorical repetition; Inf. v. 100 foll.; Purg. vi. 106 foll.; Par. xiii. 94 foll.; xv. 100 foll. In Inf. iii. 1–3; Par. i. 115–7; xxvii. 7–9 the repetition is in consecutive initial lines. **s' apprende**: 'is lighted'; the metaphor is from flame. The flame of love catches '*at* the heart' (**al cor**).

102. **tolta**: by death. **il modo**, &c.: the meaning is:—'The suddenness of my death, which left no time for repentance, still distresses me.'

103–5. **a nullo**, &c.: 'never exempts from love the object of love.' **non mi abbandona**: 'it does not desert me.' That 'it' and not 'he' is right, is shown by the two preceding lines, where her love for him is spoken of.

107, 108. **Caino**, &c.: Cain, the first fratricide, awaits our murderer in the portion of the ninth Circle in which those who have violated the bond of relationship are punished. This was called from him *la Caina*: Inf. xxxii. 58. Instead of **Caino** some read *Caina*, in which case the meaning is, that their murderer was doomed to that place in Hell; but we should rather expect to find *la Caina*, as in the passage just referred to. **da lor**: Francesca speaks for both. **porte**: 'uttered,' from *porgere*; cp. *porse*, Inf. ii. 135.

109–11. **offense**: 'suffering'; cp. *offesi*, Inf. iv. 41. **tanto . . . Finchè**: 'so long . . . until,' i. e. 'until at last.'

114. **doloroso passo**: 'the woful strait,' i. e. their death and their punishment.

117. **pio**: 'compassionate,' 'sympathetic.'

119, 120. **A che e come**, &c.: 'by what token, and in what way, did Love grant that you should realize your unconfessed desires?' **conoscesti**: *conosceste* is also read.

123. **il tuo dottore**: Virgil, who looks back regretfully from Limbo on the pleasures of his life on earth. As Dante calls Virgil *il mio dottore* in this very Canto (l. 70), it is difficult to think that any one else is meant; but the *sentiment* may be from Boëthius, *De Cons. Phil.*, Lib. ii. Prosa iv, 'In omni adversitate fortunae infelicissimum genus est infortunii fuisse felicem.'

124–6. **Ma se**, &c.: there seems to be a reminiscence here of Virg. *Aen.* ii. 10–13, 'Sed, si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros, . . . Quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit, Incipiam.'

128. **Di Lancelotto.** The romance of 'Lancelot of the Lake,' who became enamoured of Queen Guinevere at the court of King Arthur, was a favourite one in Dante's time. The passage which is referred to below (ll. 133–7) is that where Gallehault, a knight who was intimate with Lancelot, arranged a secret meeting between him and Guinevere, and in the course of this urged the queen to give Lancelot a kiss, which was the commencement of their guilty love. Dante recurs to this episode in Par. xvi. 13–5, where mention is made of the Lady of Malehault, one of Guinevere's ladies-in-waiting, having coughed, when at an earlier stage of the interview she noticed the familiarity between them. As this incident is not found in the printed editions of 'Lancelot,' it was supposed until recently that no copy of the version of the story as known to Dante was in existence, but a MS. of the British Museum in the original old French of Cent. xiii, an extract from which has recently been printed by Mr. Paget Toynbee, contains this feature of the narrative. See his *Dict.*, pp. 257, 258, where the passage is given.

129. **sospetto:** 'fear of discovery'; *sospetto* means 'fear' in Inf. iii. 14.

130. **sospinse:** 'impelled our eyes' to meet.

137. **Galeotto,** &c.: 'the book and its author played the part of Gallehault,' viz. that of agent or intermediary.

141. **morisse:** arch. for *morissi.*

CANTO VI

Argument.—In the third Circle the gluttonous are lashed by torrents of filthy rain and hail, and are tormented by Cerberus. When this monster shows signs of wishing to attack and devour the Poets, Virgil satisfies him by flinging earth down his three throats. Dante is here recognized by Ciacco, a Florentine *bon vivant*; and, as the spirits in Hell possess the gift of prophetic foresight, Dante obtains from him information about the prospective fortunes of the Black and White Guelf parties at Florence. He also inquires as to the position in the world of spirits of Farinata and other eminent Florentines who had lately died, and is told that they are among the worst spirits in the lower portion of the Inferno. Dante and Virgil now descend into the fourth Circle.

LINE 1. **Al tornar,** &c. The passage into the third, as into the first Circle, is made while Dante is in a state of unconsciousness; and here, as on the former occasion, we are not told how the transit was made.

2. **Dinanzi:** 'in the presence of,' 'at the sight of.' **pietà:** 'piteous lot.' **cognati:** *cognato* (subst.) means 'brother-in-law'; this represents the relationship of the two lovers.

7. **terzo cerchio,** &c.: 'the third Circle, which is that of the rain,' &c. The punishment of the gluttonous, like their sin, is foul and material; the three throats and vast belly of Cerberus are emblems of voracity, and their own bestial condition is shown by their howling like dogs.

9. **Regola:** 'measure.' **non l' è nuova:** this implies that there is no relief, as there would be if it fell in showers; its uniformity is an additional element in its oppressiveness.

13–5. **Cerbero:** the description here of Cerberus barking through three throats, and that of Virgil pacifying his hunger in ll. 22 foll., are from Virg. *Aen.* vi. 417 foll. **diversa:** 'portentous'; see note on Inf. iii. 25. **sommersa:** not 'submerged' in the literal sense, for they were lying *a terra* (l. 37); but 'plunged in Hell'; cp. Inf. xx. 3.

18. **ingoia:** 'mumbles them in his jaws,' lit. 'swallows,' 'devours.' Another reading is *scuoia*, 'flays.'

21. **profani:** the word is from Heb. xii. 16, 'a *profane* person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birthright.' Their God is their belly.

22–4. **vermo:** the meaning here is 'loathsome reptile'; cp. Inf. xxxiv. 108, where it is similarly used of Lucifer. In both these passages it is sometimes interpreted as 'serpent,' but *verme*, *vermo* does not bear that meaning in Italian, as 'worm' does in Old English. **Non avea,** &c.: this was caused by his eagerness to seize and devour them.

27. **canne:** 'gullet.'

28–30. **agugna** = *agogna*, 'ravens with hunger.' **pugna:** 'struggles'; he devours it fiercely.

34–6. **adona:** 'beats down,' 'prostrates'; cp. *s' adona*, 'is subdued' in Purg. xi. 19: the word is obsolete. **vanità:** 'unreal semblance'; cp. *ombre vane*, Purg. ii. 79; *nostra vanitate*, Purg. xxi. 135.

42. **Tu fosti,** &c. Dante was born in 1265; Ciacco, who is here speaking, died in 1286.

47. **messa**: the fem. is used, because an *ombra* is addressed; cp. *una* in l. 38.

50. **invidia**: jealous rivalry, which gave birth to factions.

52. **Ciacco**: this name is said to be a corruption of Giacomo; the words **Voi mi chiamaste** seem to imply that it was a nickname. Boccaccio speaks of him as a man of good manners and breeding, but a great glutton.

56. **stanno**: 'are exposed.' *Stare* sometimes signifies simply position; the sinners here were lying on the ground (l. 37). Cp. *stanno freschi*, Inf. xxxii. 117, where the persons spoken of were lying face downward in the ice.

61. **partita**: divided between the factions of the Bianchi and Neri, the former of whom were headed by the Cerchi, the latter by the Donati.

65, 66. **Verranno,** &c. The point of view here is that of the date of Dante's Vision, viz. Easter, 1300 A. D., and consequently the events mentioned, since they happened after that date, are stated in the form of a prophecy; see note on Inf. ii. 1. The souls in Hell are supposed by Dante to have knowledge of the past and the future, but not of what is happening in the world at the present time; this is clearly stated in Inf. x. 97–105. **al sangue**: this was a scuffle which took place on May 1, 1300, between members of the Cerchi and Donati families; Villani, who describes it, regards it as the commencement of the party dissensions at Florence (*Cron.* viii. 39). **la parte selvaggia**: the Bianchi, who are so called because their leaders, the Cerchi, who had recently come from the country into the city, were boorish and ungracious ('salvatichi e ingrati,' Villani, *ibid.*). **Caccerà l' altra**: the Neri were expelled in May, 1301. **Offensione**: 'contumely.'

68. **Infra tre soli**: 'within three years' from the time at which Ciacco is speaking, viz. Friday, April 8, 1300. As the Bianchi were expelled by Charles of Valois on April 4, 1302 (Villani, viii. 49), it would have been more accurate to say 'within two years,' but perhaps Dante thought that the greater stringency of statement which this involves would hardly have been suitable to a prophecy, and that a round number was preferable.

69. **Con la forza,** &c.: 'with the support of one who just now

is trimming.' *Piaggiare* usually means 'to coast,' and so is used of steering between two views or parties, as being between the land and the open sea. The word bears this sense in Villani, viii. 69, 'quelli che piaggiavano col cardinale.' The person intended in the present passage is Boniface VIII, who in 1300 professed to be a neutral as between the Bianchi and Neri, and in 1302 supported Charles of Valois.

70. **terrà . . . le fronti**: the sing. verb **terrà** is used of the party, the plur. **le fronti** of the individuals that compose it. For a similar use cp. Inf. xxxii. 13–15 and note.

73. **Giusti**, &c.: as Boccaccio does not know who these were, we may be content to remain in ignorance about them. **intesi**: 'listened to.'

78. **facci dono**: 'grant me the favour'; cp. Purg. xxviii. 63.

79, 80. The persons mentioned in these lines, with the exception of Arrigo, are introduced later in the Inferno—Farinata in x. 32, Tegghiaio and Rusticucci in xvi. 41 and 44, Mosca in xxviii. 106. Of Arrigo nothing certain is known. **Tegghiaio**: the last four vowels of this word metrically form one syllable; cp. *migliaio*, Purg. xiii. 22, and generally for the synizesis of *aio*, *oio* cp. *primaio*, Purg. xiv. 66; *beccaio*, Purg. xx. 52; *gennaio*, Par. xxvii. 142; *Uccellatoio*, Par. xv. 110.

85, 86. **tra le anime più nere.** It is a strong proof of Dante's abhorrence of sin, that he places men of whom he speaks in such terms of respect and regard as these and Brunetto Latini (Canto XV) in torment. **Diversa colpa**: 'various forms of sin.'

89. **Pregoti**, &c. Dante attributes the longing to be remembered on earth to all the souls in Hell, with the exception of a certain number, who desire their flagrant crimes, especially those against their fellow men, to be concealed—e. g. Caccianimico, a seducer, Inf. xviii. 46, 52; Guido da Montefeltro, a giver of malevolent counsel, xxvii. 61–6; and, above all, the traitors in the pit of Hell. In Purgatory and Paradise, on the other hand, there is no such wish that their memory should be perpetuated among the living, except in the case of those in Purgatory who desire that others should intercede for them.

91–3. **Gli diritti**, &c.: 'his fixed eyes he then turned askance'; the cause of this was anguish at the thought of all that he had lost. **ciechi**: i. e. spiritually blind; cp. Inf. iv. 13 and note.

96. **la nimica podesta**: the power hostile to evil is Christ; His name, as elsewhere in the Inferno, is not uttered.

99. **quel che**, &c.: 'the doom which resounds for eternity.'

106–8. **tua scienza**: the Aristotelian philosophy; cp. *la tua Etica*, Inf. xi. 80, *la tua Fisica*, l. 101, where the treatises of Aristotle are meant. **Più senta il bene**: the application of this principle to the condition of the blessed in heaven is stated in Par. xiv. 43 foll.

111. **Di là, più che di qua**: **Di là** is 'after,' as **di qua** is 'before' the trump of doom (*dal suon dell' angelica tromba*, l. 95). **più**: 'more perfect.' It will be so, because it will then possess both its component elements, body and soul, through this perfection cannot be moral perfection, which is the only true one (**vera perfezion**).

115. **Pluto il gran nemico.** Pluto here is, to all intents and purposes, Plutus the god of wealth, and he is called 'the great enemy,' because the love of money is the root of all evil (1 Tim. vi. 10). This view is confirmed by Pluto being addressed as *lupo* in the next Canto (l. 8), the wolf being Dante's usual emblem of avarice and covetousness, and the subject of that Canto, in which Pluto is introduced as the guardian and representative mythological figure of the fourth Circle, is the misuse of wealth. Certainly **il gran nemico** cannot mean that he was the leading spirit in Hell, for that position was occupied by Lucifer, while Pluto holds a quite subordinate place. As a matter of fact, owing to a supposed (perhaps true) derivation of the name Πλούτων from πλοῦτος 'wealth,' the attributes of Plutus were attached to Pluto even by Greek writers, and Pluto was regarded as the giver of wealth. Thus Plato says (*Crat.* 403 A), τὸ δὲ Πλούτωνος [ὄνομα] . . . ὅτι ἐκ τῆς γῆς κάτωθεν ἀνίεται ὁ πλοῦτος: and Strabo (iii. 2. 9, speaking of the Spanish mines), παρ' ἐκείνοις τὸν ὑποχθόνιον τόπον οὐχ ὁ Ἅιδης ἀλλ' ὁ Πλούτων κατοικεῖ. The name Plutus is of so rare occurrence in Latin authors that the mediaevals can hardly have been acquainted with it, but they were aware that Pluto was associated with wealth—perhaps through Fulgentius, whom Boccaccio quotes in this connexion—'iuxta Fulgentium Pluto latine sonat divitias,' *De Genealogia Deorum*, viii. 6. The passage in Fulgentius is, 'Quartum etiam Plutonem dicunt terrarum praesulem—πλοῦτος enim Graece divitiae dicuntur—solis terris credentes divitias deputari.'

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT.—At the entrance to the fourth Circle they find Pluto, its guardian. This circle contains those who sinned by the misuse of money, or worldly possessions; and, as money can be misused in two opposite ways, viz. by parsimony and by prodigality, the sinners are formed into two opposing bands, who take part in one another's punishment. They roll forward with their breasts huge weights until they come into collision, after which they return along the same course, and meet in a similar manner at the opposite point of the circle. Virgil here explains to Dante the nature of Fortune, as the Intelligence appointed by God to dispense temporal advantages and dignities among men. They now pass into the fifth Circle, descending above the fountain of the Styx, which here flows down and forms a marsh. In the foul water of this are immersed the wrathful and the gloomy. After making the circuit of a great part of the Stygian marsh they reach the foot of a tower.

LINES 1, 2. **Pape,** &c.: Pluto's words are unintelligible gibberish, but they seem from what follows to be addressed in a threatening manner to Dante. Many commentators, however, think that they are a cry of warning addressed to Lucifer (**Satan**) below. **chioccia**: 'harsh,' 'grating.'

5. **poter ch' egli abbia**: abbreviated for *per poter*, &c., 'for all the power he may possess.' For a somewhat similar elliptical use cp. Inf. xix. 119.

7, 8. **enfiata labbia**: 'arrogant visage'; for **labbia** cp. Inf. xiv. 67. It is only in the plur. *le labbia* (= *labbra*) that the word bears the meaning 'lip'; see *Vocab. Tramater.* **lupo**: the symbol of avarice; cp. Purg. xx. 10.

12. **del superbo strupo**: 'for the proud deed of whoredom,' i. e. the revolt of the rebellious angels against God. In the Hebrew prophets 'whoredom' and similar words are often used of alienation from God; e. g. Is. i. 21; Ez. xvi. 22. **strupo** = *stupro.*

13–5. **Quali,** &c. The collapse of Pluto after his threatening address is compared to the bellying sails of a vessel, which fall in

a heap when the wind breaks the mast. **avvolte**: lit. 'wrapped together.' **fiacca**: as this verb is not elsewhere used intrans., **il vento** is prob. the subject.

16. **lacca**: 'hollow,' i. e. the fourth Circle; cp. Inf. xii. 11; also Purg. vii. 71, where it is used of the *Valletta dei Principi*. The word appears to be of Greek origin. In ancient Greek λάκκος was used for a 'pond' and a 'pit.' In Mod. Greek both λάκκος and λάκκα signify a 'ditch' (see Byzantius' *Lex.*), and λάκκος is used for a 'valley,' e. g. for the upper plain of Messenia. This word probably passed into S. Italy during the Byzantine occupation, which introduced numerous Greek words into the dialects of that part, and *lacco* is used for a 'ditch' at the present time there (Ramage, *Nooks and Byways of Italy*, p. 270).

17, 18. **Pigliando più**, &c: 'advancing along the doleful bank (i. e. the slope of the Inferno), which contains the wickedness of the whole universe'; for **pigliando più** in the sense of 'advancing along' cp. Purg. xi. 109, 'del cammin sì poco piglia.' **universo** implies that the evil angels are included.

19–21. **chi stipa**: this is half a question, half an exclamation; 'can it be that any power accumulates?' **viddi**: arch. for *vidi*. **ne scipa**: 'consumes us.'

22–4. **Come**, &c. What is here described is the meeting of the waves of two opposing eddies or currents, such as compose the real, not the fabulous, Charybdis. **là sovra Cariddi**: this almost pleonastic use of **là** occurs frequently in the Inf., as xvi. 100, 'là sovra San Benedetto'; xvii. 21, 'là tra li Tedeschi lurchi'; and xxvii. 29; xxviii. 17; xxxii. 27. In the Purg. and Par. it seems not to be found. It is of course distinct from the use with a relative clause following, as in l. 11, 'là dove Michele,' &c. **riddi**: 'dance in a ring'; this describes the movement of each of the two bands half-way round the Circle (ll. 34, 35).

25 foll. In this punishment the weights symbolize amassed wealth—'argenti pondus et auri'; while the fruitlessness of the sinners' toil signifies the vain pursuit of riches.

28. **pur lì**: 'there on the spot,' lit. 'just there'; **lì** for *lì* is a poetic licence, the accent being removed in order that the word may become enclitic to **pur**.

30. **'Perchè tieni,'** &c.: the prodigals say to the misers, 'Why dost hold?' the misers to the prodigals, 'Why dost squander?'

For *burlare* in the sense of 'throw away' Casini quotes the *Lettera del prete Ianni*, 'quando lo vento dà per questi fiumi, burla di questa polvere di fuori'; but as the regular meaning of the word is 'to jest,' and *burla* is 'a jest,' the more probable signification here is 'to trifle away,' 'to squander.'

31–3. **cerchio**: this is the complete circle of the Inferno, each of the two companies passing through half the circle, and meeting the other at opposite points (ll. 35, 44). In order to allow for the great number who are said to be punished here (l. 25), we must suppose that these bands came up in successive relays. **Da ogni mano**: 'on either hand'; for this sense of **ogni** cp. Inf. xxii. 56; Purg. ii. 22. **anche**: 'as before.' **metro**: 'refrain,' i. e. 'Perchè tieni,' &c.

38, 39. **cherci**: for *cherici* and **chercuti** for *chericuti*.

40–2. **tutti e quanti**: these words include both the opposing bands, neither of whom observed moderation in the use of money. Avarice and prodigality are similarly expiated together in the fifth Cornice of Purgatory, Purg. xxii. 52–4. **ferci**: **ci**, 'here,' means 'in life.'

45. **dispaia**: 'disjoins,' i. e. causes them to separate.

46–8. **Questi**, &c.: these three lines give the answer to Dante's second question, 'se tutti fur cherci,' &c. (ll. 38, 39); and by comparing the two passages we learn that the avaricious were on the left hand, and consequently the prodigal on the right hand, of the Poets. **che non han**, &c.: who are tonsured. **In cui usa**, &c.: 'over whom avarice exercises its supremacy.'

52. **aduni**: 'conceive'; the idea is that of thoughts grouping themselves to form a judgement.

53, 54. **sconoscente**: 'purblind,' lit, 'undiscerning,' and **conoscenza** is 'discernment,' 'recognition.' The result of their ignoring the object with which wealth was given, and consequently the true purpose of life, in that their individuality of character—i.e. all distinctive traits by which they might be recognized—is lost. The same effect proceeding from this cause is seen in the case of the usurers in Inf. xvii. 54; cp. the punishment of the avaricious in Purgatory, whose faces are hidden, Purg. xix. 72, 118–20. **bruni**: 'dim,' 'indistinct.'

56, 57. **Questi**: the misers, as being close-fisted. **mozzi**: 'cut short'; Blanc (*Versuch*, p. 78) quotes the Italian proverbial description of a prodigal as one who has 'dissipato fino a' capelli.'

58–60. **lo mondo pulcro**: Paradise. **Qual**, &c.: 'to describe it, I seek for no graceful (complimentary) words.' **ci**: 'here,' i. e. in their case.

61–3. **corta buffa**: 'transient farce.' **Perchè**, &c.: 'for the sake of which mankind hustle one another.'

66. **farne**: **ne** is a pleonastic repetition of **di queste anime stanche**.

68. **di che**, &c.: 'to which thou dost refer in speaking to me.' **tocche**: arch. for *tocchi*.

72. **imbocche**: 'hear and mark' (Cary), lit. 'take into thy mouth'; cp. Ez. ii. 8, of the roll of a book, 'open thy mouth, and eat that I give thee.'

73–96. Dante's view of Fortune which is given in this passage is, that she is an Intelligence appointed by God, which orders the course of events in the world in the same way as the other Intelligences—i. e. the angelic Orders—determine the motions and influences of the planetary spheres (for the spheres see Par. ii. 112 foll.; and for the Intelligences Par. xxviii. 25 foll.). This view of Fortune—indeed the whole of the present episode—is borrowed by Dante from Boëthius *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ii. Metr. i, ii and Pros. i, ii. This is proved, not only by numerous points of correspondence, but also by the fact that Dante quotes a passage from this part of the *De Cons.*, giving Boëthius' name, in *Conv.* iv. 12, ll. 73–8, where he is speaking of the same subject, viz. of the Power which dispenses wealth to mankind (see Moore, *Studies*, i. pp. 285, 286).

74–6. **chi conduce**: the Orders of Intelligences which guide them. **Sì che**, &c.: so that each of the nine angelic Orders shines on one of the nine celestial spheres, communicating their light to them in proportions corresponding to the light which they possess. This is explained in Par. xxviii. 73–8.

77. **splendor mondani**: 'forms of human grandeur.'

79–81. **a tempo**: 'at the fitting time'; cp. Par. viii. 60. **li ben vani**: 'the unreal advantages.' **Oltre**, &c.: in such a way that human wisdom cannot prevent it; 'beyond prevention of man's wisest care' (Cary).

82. **Perchè**: 'for which reason.'

85–7. **non ha contrasto a lei**: 'has no power to oppose her.' **Persegue Suo regno**: 'carries on her reign,' i. e. provides

for the continuance of the domain entrusted to her. **Dei**: Intelligences; cp. Par. xxviii. 121, where *Dee* has the same force.

88–90. **Le sue**, &c.: cp. Boëthius ii. Pros. i, 'Tu vero volventis rotae impetum retinere conaris? At . . . si manere incipit, fors esse desistit.' **Sì spesso**, &c.: lit. 'thus one often comes who wins his turn'; i. e. in consequence of her speed of movement the succession of fortunate competitors for her favour is rapid.

91, 92. **posta in croce**: 'persecuted,' 'vilified.' **Pur da color**: 'by those very persons'; cp. the use of *pur* in *pur come*, 'just as.'

94–6. **Ma ella**, &c.: cp. Boëth. ii. Metr. i. ll. 5–7, 'Non illa miseros audit, haud curat fletus; Ultroque gemitus dura quos fecit ridet. Sic illa ludit, sic suas probat vires.' **l' altre prime creature**: the angelic Orders. **sua spera**: the Wheel of Fortune, the *volvens rota* of Boëthius, quoted above.

97. **Pieta**: 'suffering'; see note on Inf. i. 21.

98. **ogni stella cade**, &c.: 'every star is descending,' i. e. has passed the meridian. It was now past midnight, and Dante and Virgil had entered Hell at nightfall of the preceding day; see Inf. ii. 1.

100–2. **Noi ricedemmo**, &c.: they crossed the fourth Circle to its further bank, which separated it from the fifth Circle; and the bank here was above the fountain of the Styx, the water from which flowed down from that bank through a dyke into the fifth Circle. **bolle**: 'jets forth'; the water was not hot, like that of Phlegethon in Inf. xiv. 134. **riversa**: neut., 'pours down.' **da lei deriva**: 'draws its waters from it.'

103–5. **persa**: see note on Inf. v. 89. **diversa**: 'strange,' 'weird'; cp. Inf. vi. 13.

106. **palude**: the 'Stygiam paludem' of Virg. *Aen.* vi. 323.

109–14. In the fifth Circle, which Dante has now entered, the sin of anger is punished by the victim being immersed in a filthy swamp formed by the waters of the Styx. Their attacks on one another show that their ungoverned passion still tormented them. The filthy water represents the debasing influence of anger; but the chief symbolism turns on the derivation of the Greek Στύξ from στυγεῖν 'to hate.' Dante, who himself knew no Greek, may have obtained this from Servius (on Virg. *Aen.* vi. 134) or Isidore

(*Origines*, xiv. 9), both of whom were among his authorities. Isidore says, 'Styx ἀπὸ τῆς στυγνότητος, i. e. *a tristitia dicta*'; this corresponds to *tristo ruscel* in l. 107.

111. **sembiante offeso**: 'look of suffering'; cp. Inf. iv. 41.

112. **si percotean**: 'were smiting one another.'

118. **ha**: used impers. for *vi è*, like *avea* for *vi era* in Inf. iv. 26.

120. **u' che**: **u'**, Lat. *ubi*, is used poet. for *ove*; cp. Inf. ii. 24: hence **u' che** = *ovunque*; 'wherever it (your eye) turns.'

121–3. The class of sinners who are here associated in punishment with the wrathful are the sullenly despondent (**tristi**, l. 121; **ci attristiam**, l. 124); and their state of mind is described as 'cloudy apathy' (**accidioso fummo**, l. 123). That **accidioso** means 'apathetic' we know from the use of *accidia* for 'spiritual sloth' in Purg. xviii. 132; see also note on Purg. xvii. 82. The relation in which *accidia* stands to *tristizia* is thus explained by Aquinas:—'Accidia . . . est quaedam tristitia aggravans; quae scilicet ita deprimit mentem hominis, ut nihil ei agere libeat'; *Summa*, II. 2^{dae}. Q. 35, Art. 1.

127. **pozza**: 'pool,' 'pond'; it is connected with Span. *poza*, 'pool,' and both are connected with Lat. *puteus* (Körting, *Latein.-roman. Wörterbuch*, No. 6488).

128. **mezzo**: 'swamp,' lit. 'soft substance.' This word is distinguished from *mezzo*, 'middle' (Lat. *medius*) by being pronounced with *e* sharp and *zz* hard. It is an adj., and where it is found in other authors (it does not occur again in Dante) signifies 'soft,' 'flabby,' and is especially used of ripe or over-ripe fruit. This is in favour of the derivation from Lat. *mitis* (Diez), which regularly bears that meaning. The hard *zz* points in the same direction, being more naturally formed from the *t* of *mitis* (cp. *palazzo* from *palatium*, *piazza* from *platea*, &c.) than from the *d* of *madidus*, which word has also been suggested as its etymology.

130. **al dassezzo**: 'at last'; cp. Purg. xxv. 139.

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT.—In answer to a signal sent from the tower to the opposite shore Phlegyas, the guardian and ferryman of the Stygian marsh, appears in his boat, and takes the two Poets on board. While they are crossing the muddy water, Dante is recognized by Filippo Argenti, a Florentine noted for his unrestrained passion, the punishment of which he is here undergoing. The walls and buildings of the City of Dis—the innermost fortress of the Inferno, and the abode of the worst criminals—now appear in view; and as the Poets approach, they find the gate crowded with evil spirits prepared to defend the entrance. Virgil goes forward alone to parley with them, but they close the gate in his face, and he returns to Dante discomfited.

LINE 1. **seguitando**: 'in continuation,' i. e. continuing the subject of the previous Canto. Perhaps this remark is introduced because the subject of the fifth Circle is treated of at the end of one Canto and the beginning of another, and the Poet wishes to mark the connexion of the two parts. It seems to have given rise to the story which is mentioned by Boccaccio and others, to the effect that Dante resumed the poem at this point after a long interval of time. Satisfactory arguments in confutation of this story are given by Blanc, *Versuch*, pp. 81, 82.

4–6. **due fiammette**: the tower is the signalling station for the city of Dis, and the two cressets are signals addressed to the watchers in that city, the number two probably denoting the number of the passengers approaching. The signal in reply is sent from the city, and signifies that the intimation has been understood. **i'**: for *ivi*, Lat. *ibi*; cp. **u'** for Lat. *ubi* in Inf. vii. 120. **cenno**: such fortress-signals (*cenni di castella*) are referred to again in Inf. xxii. 8. **Tanto**: take with **da lungi**. **torre**: 'catch.'

11. **Già puoi scorger**: **puoi**, which elsewhere is always a monosyllable in scansion, except at the end of a line, is here pronounced as a disyllable, **puo|i**. The justification of this exceptional use is found in the initial *sc* of *scorger*, which, like other combinations of *s* with another consonant, is sometimes allowed to have this influence on the preceding word. The following are instances:—with *sc*,

Inf. iii. 11, *Vid' i|o scritte*; viii. 93, *ha|i scorta*; xxviii. 12, *Livi|o scrive*; with *sg*, Par. xxxi. 53, *mi|o sguardo*;—with *sp*, Par. xxiv. 56, *perch' i|o spandessi*; with *st*, Purg. xx. 139, *no|i stavamo*; Purg. xxix. 145, *col primai|o stuolo* (*-aio* elsewhere is a monosyllable); Par. xxvi. 37, *intelletto mi|o sterne*. A similar effect of these combinations is seen in the prefixing of a vowel, as in *iscegliendo* for *scegliendo*, Purg. xxviii. 41; the retention of a vowel, as in *Ispagna*, which is the form when a consonant precedes, while *Spagna* is used when a vowel precedes; and the regular use of *dello strale*, *quello strazio*, &c. **quello che s' aspetta**: 'the object which is expected' as the result of the signalling.

16–8. **in quella**: understand *ora*. **anima fella**: the sing. is probably used because he addressed Dante and Virgil individually.

19. **Flegiàs**: Phlegyas is the Guardian of the fifth Circle, as is implied in l. 21, where Virgil says that they would not be under his charge except while crossing the marsh, thereby intimating that others were so. At the same time, he is the guardian of the approach to the city of Dis, a function which is assigned to him because Virgil mentions him in *Aen.* vi. 618–20 as the type of those who had violated the laws of justice, in consequence of which he uttered the warning, 'Discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos'; he is thus a suitable figure to guard the approach to the lower part of Hell, because there injustice in all its forms is punished (see the note in Butler's *Translation*, p. 90). According to the classical story Phlegyas was condemned to punishment in Hell because he set fire to the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. His boat, which is not mentioned in any of the ancient legends concerning him, must be an invention of Dante's own, and was probably suggested by the need of some agency by which the Poets might be transported across the Stygian marsh. The occasions for its use must have been of very rare occurrence, for the condemned souls are spoken of as being dispatched by Minos straight to their appointed place of torment (*giù volte*, Inf. v. 15; cp. *cade*, xiii. 97; *caduto*, xxvii. 26; *piovvi*, xxiv. 122 and xxx. 95). Virgil, however, passed this way, when sent by force of witchcraft from the first Circle to the pit of Hell (ix. 25–27).

21. **loto**: the muddy water of the marsh.

23, 24. **se ne rammarca**: 'is indignant thereat'; **rammarca** for *rammarica*. **ira accolta**: 'concentrated fury.'

28–30. **fui**: the verb here agrees with the latter of two subjects; cp. Par. i. 27; xvi. 40. **Dell' acqua più**, &c.: cp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 413 'gemuit sub pondere cymba,' &c. **altrui**: either Phlegyas himself may be meant, or any other spirit, like Virgil on the former occasion, who had followed this route.

31–3. **corravam**: for *correvam*, 'we were traversing'; the form **corravam**, like *salavam* in Purg. iv. 31, is a peculiarity of the Florentine dialect. **morta gora**: 'deathly channel'; **morta** perhaps refers to the deadly stillness of its surface. **anzi ora**: 'before thy time,' i. e. while still alive.

36. **Vedi**, &c.: this is intended as an evasive reply, his object being to avoid recognition.

38, 39. **Spirito maledetto**. Filippo Argenti, who is here introduced (cp. l. 61), was one of the Adimari family at Florence, who were among Dante's strongest opponents. Boccaccio in the *Decam.* (ix. 8) tells a story which illustrates his passionate disposition. **ancor**: for *ancorchè*.

45. **Benedetta**, &c.: 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee,' Luke xi. 27; lit. 'she who became pregnant with thee.'

47, 48. **Bontà non è**, &c.: 'there is no kindliness to adorn his memory.' **così**: 'in like manner'; what he was in the world, he is here.

49. **si tengon**: 'are reputed.'

59. **alle**: for the use of *a* after *fare* signifying 'by' cp. Inf. xvii. 129; xxi. 55.

64–6. **chè**: 'so that.' **sbarro**: 'unbar,' 'open wide.'

68. **la città**, &c. The idea of the city of Dis—or, as it is here called, the city named Dis—with its walls of iron, and a river encircling them, is taken from the description of the abode of the malefactors in Hell in Virg. *Aen.* vi. 548 foll. The city of Dis comprises the whole of the remainder of Hell, for Dis is another name for Lucifer (cp. Inf. xi. 65; xxxiv. 20), and he is placed at the lowest extremity of that realm.

70. **meschite**: 'mosques'; the word is intended to suggest the city of unbelief.

75. **in questo basso inferno**: this is added to explain that they stood out visible in the darkness of the nether hell.

76–8. **pur**: 'nevertheless,' i. e. despite the terrific sight. **terra**: 'city,' see note to l. 130. **fosse**: obs. the grammatical irregularity

of the verb agreeing in number with the predicate, and cp. Purg. x. 112, 113, 'quel ch' io veggio . . . non mi sembran persone.'

79. **far grande aggirata**: this took place in following the windings of the fosse, which formed a succession of moats (*fosse*, l. 76), which were intended to render the approach more difficult.

82, 83. **in sulle porte**: probably this means 'on the threshold of the gates.' Many take it as 'upon the gates,' but from l. 115 it appears that the gates were open. **Da' ciel piovuti**: these are the fallen angels.

93. **Che gli hai scorta**: 'who hast made plain to him.' The very exceptional scansion of **hai** as a disyllable here is explained by *sc* following; see notes on l. 11 above, and on Inf. xv. 26.

97–9. **più di sette**: probably a general number, though it is possible to enumerate seven such occasions, as Philalethes has done. **alto periglio**: 'extremity of danger'; **alto** gives a superlative force; see note on Inf. ii. 12.

105. **da tal**: by God; but the Holy Name is not mentioned in Hell.

110, 111. **in forse**: 'in doubt'; cp. Purg. xxix. 18, 'mi mise in forse.' **Che 'l sì e 'l no**, &c.: 'so that yes and no (the conviction that he will return, and that he will not return) contend within my brain.' Others read **Chè**.

112–4. **si porse**: 'was addressed' by Virgil. **a prova**: 'vied with one another in': 'pell-mell rushed back within,' Cary, who gives *certatim*, *à l'envi* as equivalents.

117. **rivolsesi a me**: the repulse of Virgil, followed by the arrival of an angel from heaven who secures Dante's admittance to the city of Dis, is probably intended to teach, allegorically, that at the greatest crises of our moral life our ordinary means of support fail us, and a special intervention of spiritual aid on our behalf is necessary. Another explanation is, that the sixth Circle, which lies immediately within the walls of the city of Dis, is that in which heresy is punished, and in order to enter it the aid of a heavenly champion is required, since the question of religious belief is involved, and with this human reason (Virgil) is incapable of dealing. This view, however, is hardly satisfactory, for the question here is that of admittance, not to the sixth Circle in particular, but to the city of Dis at large.

118–20. **le ciglia**, &c.: this describes one who is 'crestfallen.'

dicea ne' sospiri: 'sighed as if he said,' lit. 'said in his sighs'; cp. *aspettava in vista*, 'wore an expectant look,' Purg. xiii. 100. **le dolenti case:** 'the abodes of woe,' i. e. the lower Circles of the Inferno.

121–3. **perch' io m' adiri:** 'for all my anger'; cp. Inf. iv. 64. **Qual che,** &c.: 'whatever force may muster within to repel me'; **difension,** lit. 'warding off'; cp. *difese* in Inf. xv. 27.

125. **men segreta porta:** the gate of Hell itself, where, according to an ancient tradition, the devils opposed the entrance of Christ when He descended into Hell, but He broke the gate open. Cp. the Church Office for Easter Eve, Lect. iv, 'Hodie portas mortis et seras pariter Salvator noster disrupit.'

127. **Sopr' essa,** &c.: the meaning is:—'the gate I speak of is that over which thou sawest the deathly inscription' ('characters of death,' Vernon); cp. Inf. iii. 1. **vedestu** for *vedesti tu*.

128–30. **E già,** &c.: 'and already on the hither side of the gate one (an angel from heaven; see Inf. ix. 85) is descending the steep, ... of such might that (**Tal che**) by his aid the city shall be opened to us.' Virgil says this in the confidence of faith: that he did not *know* it is shown by his subsequent attitude; see Inf. ix. 7–12. **senza scorta:** i. e. defended by his own purity, and guided by his own intuition. **terra:** for the use of this word in the sense of 'city' cp. Inf. ix. 104; x. 2; and l. 77 above. This meaning, which is found in Boccaccio and other writers, seems to have arisen from **terra** being used at first of a city and its territory in conjunction, without any marked distinction being made between them.

CANTO IX

ARGUMENT.—Dante, terrified by the prospect of their further journey, inquires indirectly of Virgil whether he had ever entered the city of Dis, and learns from him that he had once been compelled by the witch Erichtho to descend to the lowest pit of Hell. Suddenly the three Furies appear on the tower of the city, and threaten to turn Dante to stone by displaying to him the head of Medusa. But an angel from heaven is now seen crossing the marsh,

and by him the rebel angels are rebuked, after which Dante and Virgil pass through the gate without opposition. The space of ground immediately within the wall, which they now enter, forms the sixth Circle, in which the heretics are punished by being placed in fiery tombs.

LINES 1–3. **Quel color,** &c.: the sight of Dante's pale face caused Virgil to check his own fears. **il suo nuovo**: 'his own unwonted pallor.'

5. **nol potea,** &c.: 'could not lead him far,' i. e. enable him to see far. **a lunga**: understand *distanza*, or possibly *parte*, as in *Vita Nuova*, § 24, ll. 67, 68, 'da lunga parte.'

7–9. In these lines Virgil is swaying between hope and fear. **Pure**: 'yet,' 'still,' despite this check. **punga**: arch. for *pugna*. **se non** ('unless . . .') expresses a doubt, but this he suppresses by saying **tal ne s' offerse**, 'No; we must win, when so great a power offered to aid us.' **tal** is probably Beatrice; see Inf. ii. 70. **quanto tarda a me**: 'how long it seems to me to wait'; for the phrase cp. Inf. xxi. 25, *cui tarda*, 'to whom it seems long.'

10. **ricoperse**: 'overlaid.'

13–5. **dienne**: 'caused me'; **ne**, which elsewhere stands for *a noi*, here represents *a me*; and thus **dienne** has the force of **mi diede** (Blanc, *Vocab.*, s. v. 'ne'). Diez (*Gram.*, vol. ii. p. 80) distinguishes between *ne*, 'us,' 'to us' (Lat. *nos*, *nobis*), and *ne*, the particle (Lat. *inde*). **ch' ei non tenne**: 'than he meant.'

16–8. **conca**: 'cavity'; possibly 'spiral cavity': the Inferno. **Discende mai,** &c.: 'does any spirit ever descend from the first Circle (Limbo), the punishment of which consists merely in ineffectual hope?' The expression of doubt which had escaped from Virgil's lips in the *parola tronca* of his former speech (*se non* . . ., l. 8) suggested to Dante that his conductor had not previously visited the lower regions of Hell; so, in order to satisfy himself on this point, he covertly inquires whether he had done so (**alcun** puts the question in a general form).

23. **Eriton**: Erichthon is the witch who according to Lucan (*Phars.* vi. 419 foll., 507 foll.) was consulted by Sextus Pompeius before Pharsalia as to the result of that battle, and who summoned up for that purpose the shade of a Pompeian soldier. Dante's reason for introducing her here seems to have been that she was,

roughly speaking, a contemporary of Virgil, though, as a matter of fact, Virgil did not die until thirty years after Pharsalia was fought. But it is quite possible that among the many stories which were current in the middle ages concerning Virgil, who was himself regarded as a magician (see Prefatory Note to Canto II), the present one concerning his treatment by Erichthon may have found a place.

27. **cerchio di Giuda**: the ninth Circle of Hell, where Judas was.

29. **dal ciel che tutto gira**: 'from the heaven which moves the whole universe round.' This is the ninth Heaven, or Primum Mobile, of which it is said in Par. xxviii. 70, 'che tutto quanto rape L'altro universo seco.'

31–3. **Questa palude**: the marsh of the Styx. Virgil mentions this in order to prove to Dante his acquaintance with the features of this neighbourhood **senz' ira**: 'without awakening wrath,' sc. in the denizens of Hell.

37, 38. **furon dritte**: 'upreared themselves.' **Tre furie**: Megaera, Alecto, and Tisiphone (ll. 46–8). In the passage of Virgil already referred to Tisiphone alone appears, *Aen.* vi. 555. The description which follows is from Statius, *Theb.* i. 103 foll.

41. **Serpentelli ceraste**: 'small horned snakes'; both the words are substantives, and they are in apposition to one another; *cerasta* (Gk. κεράστης) is a horned serpent. Others read *serpentelli e ceraste*, 'small snakes and horned serpents,' which is regarded as equivalent to 'snakes small and large'; but the corresponding passage in Statius, 'centum illi stantes umbrabant ora cerastae' (l. 103), does not suggest that large serpents are intended.

43, 44. **le meschine**, &c.: the handmaids of Proserpine; for *meschine* in the sense of 'minions' cp. *meschini* in Inf. xxvii. 115. Proserpine or Hecate (for Dante identifies them) is again spoken of in Inf. x. 80, as queen in Hell, but these classical titles are so vague as hardly to be more than rhetorical expressions.

48. **a tanto**: 'thereupon'; cp. *di tanto*, 'thereat,' in Inf. iv. 99.

51. **sospetto**: 'timidity'; see note on Inf. iii. 14.

52. **Venga Medusa**: i. e. let Medusa's head be brought. This is *il Gorgon* of l. 56, where the masc. gender is consequently used. **sì 'l farem di smalto**: 'so we will turn him into adamant.'

54. **Mal non vengiammo**, &c.: 'to our bane we did not take vengeance on Theseus for his assault'; i. e. had we punished

Theseus for attempting to carry off Proserpine (**l' assalto**), others would not have followed his example and descended hither. Theseus went down to Hades with the object of abducting Proserpine, but was seized and detained there as a prisoner. Virgil represents him as being permanently imprisoned there (*Aen.* vi. 617), but Dante has adopted the other version of the story, which says that he was liberated by Hercules. For **mal** in the sense of 'unfortunately for ourselves,' 'to our bane,' cp. Inf. xii. 66; Purg. iv. 72.

57. **nulla**: 'no chance of.'

58–60. **stessi**: arch. for *stesso*; cp. Par. v. 133. **non si tenne**, &c.: 'was not content with my covering my face with my own hands.' **chiudessi**: arch. for *chiudesse*.

61–3. **O voi**, &c. By making this appeal to his readers Dante desires to intimate that the allegory is one to which he attaches especial importance. Cp. Purg. viii. 19–21. The passage to which attention is thus drawn is that which precedes these three lines—not that which follows, for *E già* at the commencement of l. 64 clearly marks the resumption of the narrative after an interval. Accordingly the allegory turns on the obstacles that here oppose Dante's progress, by which are signified the hindrances which impede the advance of the soul towards repentance and conversion. The Furies represent the recollection of past sins, and the Gorgon's head which turns men to stone is the despair produced by that recollection, which permanently hardens the heart. Virgil's causing Dante to turn round and hide his face means that human reason can resist for a while the temptation to despair by refusing to contemplate it (see the notes to Butler's *Translation*, pp. 102, 104).

68. **Impetuoso**, &c.: 'violent owing to the heat in the opposite quarter of the heavens'; a rough description of the wind rushing in to fill up a vacuum caused by heat.

70. **porta fuori**: 'carries away'; Dante probably had in his mind Virg. *Georg.* ii. 440, 441, 'silvae, Quas animosi Euri assidue franguntque feruntque.' Witte's reading *porta fiori* has little to be said in its defence.

75. **per indi**: 'in that direction'; cp. *indi*, 'by that way,' in Purg. xvi. 118. **acerbo**: 'painful to the sense,' and so presenting an impediment to the power of sight; cp. Par. xxx. 79.

78. **s' abbica**: 'crouches,' lit. 'huddles itself together' (der. from *bica*, a 'heap' or 'stack').

79, 80. **distrutte**: 'ruined,' 'lost.' **al passo**: 'at the crossing,' i. e. the place of transit between the tower and the gate of the city of Dis, where the boat of Phlegyas passed.

83, 84. **la sinistra**: this is mentioned because in his right hand he held a wand, l. 89; but also, perhaps, the movement of the *left* hand implies a protest against sin. **angoscia**: 'fatigue.'

85. **del ciel messo**: this angelic 'messenger from heaven,' who crosses the Styx dryshod, resembles the angel of Purg. ii. 29 foll., who conducts the souls in his boat across the sea to the Mountain of Purgatory.

93. **in voi s' alletta**: 'finds entrance into your hearts'; on *allettare* see note on Inf. ii. 122.

95. **A cui**, &c.: 'whose purpose can never be brought to naught,' lit. 'cut off.'

97. **nelle fata**: 'against the decrees of God': **fata** is an obsolete plur. fem. of *fato*, in the sense of an ordinance of God's Providence; cp. Purg. xxx. 142. The plur. of *Fata* ('one of the Fates') is always *Fate*; see *Vocab. Tramater.* **dar di cozzo**: 'conflict with,' lit. 'butt against.'

98, 99. **Cerbero**, &c.: the reference is to Hercules having chained Cerberus and dragged him to the upper world; Virg. *Aen.* vi. 395, 396, 'Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit, Ipsius a solio regis, traxitque trementem.' **il mento e il gozzo** describes the parts lacerated by the chain. **vi ricorda**: the verb is here used impers.; 'it recurs (recalls itself) to your minds': cp. Purg. xxxiii. 91; Par. xxxiii. 79; also *ti rimembra* in Inf. xi. 79.

102. **altra cura**, &c.: i. e. as if he were preoccupied by thoughts of Heaven.

104, 105. **la terra**: 'the city'; cp. Inf. viii. 130. **appresso**: 'after having heard.'

108. **La condizion**, &c.: 'the state of those enclosed within a fortress of such aspect.' Dante now enters the sixth Circle, where the heretics are punished.

112. **Arli, ove Rodano stagna**: this describes the position of Arles, at which place the Rhone divides, and begins to form the marshy delta of the Camargue. The cemetery at Arles, which is here referred to, was called Alyscamps (*Elysii Campi*). It has been allowed to fall into decay, and the sarcophagi which remain are arranged near the road leading to a chapel of St. Honorat on the

east side of the town. There is a view of it in Macgibbon's *Architecture of Provence*, p. 58.

113, 114. **Quarnaro**: the gulf of Quarnero or Quarnaro (both forms of the name are in use at the present day; Jackson, *Dalmatia*, vol. iii. p. 81). **Che Italia chiude**: the province of Istria, in which Pola lies, and which is bounded on the east by the gulf of Quarnero, is spoken of by Dante as forming part of Italy in *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 10, l. 55.

115. **varo**: 'uneven.' This word, which is unique, is probably another form of *vario*, this change of termination being common; the meaning then is 'varied,' 'irregular.' Others derive it from Lat. *varus*, 'bent,' 'distorted'; but this word is not given by Ducange as occurring in mediaeval Latin.

120. **Che ferro**, &c.: 'that no handicraft (of iron-founders, blacksmiths, &c.) requires iron to be more so.'

123. **offesi**: 'sufferers'; cp. Inf. vii. 111.

127. **Qui son gli eresiarche.** The correspondence between the punishment and the sin punished in this Circle is found in the tombs being appropriate to sinners who, like the Epicureans, represented the soul as dying with the body. This, no doubt, applies to one only among the various classes of heretics, but in Dante's account of these the Epicureans are far the most conspicuous. Similarly in the third ring of Circle VII, where several classes of sinners are punished, the form of punishment of all of them is suggested by that of the sin of Sodom, though only one class was guilty of that sin; see note on Inf. xv. 16. It is also noticeable that no separate mythological figure is assigned to the sixth Circle, this office, apparently, as well as that of guardians of the entrance of the city of Dis, being discharged by the Furies. In like manner, Charon and Minos in the first two Circles perform a twofold function.

131. **più, e men**: i. e. according to the heinousness of the sin.

132. **alla man destra.** It has already been remarked (Pref. Note to Canto I) that the course followed by Dante and Virgil through Hell is to leftward throughout. The proof of this will be found in the following passages of the Inferno—xiv. 126; xviii. 21; xix. 41; xxi. 136; xxiii. 68; xxix. 53; xxxi. 83. Its allegorical significance is that the forms of sin which present themselves to one who descends through the Circles of Hell proceed from worse to worse. To the rule thus established there are two

exceptions, in which it is stated that the Poets' course was towards the right; viz. (1) that which occurs in the present passage, (2) that in Inf. xvii. 31, where they are first approaching Geryon, before descending into Malebolge. The probable explanation of the deviation from the leftward course towards the right is in both these cases the same—that it was a declaration of adhesion to the way of right, in protest against certain special forms of sin which presented themselves on these occasions. In the former instance this sin is heresy, or perverted belief; in the latter it is fraud, or perverted justice, of which Geryon is the representative.

CANTO X

ARGUMENT.—Dante follows Virgil along a path between the wall and the tombs. In this part of the sixth Circle are found those heretics who maintained the doctrine of Epicurus that the soul dies with the body. From one of the tombs Dante is addressed by Farinata degli Uberti, the Florentine leader, who recognizes him by his pronunciation as a native of Tuscany. While they are conversing together, another figure partly emerges from the same tomb, who proves to be Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, the father of Dante's friend Guido Cavalcanti; and when from some remarks of the Poet he concludes that his son is dead, he falls backwards in grief and disappears. Farinata predicts to Dante impending misfortunes, and explains to him the nature and amount of the knowledge possessed by the spirits in Hell. The Poets now cross the sixth Circle.

LINE 1. **secreto calle**: 'a concealed path'; cp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 443, 'Secreti celant calles.'

2. **Tra il muro**, &c.: 'between the wall of the city of Dis and the torments.' The question has been much debated, why the heretics occupy this position immediately within the wall of the city of Dis. The best answer to this seems to be that, owing to the nature of Dante's scheme of punishments, which is set forth in Canto XI, it was difficult to find an appropriate place for them, and that under the circumstances this suggested itself as the most suitable. For Dante's classification of sins was based on a moral code, in accordance with which violence and fraud are punished within the city of Dis (Inf. xi. 22 foll.), and the various forms

of incontinence outside it (Inf. xi. 70 foll.); whereas heresy is a sin of the intellect, and therefore finds no place among them. But, as it was necessary to introduce it somewhere, it was classed with the worse order of offences in the lower part of Hell, because heresy is a sin especially abhorrent to God; and it was placed near to the entrance of the city of Dis, in order that it might be kept separate from the sins of violence and fraud.

5. **Mi volvi**: 'dost lead me round.' This passage shows that the Poets' course was curved or spiral, as it naturally would be, since the Inferno was funnel-shaped, and they descended continually in the same (leftward) direction.

11. **Josaffàt**: 'the valley of judgement.' Jehoshaphat means 'the Lord judgeth'; and since the prophet Joel (iii. 2, 12) speaks of the Valley of Jehoshaphat at Jerusalem as the place where God will hold judgement, it came to be regarded as the scene of the final judgement, and it is so still among the Mahometans.

15. **morta fanno**: 'represent as dying.' During the thirteenth century the denial of the immortality of the soul was imputed by the Papal Curia to many of the Ghibellines, such as Farinata (l. 32) and Cardinal Ubaldini (l. 120), who in consequence of this were known as 'Epicureans.'

18. **che tu mi taci**: Virgil elsewhere (e. g. Inf. xxiii. 25–7) describes himself as being a mirror to Dante's thoughts. The desire here spoken of is probably that of seeing some Florentine heretics, since scepticism was rife at this time in Florence.

21. **non pur mo**: 'not on thé present occasion only.' **mo** is Lat. *modo*. The ref. is to Inf. iii. 76–81, where Dante's fear of vexing Virgil by his questions is described.

23. **parlando onesto**: as in Inf. ii. 113, this expression implies 'skill in speech,' but here it refers specially to the use of refined language (the *volgare illustre*).

25. **La tua loquela**: here, as in Inf. xxxiii. 11, 12 and Purg. xvi. 137, some peculiarity of the *lingua Toscana* is meant, probably the pronunciation; hardly the dialect, which was anything but refined.

27. **troppo molesto**: Farinata, who is here speaking, was in the middle of Cent. xiii the head of the family of the Uberti, who were the leaders of the Ghibelline party in Florence. The occasion on which he was 'too injurious' in his treatment of Florence was when, after his expulsion from the city in 1258, he retired to Siena,

where he and his fellow exiles concerted the measures which led to the great defeat of the Florentine Guelfs at Montaperti.

29. **arche**: 'coffers'; i. e. the tombs or sarcophagi in which the spirits were confined.

35. **ergea**: syncopated form of *erigea*.

39. **conte**: 'well-considered,' since he was dealing with a man of position and a political opponent. *Conto*, from meaning 'known,' 'clear,' readily passes into the sense of 'well thought out.'

43. **ubbidir**: to comply with Virgil's admonition.

47, 48. **primi**: 'forefathers.' **parte**: the Ghibellines. **due fiate**: in 1248 and 1260.

50. **l' una e l' altra fiata**: the first time in 1251, after the death of Frederic II; the second in 1266, after the battle of Benevento.

51. **vostri**: here, and in l. 63, where Cavalcante is addressed, *vostro* is used for *tuo* as a mark of respect to the dignity of the person spoken to; cp. the use of the plural verb in ll. 110, 114. For the other instances in the poem in which this occurs see note on Purg. xxxiii. 92. **quell' arte**: the art of returning home. In 1280, when a reconciliation of the Guelf and Ghibelline parties took place at Florence, the family of the Uberti were excepted, and were not permitted to return.

52, 53. **Allor**, &c.: the order of the words is—'allora un' ombra surse lungo questa, scoperchiata alla vista infino al mento.' Others take **alla vista scoperchiata** as 'at the uncovered mouth of the tomb,' comparing Purg. x. 67, where *vista* means 'a window.' **Un' ombra**: this is Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, father of Dante's friend the poet Guido Cavalcanti, who married Farinata's daughter. Boccaccio says that Cavalcante did not believe in a future life. In several places in the *Vita Nuova* Dante speaks of Guido as his most intimate friend, e. g. *V. N.* § 3, ll. 98, 99.

56, 57. **altri**: his son Guido. **suspicar**: 'questioning'; the word expresses mingled doubt and hope.

63. **Forse**, &c.: the meaning of this line has not been clearly explained. As the statement is qualified by **forse**, perhaps it signifies that contempt of Virgil might be *inferred* from Guido's writings. By some it is supposed—on the strength of Dante's saying in the *Vita Nuova* (§ 31, ll. 21–4) that Guido desired that he should write that work throughout in Italian—that he de-

preciated the Latin language; and that this would cause him to neglect Virgil as being a Latin author.

64, 65. **Le sue,** &c.: Dante had discovered who Cavalcante was from his implying that his son was Dante's friend, and from his being punished as a sceptic.

68, 69. **"egli ebbe"**: the past tense seemed to imply that he did so no longer. **ancora**: 'still.' **lome**: arch. for *lume*.

73, 74. **a cui posta**: 'at whose desire'; cp. Inf. xvi. 81, *a tua posta*. Farinata's request that Dante should stop is mentioned in l. 24. **non mutò aspetto**: Farinata's self-command was shown by his not wincing or betraying emotion, while the fate of his son-in-law was the topic of conversation.

79. **cinquanta volte**: the period meant is four years and two months, i. e. from April, 1300, the supposed date of the Vision, to June, 1304. It was about that time that the attempts of the White Guelfs to secure their restoration to Florence finally failed, and that Dante separated himself from his party. If a more exact date than this is required, it may be that of the departure of Cardinal Niccolò da Prato from Florence on June 4, 1304, which marked the failure of the embassy of reconciliation between the rival factions on which he was sent by Benedict XI.

80. **della donna che qui regge**: this is Hecate, who is identified by Dante with Proserpine as the goddess who rules in Hell. Here she represents the moon, according to the view of ancient mythology. Other classical names of the moon which are found in the *Div. Com.* are *Delia*; Purg. xxix. 78; *Trivia*, Par. xxiii. 26; *la figlia di Latona*, Par. x. 67.

81. **quanto . . . pesa**: 'the difficulty of.'

82. **mai**: 'hereafter'; see on l. 94. **regge**: arch. for *reggi*, which stands for *riedi*, 2nd pers. subj. pres. from *riedere*, 'to return'; 'so may'st thou return.' For another instance of **se** with the subj. expressing a wish or prayer cp. l. 94. When this particle is thus used, it is derived, not, as might appear at first sight, from Lat. *sic*, but from *si*, and has a conditional force (='if you wish that,' &c.); see Diez, *Gram.*, vol. iii. pp. 328, 329.

84. **a' miei**: 'against my relations,' the Uberti; see note on l. 51.

85–7. **Lo strazio**: the battle of Montaperti, which was fought on the banks of the Arbia, Sept. 4, 1260. **scempio**: 'massacre';

cp. Purg. xii. 55. It is derived from Lat. *exemplum*, and gets this meaning from that of 'exemplary punishment'; Körting, *Wört.*, No. 2941. **Tale orazion,** &c.: 'causes such addresses (i. e. deliberations and decrees against the Uberti) to be made in our temple.' The 'temple' is the church of San Giovanni, where popular assemblies were held. Or the meaning may be, 'causes such prayers to be offered up in our church for deliverance from the machinations of the Uberti.'

89, 90. **A ciò:** at the battle of Montaperti. He sighs (**sospirando**) at the thought of having fought against Florence at all. **Senza cagion:** his justification was his unjust banishment. **mosso:** 'set forth.'

91–3. **fu' io sol:** take with **Colui** below; 'I and I only was the man.' **colà:** at Empoli, where the Ghibellines in council proposed the destruction of Florence, and Farinata opposed it single-handed. In recognition of this his statue now stands in front of the Ufizi among those of the heroes of Florence. **a viso aperto:** 'openly,' 'boldly.'

94–6. **Se riposi mai,** &c.: on **Se** see note to l. 82; 'so may your descendants hereafter find repose,' i. e. may they be restored to Florence. **ha inviluppata,** &c.: 'has entangled my judgement.' The difficulty (**nodo**) which puzzles Dante is that, whereas Farinata is able to predict future events (ll. 79–81), Cavalcante is unaware of his son's present condition (l. 60).

97–9. **se ben odo:** i. e. if I understand aright what I have heard. **tenete altro modo:** 'take a different course,' i. e. are in ignorance.

100–2. **mala luce:** 'imperfect sight,' i. e. longsightedness, technically called presbyopy, when near objects are seen indistinctly, but distant ones plainly. **lontano:** adv. **Cotanto,** &c.: 'so much light is still vouchsafed to us by God.'

104. **non ci apporta:** 'does not bring us news.'

107, 108. **da quel punto,** &c.: after the judgement eternity will commence, and then there will be no more future time. By **conoscenza,** then, is meant the knowledge of present and future events, as distinguished from the memory of the past, which would remain with them.

109. **mia colpa:** his remissness, in not at once answering Cavalcante's question.

113, 114. **ei**: both this form and *i* are used for *gli*. Translate—'inform him that I did not answer because my thoughts were even then occupied by the perplexing question (**error**) which you have solved for me.'

116. **più avaccio**: 'with more eager haste.' **avaccio** is an obsolete adv.; cp. Inf. xxxiii. 106.

119, 120. **Federico**: Frederic II, to whom Dante on other grounds awards high praise in the *De Vulg. Eloq.* (i. 12, ll. 20 foll.), was regarded by his contemporaries as a heretic. **il Cardinale**: Ottaviano degli Ubaldini. The evidence of his scepticism was, according to Benvenuto, that on one occasion he said, 'Si anima est, ego perdidi ipsam millies pro Ghibelinis.'

123. **quel parlar**: viz. Farinata's prophetic intimation in ll. 79–81.

127–32. **La mente tua**, &c. The general meaning of this passage is as follows: 'Store up in your mind what you have heard to your disadvantage, but for the present occupy yourself with what lies before you; afterwards Beatrice will reveal to you your coming fortunes.' **Drizzò il dito**: he pointed with his finger to the scene before them, thus enforcing his injunction to Dante that he should give his attention to the sights and warnings of Hell (**attendi qui**).

131. **quella**: Beatrice is meant, but hers is one of the sacred names which are not mentioned in Hell. In reality, when the time arrives, she does not herself reveal Dante's fortunes to him, but refers him to his ancestor Cacciaguida (Par. xvii. 7).

133. **a man sinistra**: hitherto they had been keeping the wall on their right hand (see Inf. ix. 132, 133); hence, in order to cross the circle, they had to turn to the left.

135. **una valle**: the seventh Circle. **fiede**: 'strikes,' 'leads.'

CANTO XI

Argument.—In this Canto Virgil communicates to Dante a classification of the sins which are punished in the lower part of Hell. All wrong dealing (*malizia*) takes the form either of violence or of fraud. Violence, which is punished in the seventh Circle, is of three kinds, according as it is used against God, or against oneself,

or against one's neighbour; and the three classes of sinners thus constituted are tormented in three different rings or compartments of this Circle. Violence may be done in two ways under either of these three heads, according as it is offered to the person himself or to that which belongs to him: hence in the first ring are placed those who wrong their fellow men by murder or by robbery; in the second those who take their own lives or waste their own possessions; in the third those who blaspheme God or violate Nature's laws. Fraud is of two kinds, according as it violates or does not violate, some special bond of confidence, such as the ties of friendship or country. Those persons who practise ordinary fraud are placed in the eighth Circle; while those who violate a special tie, i. e. traitors, are in the ninth. Sins of incontinence, which are less heinous than sins of violence and fraud, are punished in the part of Hell which is above the city of Dis. Virgil further explains to Dante why usury is an offence against God.

LINES 1–3. **ripa**: this bank of rocks forms the boundary between the sixth and seventh Circles. **più crudele stipa**: 'throng of more woful sufferers'; for **stipa** cp. Inf. xxiv. 82, 'Terribile stipa di serpenti.'

4, 5. **l' orribile soperchio Del puzzo.** In defence of the introduction of this feature Burke may be quoted, who says (*Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*), 'No smells or tastes can produce a grand sensation, except excessive bitters and intolerable stenches'; in illustration of the latter point he quotes Virg. *Aen.* vi. 239–41 and vii. 83, 84.

8. **Anastasio papa**: this is Anastasius II, who was Pope in 496–8 A. D. The story relating to him is this. During the fourteen years preceding his election serious differences had existed between the Eastern and Western Churches in connexion with the subject of the Monophysite heresy, which had been condemned at the Council of Chalcedon in 451; and because of a supposed proclivity towards that heresy the name of Acacius the Patriarch of Constantinople was struck off the roll of Patriarchs by the heads of the Roman Church. Anastasius, when he became Pope, was in favour of reconciliation, and accorded a favourable reception to Photinus, a deacon of Thessalonica, who had been sent to him from Constantinople with the view of obtaining the restoration

of the name of Acacius to the roll. This action on his part gave offence to the Roman clergy, and afterwards (on the authority of Gratian) the story arose that Anastasius was persuaded to heresy by Photinus.

13. **compenso**: the classification of the sins punished in Hell which follows finds its counterpart in the account of those expiated in Purgatory, which is given in Purg. xvii. 82 foll., and there, as here, the subject is introduced in answer to an appeal on Dante's part for the employment of a period of delay.

16–8. **cotesti sassi**: the *alta ripa*, formed by the *gran pietre rotte in cerchio*. **cerchietti**: the seventh, eighth, and ninth Circles, being much smaller in circuit than the first six, are here called 'little circles.' **Di grado**, &c.: 'descending in steps, like the Circles already passed.' **lassi**: for *lasci*; cp. *lassa*, Inf. iii. 49.

20, 21. **basti**: i. e. without further inquiry. Hitherto Dante has frequently questioned Virgil about the classes of sinners punished in the different Circles; from this time he does so no longer. **come, e perchè**, &c.: 'the system and the reason of their durance'; i. e. the arrangement of the punishments, and the classes of sins for which the punishments are inflicted.

22–4. For a *résumé* of the classification which follows see the Argument; this should be consulted throughout. Dante's system is that of Aristotle, to whom he refers in l. 80, but in the present passage his immediate authority seems to be Cicero, *De Off.* i. 13. 41, 'Cum autem duobus modis, id est aut vi aut fraude, fiat iniuria, fraus quasi vulpeculae, vis leonis videtur; utrumque homine alienissimum, sed fraus odio digna maiore.' See Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 259. **malizia**: 'wrong dealing.' **il fine**: 'the object aimed at.'

25. **dell' uom proprio**: because it involves the use of reason, whereas violence is common to the irrational animals.

28. **il primo cerchio**: the seventh Circle, which is the first of the three here spoken of.

31–3. **puone**: a Tuscan form of *può*; cp. *fene*, Inf. xviii. 87. Casini says that in that dialect *ne* was attached to verbal forms without having a distinctive meaning. **in lor cose**: this applies to all three, the *cose di Dio* being *natura e sua bontade*, l. 48. **con aperta ragione**: 'by clear argument.'

36. **tollette dannose**: 'wrongful exactions'; the two words are equivalent to *mal tolletto* in Par. v. 33, the *maletollettum* of

mediaeval Lat., which signifies 'extortions'; cp. also *mal tolta moneta* in Inf. xix. 98.

37. **omicide**: arch. for *omicidi*.

42. **senza pro**: 'without avail'; in Purgatory the repentance would be availing, in Hell it is remorse.

44, 45. **Biscazza**, &c.: the principle which connects prodigality and suicide is derived from Ar. *Eth.* iv. 1. 5 δοκεῖ δ' ἀπώλειά τις αὑτοῦ εἶναι καὶ ἡ τῆς οὐσίας φθορά, ὡς τοῦ ζῆν διὰ τούτων ὄντος. Hence the suicides and prodigals are punished together. **piange**, &c.: by doing so the man wastes the good things which have been given him to enjoy.

47, 48. **Col cor**: Ps. xiv. 1, 'The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God'; cp. l. 51. **sua**: God's.

49–51. **suggella Del segno suo**: 'stamps with its seal,' i. e. sets its mark upon, claims as its own. **Sodoma**: those who do violence to nature, Gen. xix. 5. **Caorsa**: those who do violence to the gifts of nature, or wealth, by practising usury. Cahors in the south of France was one of the most noted seats of usury in the middle ages. **E chi**, &c.: 'and those who speak in their heart in contempt of God.'

52. **ond' ogni**, &c.: i. e. 'every one who commits fraud is conscious of his sin'; the fraudulent man is not carried away by passion, like many of the violent, but calculates his crime beforehand. But others say—'all mankind are conscious of being guilty of deceit,' comparing Rom. iii. 11–3, 'there is none righteous, no, not one; . . . with their tongues they have used deceit.'

54. **fidanza non imborsa**: 'does not repose confidence in him.'

55, 56. **Questo modo di retro**: 'this latter mode.' **Pur lo vinco**, &c.: 'only the natural bond of love.'

57. **cerchio secondo**: the eighth Circle, which is the second of those now under consideration. The sins here enumerated are punished in various compartments or *bolge* of that Circle.

58. **affattura**: 'deals in witchcraft.' Ducange give *affacturator* as 'a sorcerer' in mediaeval Lat. The derivation is obscure.

62, 63. **quel ch' è**, &c.: i. e. where there is not only the universal bond which links man to man, but a special bond in addition to this, arising from such causes as relationship, benefits conferred, friendship, &c. **cria**: for *crea*.

64, 65. **cerchio minore**: the ninth Circle, which is the smallest. **il punto**: 'the centre'; cp. Inf. xxxii. 73. **Dite**: i. e. Lucifer; cp. Inf. xii. 39.

68. **ragione**: 'reasoning'; for *ragionamento*, as in l. 33.

70. **Quei**, &c.: this clause and the three following describe respectively the occupants of the fifth, the second, the third, and the fourth Circles; in the latter clauses *quei* is to be supplied before **che**.

73–5. **roggia**: 'fiery-red'; cp. Inf. viii. 70–4. **a tal foggia**: 'in such a case'; **foggia**, lit. 'fashion,' 'condition.'

76–8. **Perchè**, &c.: 'why does thy mind wander so far from its accustomed good sense? or on what object in another direction are thy thoughts fixed?'

79. **ti rimembra**: the vb. is impersonal; cp. *vi ricorda*, Inf. ix. 98.

80. **la tua Etica**: Ar. *Eth.* vii. 1. 1, where the three states mentioned are *ἀκρασία*, *κακία*, and *θηριότης*: these correspond respectively to **incontinenza**, **malizia** (fraud), and **bestialitade** (violence). In the Latin translation of Aristotle the three Aristotelian terms are rendered by *incontinentia*, *malitia*, and *bestialitas*. (Hence it appears that **malizia** in the present passage is used in a different sense from what it is in l. 22, where it means 'wrong dealing' generally, and includes violence.) It may here be noticed that Dante's knowledge of Aristotle's works—his familiarity with which is implied by such expressions as *la tua Etica*, *la tua Fisica* (l. 101)—was derived from two classes of Latin translations, viz. the Old, which were made from Arabic versions, and the New, which were of more recent date, and were made directly from the Greek. See Moore, *Studies*, i. pp. 307 foll.

82–4. **la matta Bestialitade**: 'unreasoning bestiality.' **men biasimo accatta**: 'receives less blame'; cp. Ar. *Eth.* vii. 7. 7 *ἔλαττον δὲ θηριότης κακίας*. **accatta**: lit. 'gets.' *accattare*, like Fr. *acheter*, is derived from med. Lat. *accapitare* (*adcaptare*); Diez, *Wört.*, p. 5.

87. **su di fuor**: in the upper part of Hell, outside the city of Dis.

94. **indietro**: l. 50, where Caorsa is mentioned as a seat of usury. The view of money-lending which Dante here sets forth is that of Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 10. 5 *ὁ δὲ τόκος γίνεται νόμισμα νομίσματος· ὥστε καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ φύσιν οὗτος τῶν χρηματισμῶν*

ἐστίν. Usury was also forbidden by the Mosaic law, but only in the case of Hebrews; Deut. xxiii. 19, 20.

96. **groppo**: 'knot.' It is the same as our 'group' (Skeat); and so is used for 'heap' in Inf. xiii. 123, and for 'cluster' in Inf. xxxiii. 97.

97–111. **Filosofia,** &c. Virgil's answer is to this effect, 'We learn from philosophy that the operations of nature proceed directly from God, and those of art indirectly, because art consists in the imitation of nature (ll. 97–105). Again, the Bible teaches us, that it is by these two principles, nature and art, that the system of man's life should be ordered (ll. 106–8). But usury, or making money out of money, is a process which is regulated neither by nature nor by art, and therefore it is not in accordance with God's laws' (ll. 109–11). By art—as we learn from l. 108 (where see note)—is meant the artificial production of things, which is derived by imitation from nature.

98. **non pure,** &c.: 'in more than one branch of the subject.'

100. **sua arte**: i. e. God's scheme of creation and the laws He appointed for it.

101, 102. **la tua Fisica**: the *Physics* of Aristotle. **non dopo molte carte**: near the beginning of the treatise; Ar. *Phys.* ii. 2. 7 *ἡ τέχνη μιμεῖται τὴν φύσιν*.

104. **come,** &c.: 'as the scholar does his master.' *fa* here, like our 'does,' repeats the meaning of another and transitive verb. When, as in this instance, it is followed by a case, the use is somewhat rare; cp. Inf. xxv. 132; xxxii. 132.

105. **nipote**: human art is the immediate descendant of nature, nature of the Divine intelligence.

107. **Lo Genesi dal principio**: here in quoting from the Bible, as in 'non dopo molte carte' (l. 102) when quoting from Aristotle, Dante gives an approximate reference. It need hardly be remarked that, whether a work is subdivided or not, a poet cannot quote by chapter and verse. Cp. Inf. xx. 113, where Virgil, in quoting a passage from the *Aeneid*, says, 'L' alta mia Tragedia in alcun loco.'

108. **Prender,** &c.: 'that mankind should gain their livelihood and prosper.' The passages in Genesis here referred to are (1) Gen. ii. 15, which mentions the Divine appointment in the Garden of Eden that men should get their livelihood from *nature*, i. e. natural

fruits; and (2) Gen. iii. 19, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' which implies that they should get their livelihood by *artificial means*. These commands were given to Adam and Eve, in whom mankind (**la gente**) potentially existed.

110, 111. **Per sè**, &c.: 'the usurer depreciates nature, both in herself, and in her imitator,' viz. art. **in altro**: in the unnatural process of money making money.

113. **i Pesci**: the Fishes are the sign of the Zodiac that precedes Aries, in which the sun now was; consequently the time intended is some time before sunrise (perhaps 3 a.m.) on Easter Eve.

114. **il Carro**, &c.: 'the Great Bear (Charles's Wain) lies right over the north-west point'; this is the case at the time of the rising of Pisces in the latitude of Jerusalem. **Coro** (Lat. *Caurus*) from meaning the north-west wind is here used for that quarter.

115. **E il balzo**, &c.: 'and onward there a space (**via là oltra**) the ridge of rock is descended.'

CANTO XII

Argument.—A steep descent now leads into the first ring of the seventh Circle, which contains those who sinned by violence against their neighbour; they are plunged in Phlegethon, a river of boiling blood, more or less deeply according to the degree of their guilt. The approach to this ring is guarded by the Minotaur, and in the neighbourhood of Phlegethon are numerous Centaurs, whose function it is to watch the spirits, and ensure their receiving their due measure of suffering. Chiron, their leader, at Virgil's request appoints Nessus, his subordinate, as their guide to the ford by which the river can be passed; and as they proceed, Nessus points out to them the most conspicuous of the guilty souls, among whom are tyrants like Dionysius of Syracuse, assassins like Guy of Montfort, and notorious highwaymen. At the point where the stream is lowest Dante crosses it, riding on the back of Nessus.

Lines 2, 3. **per quel**, &c.: 'owing to the object (the Minotaur) which withal was there, the spot was such as every eye would shun.' If the comma is omitted after **anco**, it runs thus—'and withal (i. e. independently of its Alpine wildness) owing to the object,' &c.

4, 5. **quella ruina,** &c.: the 'rock-fall' here is the Slavini di Marco near Roveredo, about fifteen miles below Trent. The local traditions of that place—according to which Dante became acquainted with the rock-fall when residing at the neighbouring castle of Lizzana, where he was entertained by its owner, the lord of Castelbarco, at the time when he was at the court of the Scaligers—are given by Barlow (*The Vernon Dante*, &c., p. 75). Taken by themselves they are not of great value, but they receive some confirmation from Dante's description, which implies that he had seen the spot; and the friendship which existed between the Scaligers and the lord of Castelbarco suggests that a visit to his castle would have been the most likely opportunity for him to do so. **percosse:** take with **nel fianco,** 'struck the Adige in flank.'

6. **sostegno manco:** the cause of the rock-fall here given—which, as Benvenuto mentions, is that assigned to it by Albertus Magnus in his *De Meteoris*—is the true one. It was 'occasioned by the fall of the oolitic and clay strata of the mountains'; Murray, *Handbook for S. Germany*, p. 339. Most landslips arise in this way, e. g. the well-known one of the Rossberg near Goldau in Switzerland.

8, 9. **discoscesa,** &c.: 'the rock is so shattered, that it would afford a possible track'; the meaning is that, whereas the mountain-side was precipitous before, the landslip had made it possible, though not easy, to descend. The meaning of **discoscesa** is determined by that of the corresponding verb *scoscendere*, which in Inf. xxiv. 42; Purg. xiv. 135; Par. xxi. 12 means 'to break' or 'rend.' For its etymology see note on Inf. xvii. 121.

10. **burrato:** 'chasm'; cp. Inf. xvi. 114.

11–3. **punta:** 'edge,' 'rim'; cp. *testa* for 'ridge' in Inf. xvii. 43. **lacca:** 'hollow,' i. e. the Circle; see note on Inf. vii. 16. **L' infamia,** &c.: this is the Minotaur, who is the guardian of this Circle, and symbolically represents force and fury. He is called 'the infamy of Crete' because of his origin from a bull and Pasiphaë, who with a view to that criminal connexion entered the figure of a wooden cow (**la falsa vacca**). The story is from Virg. *Aen.* vi. 24–6. **Creti:** for Creta, as in *Conv.* iv. 27, l. 160.

15. **fiacca:** 'overpowers,' lit. 'breaks.'

17. **il duca d' Atene:** Theseus, who killed the Minotaur. Shakespeare by a similar anachronism makes him Duke of Athens

in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. In both cases the title was suggested by that of the Frankish rulers of that place subsequently to the fourth Crusade.

20. **Ammaestrato,** &c.: tutored by Ariadne, who was child of Pasiphaë by Minos, and therefore sister to the Minotaur, and who instructed Theseus in killing that prodigy.

22. **si slaccia:** 'breaks his tether'; probably at the altar, the idea being suggested by Virg. *Aen.* ii. 223, 224, 'fugit cum saucius aram Taurus,' &c. **in quella:** understand *ora*; cp. Inf. viii. 16.

26, 27. **varco:** the passage, which had previously been occupied by the Minotaur. **ti cale:** 'descend,' the track being precipitous.

28–30. **lo scarco,** &c.: 'that fallen mass of stones'; **scarco** for *scarico*, lit. 'unlading.' **nuovo:** 'unwonted,' as in Inf. ix. 3; the weight of Dante's material body is referred to.

34. **vuo':** for *voglio*. **l' altra fiata:** the occasion mentioned in Inf. ix. 22.

37, 38. **poco pria,** &c.: the reference in what follows (ll. 40–5) is to the earthquake at the time of the Crucifixion, when 'the rocks were rent'; this took place shortly before the Descent into Hell. The rending of the rocks on that occasion has given birth to various legends, e. g. that relating to Monserrat (*Mons Serratus*) in Spain, the jagged peaks of which are said to have been then formed. **la gran preda:** the souls of the Patriarchs, who were delivered from Limbo (**il cerchio superno**).

42, 43. **è chi creda:** imitated from the Lat. 'est qui credat.' The doctrine here referred to is that of Empedocles, that periodically (**Più volte**) the universe was organized and disorganized by hate and love. Dante was acquainted with it through Aristotle, who mentions and criticizes Empedocles' views in *Met.* ii. 4. 15 foll. In the present passage it is implied that love was the disorganizing element. The explanation of this would be, that the universe was organized by the union of unlike elements; but love caused like things to combine with like, and thus dissolved this union, and with it the organization, thereby producing chaos. **mondo in:** the metrical hiatus between these words is strange, and has given rise to several various readings.

45. **altrove:** a similar ruined place is mentioned in Inf. xxi. 106–8, but it is clear from that passage that Virgil was not yet

aware of its existence. Hence it is probable that **altrove** here is used generally, without reference to any particular spot known to him.

46, 47. **a valle**: 'downwards'; cp. Inf. xx. 35. **La riviera del sangue**: the name of this river is not given here, but it is seen to be Phlegethon from Inf. xiv. 130–5.

49–51. **e ria e folle**: *o ira folle* is also read. **immolle**: 'steeps,' i. e. in the blood.

52–4. **fossa**, &c.: 'a moat bent into an arc, corresponding to that which according to my guide's account encloses the whole level.' **Secondo**, &c.: the information which Virgil had given on this point is contained in two passages, viz. l. 47, where the river (= **fossa** here) is mentioned, and xi. 39, where the 'ring' (= **in arco torta**) is spoken of.

55, 56. **in traccia**: 'on the trail,' i. e. in pursuit of those sinners who try to escape their punishment; cp. l. 74. **Centauri**: the Centaurs, like the Minotaur, being half beast, represent the bestial (θηριώδης) nature of 'brute' violence.

66. **Mal**: 'to your hurt'; cp. Inf. ix. 54. **tosta**: 'hasty'; referring to the attempt of Nessus to carry off Deianeira, the wife of Hercules. The story, which Dante knew from Ovid, *Met.* ix. 101 foll., was that when he seized her he was shot by Hercules, and before dying, to avenge himself, gave her a garment imbrued with his own blood, telling her that it was a charm by which to retain her husband's love. When Deianeira used it for this purpose on a subsequent occasion, the poison from the arrow which had mixed with the blood caused Hercules' death.

67–9. **tentò**: 'touched,' calling his attention. **egli stesso**: i. e. he did not leave it to another to exact vengeance for him, but provided for it himself.

70–2. **che al petto si mira**: 'whose eyes are fixed on his breast'; perhaps this thoughtful attitude signifies that Chiron was a sage, which was his character in Greek mythology. **sì pien d' ira**: cp. Virg. *Georg.* ii. 456, 'furentes Centauros . . . Rhoetumque Pholumque.'

75. **sua colpa**: they were immersed more or less in proportion to the heinousness of their sin.

77. **la cocca**: the notch end of the arrow.

79. **scoperta**: 'uncovered,' 'exposed to view.'

83, 84. **gli era al petto**, &c.: 'was over against his breast, where the two natures (the human and equine parts of his body) join.'

85–7. **soletto**: without other company. Dante lays stress on the solitude of his journey in Inf. ii. 3, *io sol uno*. **Necessità**, &c.: this journey was his only hope of restoration to a godly life; cp. Purg. xxx. 136–8.

88. **Tal**: Beatrice; cp. Inf. ii. 70, 71.

90. **ladron**: i. e. one who might be condemned to this Circle. **anima fuia**: 'a fraudulent spirit,' whose place would be in the eighth or ninth Circle. For the meaning of **fuia** cp. Par. ix. 75, where *fuia di sè* means 'concealing (lit. stealing away) itself.' It is probably derived from Lat. *fur*; Diez, *Wört.*, p. 373.

91–3. **per quella virtù**: 'I pray thee by that divine power.' **a pruovo**: 'near,' 'in company'; Lat. *ad prope*; Diez, *Gram.*, vol. ii. p. 435.

97. **destra**: the three Centaurs were drawn up in front of them, Chiron in the middle, Nessus on his right, Pholus on his left. But the reason why Chiron's turning to the right is mentioned probably is, that here he is doing a good and serviceable act, of which this movement was emblematic.

98, 99. **Nesso**: he is chosen to guide them to the ford (l. 94) because Ovid in the passage already mentioned calls him 'scitus vadorum,' *Met.* ix. 108. **Torna**: 'return'; they had come to meet Virgil and Dante, l. 59. **sì**: as Virgil had requested, l. 94. **fa cansar**: 'cause the other band to withdraw.' **cansar** for *cansarsi*.

105. **dier . . . di piglio**: with **sangue** this means 'imbrued their hands in.' There is a *zeugma* here (the verbal expression being used in different senses with the two substantives **sangue** and **aver**), for *dar di piglio* means 'to lay hands on.'

106. **danni**: the wrongs they have inflicted.

107. **Alessandro**: this is supposed by some to be Alexander of Pherae, who was notorious for his ferocity; and this view is supported by a passage in Cicero (*De Off.* ii. 7. 25), where he is mentioned, as he is here, in connexion with Dionysius of Syracuse as a typical tyrant. But it would be strange if the name of Alexander should be used without further explanation of any other than Alexander the Great; and, in reality, Orosius, who was

Dante's chief authority for the facts of ancient history, speaks in the strongest language of the bloodthirstiness and cruelty of that conqueror (see the passages quoted in Toynbee's *Dict.*, p. 23). Lucan also denounces him in similar language (*Phars.* x. 20 foll.). No doubt Dante speaks of Alexander the Great in high terms of praise in *Conv.* iv. 11, ll. 123–5, on account of his liberality; but we have already seen in the case of Frederic II (see note on Inf. x. 119) that he was able to appreciate the two sides of a historical character. **Dionisio:** Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse.

110. **Azzolino:** Ezzelino da Romano (1194–1259), lord of the March of Treviso, whose atrocities are again referred to in Par. ix. 29, 30. Symonds says of him (*Renaissance in Italy*, i. p. 42), 'His one passion was the greed of power, heightened by the lust for blood.'

111, 112. **Opizzo:** Obizzo, marquis of Ferrara (1264–93). Benvenuto applies the epithet 'violentus' to him. **figliastro:** 'step-son.' His son and successor Azzo is meant, by whom he was said to have been murdered. The form of assertion which Dante uses (**per vero**) implies that this was doubted. Benvenuto says that he got the story from the chronicler Ricobaldo of Ferrara. The expression 'step-son' is a term of reproach, referring either to the unnatural character of his crime, or to the supposed unfaithfulness of his mother.

114. **Questi, &c.:** Dante turned to Virgil to inquire whether he confirmed these statements, and Virgil said, 'Take Nessus now as your prime authority, and regard me as only second to him.'

117. **bulicame:** 'boiling stream.' This line and l. 128 are the only two places in the *Div. Com.* where this word occurs besides Inf. xiv. 79, where it is the proper name of the hot spring near Viterbo. Hence it seems probable that the word in its more general meaning was derived from the name of that spring (so Buti, Blanc, *Vocab. Tramater*). It is noticeable, as suggesting an association of ideas between the two in Dante's mind, that Viterbo was the scene of the murder which is mentioned in the next three lines.

118. **dall' un canto sola:** the reason of his solitary position was that, as an Englishman, he belonged to a remote race and country. Cp. the case of Henry III of England in Purg. vii. 131, and that of Saladin in Inf. iv. 129.

119, 120. **Colui**: Guy de Monfort, son of Simon de Monfort, who in 1270 slew Henry, son of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in a church in Viterbo during the celebration of mass (**in grembo a Dio**). For the use of **grembo** of a place cp. Purg. v. 75, 'in grembo agli Antenori.' **Lo cor**, &c.: the story here referred to, of Henry's heart being preserved in a pillar on a bridge over the Thames in London, was believed at that time in Italy, but is almost certainly fabulous, for it is not mentioned by any English chronicler. Henry was buried in the Cistercian Abbey at Hayles in Gloucestershire.

127. **da questa parte**: on the side from which they came.

131. **si raggiunge**: i. e. after having completed the circle.

133–6. **di qua**: on the farther side. **flagello**: as being 'the Scourge of God.' **Pirro e Sesto**: Pyrrhus is placed here because he ravaged Italy; Sextus Pompeius on account of his piratical campaigns. **in eterno**, &c.: 'causes to flow (lit. milks) eternally the tears, which by its boiling heat it extorts from,' &c.

137. **Rinier**: the two persons of that name here mentioned were famous highwaymen.

CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT.—The second ring of the seventh Circle, which is next entered, contains the souls of the violent against themselves and their possessions—i. e. the suicides and the spendthrifts. The scene is a pathless wood, where the souls are imprisoned in the trunks of trees of forbidding aspect, and are haunted and tormented by the Harpies. Here the Poets meet with Pier delle Vigne, the secretary of Frederic II, who relates to them the story of his fall from power and his suicide. He also explains to them the nature of the punishment which is inflicted here. As he ceases speaking, there suddenly appear two of the class of spendthrifts—Lano da Siena and Jacomo da sant' Andrea of Padua—who are being pursued and torn by wild black dogs. Finally, a nameless suicide from Florence descants on the malign influence of the ancient statue of Mars in that city.

The symbolism in this Canto is more than usually elaborate.

The gloomy surroundings are emblematical of the hopelessness and despair which characterize the crime of suicide. The Harpies which tear off the leaves of the trees that contain the sinful souls (l. 101) are essentially melancholy in character (ll. 12, 15), and represent brooding thoughts which prey on the mind. The prohibition which prevents the suicides from reassuming their bodies after the Judgement (ll. 103–8), and the partial loss of individuality involved in the vegetable growth with which they are identified, correspond to the nature of their sin. Similarly in the case of the spendthrifts, the dogs which rend them limb from limb (l. 128) recall the manner in which they had squandered their property.

LINE 5. **schietti**: 'straight and smooth.'

7–9. **Non han**, &c.: 'not so rough and tangled are the thickets, which those wild beasts inhabit (**han**), which shun the cultivated lands (i. e. inhabit the waste lands) between Cecina and Corneto.' The meaning is clear, though the mode of expression is perplexing. **Tra Cecina e Corneto**: as the river Cecina enters the sea to the southward of Leghorn, and the town of Corneto lies northward of Cività Vecchia, the district here meant is the marshy and unhealthy country between the mountains of Tuscany and the sea, which is known as the Maremma.

10–5. **le brutte Arpíe**, &c.: the story here referred to and the description of the Harpies are from Virg. *Aen.* iii. 209 foll. When Aeneas and his companions landed on the Strophades—two small islands off the west coast of the Peloponnese—they were driven away by the Harpies, who predicted to them impending misfortunes.

18, 19. **mentre Che**: 'until.' **sabbione**: the scene of the punishment of the sinners in the third ring.

21. **torrien fede**, &c.: 'would discredit tale of mine,' i. e. would appear incredible, if I were to describe them.

25. The present Canto affords a number of instances of Dante's fondness for the repetition of words, either in the same or in a similar form, which device he uses for the sake of (1) antithesis, as in l. 72, *ingiusto*, *giusto*; (2) emphasis, as in ll. 67, 68, *infiammò* &c.; (3) mere fancifulness, as in the present line. *Disdegnoso*, *disdegno* in ll. 70, 71 is another instance. For additional examples see Inf. iv. 72–6, *onori*; xxvi. 65, 66, *prego*; xxx. 136, 137, *sogna*;

Purg. xx. 1, 2, *voler. piacer*, and ll. 65 foll., *per ammenda*; xxiv. 148–51, *sentii*; Par. xiv. 136, 137, *escusar*; xx. 98, 99, *vince.*

30. **monchi:** 'maimed,' 'defective,' 'vain'; 'you will discover that your ideas are all at fault.'

31. **porsi la mano,** &c.: the incident described in what follows was derived from Virg. *Aen.* iii. 22 foll., where the story is told, how Aeneas plucked a branch from a tree, whereupon blood issued, and a voice was heard declaring that the shade of Polydorus, who had been murdered by Polymestor king of Thrace, was imprisoned there.

38. **pia:** 'compassionate.'

40, 41. **un stizzo verde,** &c.: 'a green brand, lighted at one end, which at the other drips': the relative is somewhat awkwardly repeated. **geme:** for this meaning of *gemere* cp. Purg. xxv. 44. It is similarly used as a Latin word in *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 4, ll. 59, 60, 'ut [aër] aquam gemat.' In the present passage it will be seen that **geme** corresponds to **sangue** (l. 44), while **cigola** corresponds to **parole.**

43, 44. **scheggia:** 'splinter,' i. e. the torn bough. **usciva:** a marked instance of the use of a sing. verb with two subjects, because the first of the two is plur. As the verb precedes, it is probably a quasi-absolute use (= 'there issued'), like that of *soperchiava* in Inf. xix. 22. **la cima:** the tip of the twig, by which he was holding it.

48. **Ciò ch' ha,** &c.: 'what he has hitherto realized only by means of my poetry,' i. e. that a human life can be imprisoned within a tree, as described in the case of Polydorus.

50, 51. **la cosa incredibile:** 'the incredibility of the thing'; my object, Virgil says, was to persuade him of a thing so hard to believe. **a me stesso pesa:** 'weighs on my conscience.'

57. **Perchè:** here used simply for *che*, 'that'; cp. Purg. vi. 88. **a ragionar m' inveschi:** 'am tempted (lit. ensnared) to discourse.' Elsewhere in the *Div. Com.* the form is *inviscare*; der. from Lat. *viscum*, 'birdlime.'

58. **Io son colui:** this is Pier delle Vigne, the secretary and confidante of Frederic II, who was ultimately disgraced on a charge of treachery and blinded, and died in 1249. Various accounts are given of the manner of his suicide, and Villani (vi. 22) even doubts whether he killed himself at all. **ambo le chiavi:** the keys of good-will and ill-will.

61. **dal secreto,** &c.: 'I removed almost every one from his confidence.'

63. **i sonni e i polsi**: *le vene e i polsi* is also read, but **i sonni** has far greater MS. authority (Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 304); and besides, *le vene*, &c., would mean 'it drained my life-blood,' and it is not his death which is here referred to. The plur. **sonni** is found in Italian, though it is rare. Purg. xxxii. 78, where it occurs, is not a case in point, for it used there of the sleep of several persons.

64. **La meretrice**: 'envy'; cp. l. 78.

67, 68. **Infiammò**: the repetition of the word in these two lines is emphatic, expressing the spreading of the feeling. **Augusto**: the emperor Frederic.

70–2. **per disdegnoso gusto**: 'prompted by disdainful feeling,' lit. 'owing to my experience (taste) of the feeling of disdain.' It is often interpreted as meaning 'owing to having tasted of the disdain of others'; but to take **disdegnoso** ('disdainful') in this sense seems to be doing violence to the meaning of the adjective. The disdain of others is expressed by **disdegno** in the following line. **Ingiusto,** &c.: 'when I was just in my dealings with others, my feelings caused me to treat myself unjustly.'

73. **nuove**: 'newly struck'; only fifty years had elapsed since his death.

76, 77. **di voi alcun**: 'one of you two.' **Conforti**: 'let him reinstate.'

85. **Se**: 'so may'; cp. Inf. x. 82, 94.

89, 90. **nocchi**: 'gnarled trunks.' **si spiega**: 'frees himself.'

94–6. **feroce**: 'in passionate mood,' that being the condition of mind which is attributed to the suicide. **foce**: 'circle'; lit. 'opening,' 'gulf.'

98, 99. **fortuna**: the circumstance that the place in which they spring up is determined by chance corresponds to the haphazard way in which they have cast away their lives. **gran di spelta**: this stands for any common quick-growing plant.

102. **finestra**: 'an outlet.' The rent made by the Harpies became an outlet for the cries of pain; cp. ll. 131, 132.

103, 104. **spoglie**: i. e. their bodies, which they would reclaim at the Judgement. **Ma non però chè**: 'yet not so that any may,' &c.

108. **prun**: 'thorn-bush.' **molesta**: 'injurious,' because it had wronged the body.

115. **Ed ecco duo:** these are souls of spendthrifts, a class of sinners who, as we have seen (cp. Inf. xi. 40–4), were associated with the suicides because they wasted their goods.

117. **ogni rosta:** 'all the tangled branches.' The primary meaning of **rosta,** which has been much disputed, is 'a bough with branches'; see *Vocab. Tramater.*

118, 119. **accorri:** 'hasten to my aid.' **morte:** as a spirit of the dead is speaking, this must mean annihilation; cp. Inf. iii. 46. **a cui,** &c.: 'who thought his own pace too slow.'

120, 121. **accorte:** 'alert'; the meaning of the passage is, 'You did not run away like this, otherwise you would have escaped.' The story of the time was, that Lano da Siena was a youthful spendthrift, who when his fortunes were desperate, exposed himself to certain death instead of running away at the battle of Pieve del Toppo, when fighting against the people of Arezzo in 1288.

123. **Di sè,** &c.: 'he flung himself into a bush so as to form one heap with it,' his object being to hide himself. In this bush, as we learn from ll. 131 foll., the soul of a suicide was imprisoned.

127. **quel:** Jacopo da sant' Andrea, a spendthrift of Padua, who was put to death, it was said, by Ezzelino in 1239.

131, 132. **piangea . . . invano:** 'was uttering vain laments': the dogs had torn him at the same time as the spirit who had taken refuge under him.

134. **Che t' è giovato:** 'what hath it profited thee?' when thou hast been lacerated notwithstanding.

136, 137. **fermo:** for *fermato.* **punte:** these were the wounds, which became *al dolor finestra* (l. 102).

143. **Io fui,** &c.: he does not tell his name, nor is it known who he was. Benvenuto remarks that, as there were many suicides in Florence at this time, Dante leaves the application open, so that it might apply to any of them.

144. **il primo padrone:** Mars, to whom, according to the story then current, a temple was erected in the time of Augustus; but this was converted into a church of St. John the Baptist, i. e. the old Cathedral of Florence, which is now the Baptistery (Villani, i. 42, 60).

145. **l' arte sua:** i. e. in this case the propagation of domestic strife. There is no great need to discuss the question whether Dante himself in any degree shared the superstitious belief here

referred to. It was widely spread and very famous at this time, and it is on this ground that he introduces it. In any case he does not affirm it himself, but puts it into the mouth of another Florentine.

146, 147. **in sul passo d' Arno**: 'on the crossing of the Arno,' i. e. on the Ponte Vecchio, where the statue of Mars was afterwards set up; cp. Par. xvi. 47. The story was that when the temple of Mars was converted into a church, the statue was set up in a tower near the Arno, where it remained until the siege of the city by Attila (or Totila), when it fell into the river. Subsequently it was recovered and set up again on a pillar on the river-bank at the point where the Ponte Vecchio was afterwards built (Villani, ii. 1; iii. 1). **Rimane . . . alcuna vista**: 'there are some visible remains.'

148–50. **Quei cittadin**, &c.: 'those citizens, who subsequently rebuilt it on the ashes which remained from Attila's siege, would have caused the work (of rebuilding) to be done in vain.' The question is, who are meant by 'those citizens.' According to Villani (iii. 1) the city was rebuilt by Charles the Great and the Romans, and they recovered and replaced the statue of Mars; but they were not **cittadini**, and **il cener che d' Attila rimase** would be a strange way of describing a place that had been deserted for several centuries. Another chronicler, Sanzanome, who lived at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, makes no mention of Charles and the Romans, but says (*Gesta Florentinorum*, p. 3) that Florence was rebuilt by the leading citizens ('per proceres'), and implies that this was done immediately after its destruction—both which statements are suitable to the present passage. On the other hand he makes no mention of the statue of Mars. From this it appears as if Dante had mixed up a number of traditions on this subject which were current among the people. **Attila**: Dante has here confused Attila with Totila, king of the Ostrogoths—a mistake which is found in some other writers of his time. Attila never came near Florence; Totila besieged that city, and according to the common tradition destroyed it, though in reality he did not do so.

151. **Io fei**, &c.: the meaning is, 'I hung myself at home'; or perhaps, 'I slung the fatal noose from my own roof' (Cary).

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT.—The third ring of the seventh Circle is that of the violent against God, who occupy a sandy waste, and are tormented by falling flakes of fire. This form of sin—as has been explained in Inf. xi. 46–51—is of three kinds, according as it is directed against God Himself, when it is blasphemy; against nature, when it is Sodomy; and against the gifts of nature, i. e. wealth, when it is usury. In the present Canto the punishment of the first of these, blasphemy, is described. The most conspicuous representative of this sin is Capaneus, one of the Seven against Thebes, who in the midst of his suffering defies the Deity. The Poets now reach the stream of Phlegethon, which issues from the wood of the suicides, and crosses the waste of sand; the bank of this stream they follow, because in its neighbourhood the falling fire is extinguished. The sight of it suggests to Virgil that he should explain to Dante the origin of the infernal rivers.

LINES 1–3. **Poichè**, &c.: Dante here complies with the request of the spirit who had last spoken (Inf. xiii. 139–42), in consideration of his being a Florentine. **ch' era già fioco**: 'who was by this time faint'; the faintness must have been apparent in his voice, which was the only evidence that could show it.

7, 8. **nuove**: 'strange.' **una landa**: 'a waste'; the name of the Grandes Landes, as the uncultivated district between Bordeaux and Bayonne is called, illustrates the meaning of the word.

11, 12. **il fosso tristo**: Phlegethon; cp. Inf. xii. 52. **a randa a randa**: 'on the very edge'; the repetition of the word in this and similar idioms adds precision and force to the statement. **randa** is from the Germ. *rand*, 'edge'; Körting, *Wörterbuch*, No. 6646.

13–5. **Lo spazzo**: 'the ground.' This word is derived, like *spazio*, from Lat. *spatium*, but bears a different meaning. **Caton**: the reference is to Lucan, *Phars.* ix. 411 foll., where Cato leads to Juba the remains of Pompey's army. The description of the barren soil in the neighbourhood of the Syrtis, which is here intended, is given in ll. 431–7.

21. **E parea**, &c.: 'it appeared that they were subject to

different ordinances,' i. e. the punishment of each of the three classes who occupy this ring (see the Argument) differed in the mode of its infliction and in the degree of its severity. The three lines that follow (ll. 22–4) represent respectively the condition of the blasphemers, the usurers, and the Sodomites. The symbolical meaning of their different positions is thought to be, that the defiant now *lie impotent*, the usurers, who *sat* at their tables instead of honestly working, occupy the same position still, and the Sodomites, like the incontinent of the second Circle, *hurry restlessly*, as they had been carried away by want of self-command on earth.

23. **raccolta**: 'drawn in,' 'hunched up,' their object being to expose the smallest possible surface to the falling flames.

27. **Ma più**, &c.: i. e. their cries of pain were louder.

30. **alpe**: this word, whether it is used for 'the Alps,' or, as here, for 'mountains' generally, is always singular in the *Div. Com.*; cp. Purg. xvii. 1; xxxiii. 111.

31. **Quali Alessandro**, &c.: the primary source of the story here given was the apocryphal letter of Alexander to Aristotle, which describes how in the course of one of his marches a great snowfall occurred, whereupon Alexander ordered his soldiers to tread down the snow; this was followed by flaming clouds descending to the ground 'tanquam faces.' It will be seen that Dante has represented the soldiers as trampling, not the snow, but the flames; this confusion however did not originate with him, but with Albertus Magnus, who says in his *De Meteoris* (i. 4. 8), a book with which Dante was acquainted, 'Admirabilem autem impressionem scribit Alexander ad Aristotilem in epistola de mirabilibus Indiae dicens quemadmodum nivis nubes ignitae de aere cadebant, quas ipse militibus calcare praecepit'; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, pp. 23, 24. **quelle parti calde D' India**: 'that hot region of the world, India'; this seems better than 'that hot district of India through which Alexander's march lay,' for the mediaevals regarded the whole of India as a hot region. Cp. Purg. xxvi. 21, where 'Indo o Etiopo' is used as equivalent to 'inhabitants of hot countries.'

35, 36. **acciocchè**, &c.: 'seeing that the flame was more easily extinguished.' When **acciocchè** is used with the indic. (a somewhat rare use) it means 'inasmuch as,' 'seeing that'; cp. *Vita Nuova*, § 22 l. 54; § 42. l. 20. It cannot possibly mean 'in order that,' but the variants *perciocchè* for **acciocchè** and *stinguesse*

for **stingeva** show that the use with the indic. was felt at an early date to present a difficulty. **mentre ch' era solo**: i. e. before the fire caught and spread.

38, 39. **esca Sotto focile**: 'tinder under the influence of the steel,' i. e. of the flint and steel used for lighting.

40–2. **Senza riposo mai** = *senza mai riposarsi.* **tresca**: 'play' of the hands. It was the name of a dance in which the hands took a prominent part. **fresca**: 'ever renewed.'

44, 45. **i Demon**: those at the gate of the city of Dis; cp. Inf. viii. 82. **uscinci**: for *ci uscinno*, which = *ci uscirono.* The form in *-inno* for *-irono* occurs again in Par. xiv. 121, *apparinno*; cp. *terminonno* for *terminarono*, Par. xxviii. 105.

46–8. **quel grande**: Capaneus, who when mounting the walls of Thebes defied Jupiter, and was smitten with a thunderbolt by him. The story is from Statius, *Theb.* x. 897 foll., several points in which passage have been adapted by Dante. **torto**: 'frowning.' **maturi**: 'tames,' lit. 'mellows,' 'softens.'

51–4. **Qual io fui vivo**: Stat., *Theb.* iii. 602, [Capaneus] 'superum contemptor.' **il suo fabbro**: Vulcan. **crucciato**: 'incensed' by Capaneus' menaces. **l' ultimo dì**: 'the day of my death,' cp. Inf. xv. 47.

55. **gli altri**: sc. *fabbri*, i. e. the Cyclopes, whose forge was fabled to be under Etna, the mediaeval and modern name of which mountain is Mongibello.

58–60. **alla pugna di Flegra**: the reference is to the attempt of the Giants to scale Olympus, on which occasion they were defeated by Jupiter; this is called by Statius (*Theb.* x. 909) 'praelia Phlegrae.' The Phlegraean plains are generally identified with the peninsula of Pallene in Chalcidice, which faces Olympus. **vendetta allegra**: 'welcome revenge'; i. e. he would not be able to humiliate me or make me yield.

67–9. **miglior labbia**: 'calmer aspect'; for **labbia** cp. Inf. vii. 7; xix. 122. **Ch' assiser Tebe**: this was the siege of that city by the Epigoni, who supported Eteocles against his brother Polynices.

72. **assai debiti fregi**: 'an amply meet garniture': *fregio*, which means the 'border' of embroidery, is here used ironically for 'accompaniment.'

74. **Ancor**: 'hereafter'; cp. Par. xvii. 86.

76, 77. **divenimmo là**: 'we reached the spot'; cp. Inf. xviii.

68. This somewhat rare use of *divenire* seems to be derived from that of the Lat. *devenire*, 'to arrive.' **fiumicello**: this, as we learn from ll. 130 foll., is Phlegethon, i. e. the stream by which the waters of that river escape from the first ring, where the violent against their fellow men are immersed in it (Inf. xii. 47). Emerging from the wood of the suicides (**Fuor della selva**), it here crosses the burning sand at right angles.

79–81. **Bulicame**: this is the name of the hot mineral spring, which rises about two miles W. of Viterbo. It issues from the top of a low hillock, and the steam which proceeds from it can be seen from some distance off. The water boils up from a number of sources, and forms a pool of irregular shape some eighty feet in circumference, from which it is now conducted in different directions by five channels. In Dante's time the prostitutes who lived in its neighbourhood (**le peccatrici**) were forbidden to use the baths to which the other women resorted, and had the water from the stream conducted to their houses. The points of comparison in the simile here are the heat and the rush of the water.

83, 84. **Fatt' eran pietra**: 'had been turned to stone,' i. e. the water produced petrifactions. **margini**: the edges, which formed a causeway, l. 141; the **pendici** are the banks. **il passo**: the way across the ring. **lici**: arch. for *li*; cp. Purg. vii. 64.

87. **sogliare** = *soglia*, 'threshold.' The gate here meant is the outer gate of Hell, as contrasted with that of the city of Dis, which *was* 'denied' to Virgil, as Dante had reminded him in l. 45.

90. **ammorta**: 'extinguishes'; cp. l. 142. The flames were quenched by the steam rising from it, Inf. xv. 2, 3.

94–120. In this passage Virgil describes the origin of the rivers of Hell. They are formed by the tears which issue from the figure of an old man, which stands within a cavern in Mount Ida in Crete.

94–96. **guasto**: here and in l. 99 Dante is referring to the miserable condition to which Crete had been reduced by the Venetian domination. **Sotto il cui rege**: in the golden age, when Saturn was king. **casto**: 'innocent.'

97–99. **Una montagna**, &c.: the mention of Mount Ida was suggested by Virgil's introducing it in his account of Crete in *Aen.* iii. 104–13, where 'Idaeum nemus' (l. 112) corresponds to **fronde** here. **vieta**: 'outworn,' lit. 'musty.'

100–2. **Rea**: from what is here said of Rhea we gather that

Dante had in his mind Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 197–214, where the story is given of Saturn having eaten her former children by him, and how Rhea on the birth of Jupiter concealed his infant cries from his father by the clashing of metal. **le grida**: i. e. the sounds which are famous in story.

103. **Dentro dal monte**: i. e. in a cavern within the mountain; cp. *grotta* in l. 114. **un gran veglio**: the figure of the Old Man of Crete was suggested by the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Dan. ii. 32, by which the successive monarchies of the ancient world were symbolized. Dante's figure, however, has a wider application, and typifies the history of the human race in its successive stages, as it passed through the golden, the silver, the iron age, &c. The reason why Crete was chosen as the locality is, that Mount Ida was the scene of the golden age, though probably Dante was also influenced in his choice by the position of that island on the confines of the three continents in which the history of mankind was enacted. The tears which proceed from this figure are the sorrows of mankind arising from their sins in all ages, and by these the rivers of Hell are formed.

104, 105. **Che tien,** &c. The figure which represents the human race stands with its back to Damietta, i. e. the East, because the great ancient monarchies existed in that quarter, and looks towards Rome, because that was now the seat of the imperial authority. **Damiata**: Damietta is selected to represent Egypt, and so the East generally, because it was well known at this time from having been twice captured by the Crusaders.

108. **alla forcata**: at this point the dual power of the Church and the Empire commences.

109–11. **eletto**: 'choice.' **salvo che,** &c.: the right foot is the Church, the left foot the Empire; and what is said of the right foot, viz. that it is of baked clay, but that the figure rests especially upon it, signifies that the Church, though it is the more fragile of the two, has been the stronger support to the human race.

112–14. **fuor che l' oro**: no tears were shed in the golden age, which was the age of innocence. **fessura**: this is the corruption and consequent suffering of the world since the Fall, which cause men's tears to flow. **foran quella grotta**: 'force a passage through that cavern'; **quella** refers to l. 103, *Dentro dal monte.*

115. **questa valle**: the Inferno. **si diroccia**: 'falls in cascades.'

116. **Acheronte**, &c. It is natural to suppose that Dante had a clear conception in his own mind of the relation which the courses of these three rivers bore to one another, but it is not easy to determine what that conception was. The most common view is that they are the same stream, appearing at various points under different names and different aspects. If the difficulties involved in that view—e. g. those resulting from the changes in the colour and the temperature of the water—are regarded as being too great, it may be supposed that, when the stream formed by the combined tears (l. 114) had passed through the surface of the earth, it divided and formed three separate rivers. But in that case they must have joined again before reaching the channel at which Dante has now arrived, for it is distinctly stated in l. 117 that the waters which form them pass through it. **Flegetonta**: the form here is that of the Greek accus. Dante may have got it from the *Culex* (l. 271), which in his time was regarded as a work of Virgil's, or from Servius' Commentary on *Aen.* vi. 265.

117–20. **sen va**: *Lor corso* (l. 115) is the subject. **là**, &c.: the lowest pit of Hell, where the water of Cocytus is found. **stagno**: the 'Cocyti stagna alta' of Virg. *Aen.* vi. 323. **non si conta**: 'I give no account of it.'

121–3. **Ed io**, &c. Dante expresses surprise that he had not seen this streamlet before. Virgil replies (ll. 124–9) that this was no matter for astonishment, because he had not yet made the entire circuit of the Inferno, and therefore there must be many objects in it which had not met his view. **a questo vivagno**: 'at this edge (lit. selvage)' of the wood.

126. **Pur a sinistra**: 'constantly to the left'; cp. Inf. xxix. 53. This passage is an important one as bearing on the leftward course of the Poets through Hell; see note on Inf. ix. 132.

129. **addur**, &c.: 'cause a look of wonder to appear in thy face.'

132. **l' altro**: Phlegethon, of which it is said in ll. 115, 116 that it was formed by the fall of tears (**esta piova**).

134. **il bollor**, &c.: the explanation which Virgil suggests turns on the derivation of the name Phlegethon from Gr. φλέγειν, 'to burn.' Dante was not himself acquainted with Greek, but he had

learnt this from Virg. *Aen.* vi. 550, 551 and Servius on l. 265; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 243.

136, 137. **questa fossa**: the Inferno. **Là**: in the Earthly Paradise (Purg. xxviii. 130), where the soul which has passed through Purgatory is delivered from the recollection of past sins.

142. **vapor**: 'flame,' as in l. 35. **si spegne**: cp. l. 90.

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT.—As they pursue their way along the embankment of Phlegethon, they meet a troop of spirits traversing the sandy plain in the midst of the falling fire. These are the Sodomites, who are punished for violating the law of nature. One of them, by whom Dante is recognized, is the famous Florentine statesman and man of letters, Brunetto Latini. He predicts misfortunes and ill-treatment at the hands of his fellow citizens as awaiting Dante, and at the same time encourages him to pursue a bold and independent course. At Dante's request Brunetto furnished him with the names of some of the best-known persons in his troop, which consists of ecclesiastics and men of learning. Another band, composed of sinners of a different class in life, but condemned for having committed the same sin, now approaches; and as it is forbidden to these groups of spirits to communicate one with the other, Brunetto is compelled to quit Dante's company. As he does so, he recommends to him his principal literary work, the *Trésor*.

LINE 1. **margini**. This line and l. 3 which rhymes with it are two of the very few twelve-syllable lines that are found in the poem. The excuse for this metrical irregularity is the weakness of the last two syllables, which are unaccented, and belong to the inflexional part of the word. The exceptional use is more marked here and in Inf. xxviii. 80, *Cattolica*, than in the remaining four instances, viz. Inf. xxiii. 32, *scendere*; xxiv. 62, *malagevole*; Par. xxvi. 125, *inconsumabile*; xxviii. 125, *girano*, because in these latter the final vowel is one which could be omitted in the middle of a line.

2. **aduggia**: 'casts a misty shade'; cp. Purg. xx. 44. The primary meaning of *uggia*, from which *aduggiare* is derived, is 'shade' or 'blight.'

4–6. **Quale**: agreeing with **schermo**, 'such as is the defence which the Flemings make.' **Guizzante**: Wissant, a town between Calais and Cape Gris Nez; it was known in the middle ages as the starting-point for the crossing to England. This place and Bruges mark the western and eastern limits of the coast of Flanders, as known to Dante; so the general meaning is 'on the Flemish coast.' Bruges is used roughly here for the coast in its neighbourhood, since it lies inland from Ostend. **s' avventa**: 'rushes,' frequentative from *avvenire*. **perchè**, &c.: 'to force the sea to retire.'

7–9. **la Brenta**: the river which descends from the Alps to Padua. **Anzi che**, &c.: the meaning is:—'providing against the floods caused by the melting of the snows in the neighbouring Alps.' As **anzi che** literally means 'before that,' it seems that what Dante is referring to is rather the annual repair than the original making of the embankments. **Chiarentana**: Carinthia, which district in Dante's time included the head-waters of the Brenta.

11, 12. **Tutto che**, &c. The exactness here introduced into the description is a marked instance of Dante's realism; cp. Inf. xix. 16, and Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. iii. p. 216. **Qual che**, &c.: 'their designer, whoever he was.' In Inf. iii. 5, 6, we are told that Hell was made by God, but whether simply by the *fiat* of His will, or whether its details were the work of an intermediate agency, angels or devils, is not said. Our ignorance on this point is probably what is meant here. In contrast with this, the life-like sculptures on the wall of the first Cornice in Purgatory are said to be from the hand of God Himself; Purg. x. 94–6.

13–15. **selva**: the wood of the suicides; cp. Inf. xiv. 77. **Perchè**: 'however much.'

16, 17. **anime**: the Sodomites. It should be noticed that the punishment of the falling flames, which is inflicted throughout the whole of the third ring of Circle VII, was suggested to Dante by the fate of the city of Sodom, which is described in Gen. xix. 24, when 'the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire.' **lungo**: 'beside'; not 'along,' for in that case they would have been sheltered from the flames.

18. **come suol**, &c.: the graphic comparisons which follow imply that this class of sinners had a peculiar difficulty in seeing. Benvenuto remarks that this is intended to signify that their sin is one which especially shuns the light.

20. **aguzzavan**, &c.: 'puckered (lit. pointed) their eyebrows,' i. e. peered, as persons do in a faint light.

22–4. **famiglia**: 'company.' **Per lo lembo**: the sand, on which Brunetto was walking, was on a much lower level than the embankment; hence he catches the hem of Dante's garment.

26. **Ficcai gli occhi**: the metre shows that **Ficcai** is here a trisyllable. There seem to be only two other instances in the poem of the use of *-ai* as a disyllable at the end of a word (except, of course, at the end of a line), viz. Inf. viii. 93, *ha|i scorta*, where it is explained by *sc* following, and Par. xxv. 38, *leva|i gli occhi*. Possibly both in the present passage and in that in the Paradiso the exceptional use may be due to the influence of *gl* following.

27. **non difese**: lit. 'did not ward off.'

29, 30. **chinando**, &c.: Dante, being on a higher level, stooped towards the level of Brunetto's face. **voi**: the plural is used out of respect for a man of dignity; see note on Inf. x. 51. **ser Brunetto**: Brunetto Latini (d. 1294) played a prominent part in public affairs in Florence, and encouraged Dante in his studies. The title '**ser**' was given to him as being a notary.

33. **la traccia**: 'his troop.'

39. **arrostarsi**: 'waving his arms' (lit. 'fanning himself'), to keep off the flames. The subst. *rosta*, which originally meant 'a bough with branches' (Inf. xiii. 117), came to be used for 'a fan,' because branches were used by the country people for fanning, keeping off flies, &c.; hence **arrostarsi** means 'to fan oneself.' **feggia**: from *ferire*.

40. **a' panni**: 'at thy skirts'; cp. l. 24.

47. **l' ultimo dì**: 'the end of thy life,' as in Inf. xiv. 54.

51. **Avanti**, &c.: 'before the tale of my days was fully told.'

52. **Pur ier mattina**, &c.: Dante turned his back on the *selva oscura* (= *valle*; cp. Inf. i. 14) in ascending the *dilettoso monte* (i. 13, 29). This took place on the morning of Good Friday, and it was now the morning of Easter Eve.

53. **Questi**: Virgil's name is not given, notwithstanding that Brunetto had inquired who he was. Possibly it is treated as one of the sacred names, the mention of which is avoided in Hell, since as Dante's guide he was employed in God's service. It is certainly remarkable that, while it occurs twenty-five times in the Purgatorio, it is only found five times in the Inferno, and these

five are in the narrative, and not in speeches, so that they do not imply that the name was uttered in Hell.

54. **a ca**: this is sometimes taken of the 'heavenly home'; but more probably it means 'the world above,' 'the earth.' Though Virgil was not to bring him thither, he was guiding him on his way to it.

57. **Se ben**, &c.: this means that Brunetto perceived that Dante showed good promise; and **stella** in l. 55 is to be taken in a metaphorical sense, rather than as referring to the constellation under which he was born.

58. **per tempo**: not 'before my time,' for Brunetto was about eighty years of age at the time of his death, but 'too early' to be of service to Dante. As Brunetto had ample time before his death in 1294 to help Dante in his early studies, we must suppose that **opera** in l. 60 refers to the work of his maturer years.

61. **popolo**: by this word the commons of Florence are meant, while the 'Romans' in l. 77 are the nobles. According to the Florentine tradition, when the city of Florence was founded by the Romans, its population was composed partly of colonists from Rome, and partly of immigrants from the neighbouring town of Faesulae (Fiesole); and from these two elements the nobles and the commons respectively were descended. The discord arising from this cause is regarded by Dante as the chief source of the factious spirit that prevailed there.

62. **ab antico**: this is the Lat. *ab antiquo*, and is so rendered by Villani (xii. 44), where he quotes this passage. Dante, however, has used the Italian termination in *antico* for the sake of the rhyme. For an instance of a similar, though inverse, change cp. Purg. xxiii. 4, where for the same purpose *figliuolo*, the Italian vocative, is changed into *figliuole*, the Latin form. The reason why Latin is used in **ab antico** is probably the same as in *sub Julio* (Inf. i. 70), viz. that it describes a date or period in Roman history.

63. **E tiene**, &c.: i. e. it still retains the element of roughness and hardness in its nature. Fiesole is situated on a hill (**monte**), and Villani (i. 38) speaks of its inhabitants as 'ruddi e aspri di guerra.'

64, 65. **per tuo ben far**: because he opposed the entry of Charles of Valois into Florence. Dante was banished in 1302, and this opposition was one of the ostensible causes of his banishment. **lazzi sorbi**: 'acid service-berries,' the 'acidis sorbis' of Virg. *Georg.* iii. 380.

67–9. **orbi**: Villani (ii. 1) says that this epithet was applied to the Florentines because they put confidence in the promises of Totila. **forbi**: 'wipe clean,' 'keep clean.'

71, 72. **l' una parte e l' altra**: the Black and the White Guelfs. **avranno fame Di te**: 'will desire to get thee into their power.' **lungi fia**, &c.: 'they will not be able to satisfy their craving.' **becco**: 'mouth,' lit. 'beak.'

73–5. **Faccian . . . strame**: 'let them make litter of (i. e. rend and tear) themselves.' **S' alcuna**, &c.: the statement is purposely obscure, but Dante seems to be hinting at being himself descended from one of the original Roman families, probably the Frangipani.

76, 77. **santa**: a special epithet of ancient Rome and its citizens, with reference to their being set apart from the first by God as the source from which should proceed the temporal power which was to govern the world. **vi rimaser**, &c.: the occasion here referred to does not seem to be that of the original foundation of the city, for **rimaser** would naturally be used of a previously existing population. It is better, therefore, to understand it of a subsequent period, when, after the destruction of Fiesole by the Florentines in 1010, the citizens of that town migrated to Florence (Villani, iv. 6).

79–81. **Se fosse**, &c.: the meaning is—'if my prayers had been fully heard, thou wouldest be still alive.'

82. **mi accora**: 'goes to my heart,' in the sense of paining. It was the sight of Brunetto's 'cotto aspetto' which suggested this.

85. **s' eterna**: 'wins immortality,' i. e. literary fame.

87. **Convien**, &c.: 'it behoves that my tongue should declare'; **nella mia lingua**: lit. 'in what I say,' i. e. his grateful commemoration of Brunetto.

88–90. **scrivo**: 'I note,' i. e. in my memory; cp. Inf. ii. 8. **a chiosar**: 'for comment,' i. e. for Beatrice to comment on and explain. **altro testo**: viz. what he had heard from Ciacco (Inf. vi. 64) and from Farinata (Inf. x. 79). The 'comment' is ultimately furnished by Cacciaguida, to whom Beatrice refers him (Par. xvii. 46 foll.).

91–3. **Tanto**: 'this much,' viz. 'that I am prepared for fortune' (l. 93). **Pur che**, &c.: 'provided that my conscience does not chide me' (**garra** for *garrisca*): 'as long as I have nothing for which to blame myself, I am prepared to bear whatever is in store for me.'

94–6. **arra**: this word, like the more usual *caparra*, means a deposit paid on making an agreement; here, according to Buti, for the agreement itself. 'I am familiar with the agreement that exists between man and fortune,' viz. that man must be content with the changes of fortune. **e il villan**, &c.: 'even as the countryman turns his mattock.' This is depreciatory of the power of fortune; 'the one is no more to me than the other.'

97, 98. **in sulla gota**, &c.: Virgil, who is in advance, turns round to address Dante, and he turns by the right, in order to express approval of a well-omened speech.

99. **Bene ascolta**, &c.: 'he listens well who pays heed thereto.' **la**, 'it,' stands for *la cosa* or *la sentenza*. Such elliptical uses of *la* are common in Italian, e. g. 'farla da signore,' 'to act the gentleman.' Cp. the use of *accoccarla ad uno* in Inf. xxi. 102.

100. **Nè per tanto di men**: 'yet not the less for all that'; i. e. notwithstanding that Virgil had interposed.

105. **tanto suono**: 'so long a recital.'

109, 110. **Priscian**: the grammarian of the sixth century. No such sin is attributed to him in history, but probably there was a tradition to that effect in Dante's time. It has been suggested that he is here taken as the type of grammar-school masters, who beyond others had opportunities for this form of wickedness; but it is not like Dante to brand a character without reason. **Francesco d' Accorso**: law lecturer in Oxford in 1273 and for some years after that date.

111. **tigna**: 'scurf'; cp. the use of *lordura* as a term of contempt in Inf. xi. 60.

112–4. **potei**: for *potevi*: on the irregularity of sequence of the indic. after **S' avessi avuto** see note on Inf. xxix. 38. **servo de' servi**: one of the titles of the Pope is 'servus servorum Dei.' Boniface VIII is meant. **Bacchiglione**: the river of Vicenza. Andrea de' Mozzi was translated from the bishopric of Florence to that of Vicenza in 1295 on account of his unseemly living. **Dove lasciò**, &c.: 'where he left (in death) his body exhausted by vice.'

117. **fummo**: 'dust,' raised from the sandy soil by the feet of a multitude.

118. **con la quale**, &c.: these sinners, according to their station and occupation in life, were partitioned in groups, which might not communicate with one another.

119. **il mio Tesoro**: this is the Italian name of Brunetto's encyclopaedic work, the *Livre dou Tresor*, which was written by him in French. It is largely a compilation from ancient writers, but it was a popular work at that time, and was used by Dante as one of his authorities.

122. **Che corrono**, &c.: 'who run the race for the green cloth.' A piece of green cloth was the prize for a foot-race held outside the city of Verona on the first Sunday in Lent of every year. A marked point in the comparison is that the competitors ran naked.

CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT.—Continuing their route in the same direction, they are met by another band of sinners of the same class, but differing from the preceding group by being composed of men who had held military or civil offices. Three of these, who were Florentines, concluding from Dante's dress that he was a countryman of theirs, hasten to meet him; and one of them, who gives his name as Jacopo Rusticucci, inquires eagerly from him about the social condition of Florence, whereupon Dante explains the causes of its decay. Passing on, the Poets hear a loud sound of falling water close at hand, which intimates to them their approach to the descent into the eighth Circle. When they reach the precipice, Virgil borrows the cord with which Dante was girt, and throws it down into the abyss to summon Geryon, that he may convey them into the lower regions of Hell. In answer to this summons, a weird figure is seen after a time to rise from below towards them.

LINE 2. **altro giro**: the eighth Circle, or Malebolge, into which there was a precipitous descent. The water which falls here is that of Phlegethon.

8. **abito**: the dignified costume which distinguished the ancient Florentines. Most Italian cities at that time had a special dress.

12. **pur che**: 'if only'; 'at the mere recollection of it.'

15. **si vuole**: 'it is fitting.' **esser cortese**: because on earth they had been men of great position.

16–8. **se non fosse il foco**: 'were it not for the fire.'

meglio stesse, &c.: 'it would be more suitable for you to hurry to them, than for them to hurry to you.'

20, 21. **verso**: 'chant,' i. e. lamentation. **rota**: they worked round and round, each in turn trying to get a near view of Dante, who was on the ledge above. But a further reason for their keeping in movement was, that they might escape the penalty of stopping, which is mentioned in Inf. xv. 37–9.

22–4. **Qual soleano i campion**: the title *campione* was applied to the hired combatants who took part in the 'judicial duels,' as the pugilistic encounters were called, by which suits were from time to time determined in various cities of Italy during the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth century; and it seems to be this custom which Dante is referring to in the present passage. Clear documentary evidence of the existence and the nature of these 'duels,' derived from the archives of several of the leading cities, is given by Mr. R. Davidsohn in the *Bull. Soc. Dant.*, N. S. vii. pp. 39–43. For **soleano** some read *sogliono*, and though there is but little MS. authority for this, yet the difficulty of reconciling grammatically the past tense in **soleano** with the present **sien** in the subject clause, and the fact that the practice here alluded to was in existence in Dante's time, are strong arguments in its favour. The point of the comparison is the wrestlers' moving about in the same spot, and turning their heads round, first in one direction and then in the other. **lor presa e lor vantaggio**: a favourable opportunity of gripping their adversary. **Prima che**, &c.: i.e. before the real tussle has commenced. **punti**: 'struck.'

26, 27. **in contrario**, &c.: as they moved round, they were continually turning their heads backwards or sideways, in order to get a full view of Dante.

28–30. **sollo**: 'unstable,' referring to the yielding sand. **brollo**: 'nude,' here probably 'bald and hairless'; cp. *dipelato* in l. 35.

31–3. **La fama nostra**, &c.: this is a most impressive passage in respect of the contrast drawn between greatness in the present world and abject misery hereafter. Virgil's remarks in ll. 15–8 are intended to give point to this. **freghi**: 'dost plod thy way,' lit. 'trail thy feet,' Lat. *fricare*; cp. Purg. vii. 52, 'fregò il dito,' 'drew along his finger.'

38. **Guido Guerra**: a distinguished Guelf leader at Florence. He took a prominent part against Manfred in the battle of Benevento

in 1265. His grandmother Gualdrada was daughter of Bellincione Berti, who is mentioned in Par. xv. 112.

41, 42. **Tegghiaio**: Dante had already expressed his desire to learn his fate, and that of Rusticucci, the present speaker, and described them as *sì degni*, Inf. vi. 79, 80. **la cui voce**, &c.: 'whose fame ought to be acceptable,' his 'fame' being the reputation attaching to him for having tried to dissuade the Florentines from marching against Siena before the disastrous battle of Montaperti in 1260. For *voce* in this sense cp. Inf. xxxiii. 85.

43. **posto . . . in croce**: 'tormented'; cp. Inf. xxxiii. 87, 'porre a tal croce.'

45. **La fiera moglie**, &c.: 'my passionate wife is the chief source of my bane,' i. e. she was the cause of the sin which brings me here. He is said to have been separated from her on account of her temper.

52–5. **Non dispetto**, &c.: this is in answer to Rusticucci's words in ll. 28, 29; ''Twas not contempt, but grief, that your sad state imprinted on my heart—and that so deeply, that it will be long before it is wholly obliterated—as soon as,' &c. **si dispoglia**: pres. for future, 'is likely to be obliterated.'

58–60. **sempre mai**: **mai** here only strengthens **sempre**. **ritrassi ed ascoltai**: 'recounted myself and heard others recount.' For *ritrarre* in this sense cp. Inf. iv. 145.

61–3. **Lascio**, &c.: this is in answer to the question about himself and his journey in ll. 32, 33. **fele** is sin, **dolci pomi** virtue. **tomi**: 'plunge downward,' implying a steep descent.

64, 65. **Se lungamente**, &c.: i. e. 'so mayst thou live long'; for **se** cp. note on Inf. x. 82.

67. **Cortesia e valor . . . dimora**: cp. Purg. xvi. 116, where *valore e cortesia* are used, as here, with a singular verb. In the present passage there is the further peculiarity that the participle **gita** agrees with the one of the two substantives which is fem. The reason of this seems to be that **cortesia** is especially referred to, as we see from Dante's answer.

70–2. **Guglielmo Borsiere**: a person of no importance; Boccaccio introduces him in the *Decameron*. **per poco**: 'for a short time past'; he had consequently brought recent news from the world above. **cruccia**: 'provokes': the reading *crucia*, 'distresses,' suits the context better, but there is little authority for it.

78. **come al ver**, &c.: 'as men look [at one another] on hearing the truth,' i.e. implying by their looks that they accept the inevitable.

81. **a tua posta**: 'to your liking,' i.e. 'as pleases you,' without reference to other people; cp. *a cui posta*, Inf. x. 73. The meaning of ll. 79–81 is, 'If on other occasions you use so little reserve in answering questions, you will be well off if you do not suffer more from it than you do now.'

84. **dicere "Io fui"**: 'to retrace the past.' Cary compares Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* xv. 38. 7, 8, 'Quando mi gioverà narrar altrui Le novità vedute, e dire: io fui.'

90. **parve**: 'it seemed good'; Lat. *visum est.*

92, 93. **Che**: 'when,' the meaning being explained by *poco*, 'a short time,' preceding: cp. Inf. xxxi. 19. **per parlar**: 'for all our speaking'; cp. Inf. iv. 11, 'per ficcar lo viso al fondo'; xxi. 28, 'per veder.'

94–6. **quel fiume**: the Montone, which flows into the sea to the southward of Ravenna. **ch' ha proprio cammino**, &c.: 'which is the first river that from Monte Viso eastwards on the left flank of the Apennines has an independent course.' The rivers here referred to are spoken of as being on the left flank of the Apennines, because we are supposed to be following the succession of streams, and the corresponding mountain chain, from west to east. With the exception of the Montone, all the streams that in Dante's time flowed from the northern side of the Apennines in this part were tributaries of the Po, and that river rises in Monte Viso. At the present day, owing to changes in the course of the Po, the Lamone, which lies to the westward of the Montone, flows into the sea.

97–9. **Acquaqueta**: Dante here says that this was the name of the Montone above Forlì. At the present day the name Montone is found as high up as the monastery of San Benedetto, near which place a torrent called the Acquacheta joins it. **si divalli**: 'precipitates itself'; der. from the Lat. *vallis*: cp. the use of *a valle*, 'downwards,' in Inf. xii. 46; xx. 35. **di quel nome è vacante**: 'loses that name,' i.e. changes it for that of Montone.

100–2. **san Benedetto Dell' alpe**: 'St. Benedict of the upland'; this was the name of the monastery, in the neighbourhood of which was the waterfall here described. **Ove dovea**, &c.: 'where there should have been (i.e. where it was intended that

there should be) a settlement for a thousand.' Boccaccio tells us that when he was staying in the monastery he was informed by the abbot, that the Conti Guidi, to whom the neighbouring lands belonged, had proposed to bring together there into a settlement the inhabitants of that district, but that this scheme had fallen through. Another explanation of the passage is that the number of monks was small as compared with the revenues; but the monastery does not appear to have been a rich one.

103. **discoscesa**: 'shattered' (see note on Inf. xii. 8), and so 'precipitous.'

106–8. **Io aveva**, &c.: the 'panther with the spotted skin'—the 'fera alla gaietta pelle' of Inf. i. 42—signifies lust, and the cord by which Dante had proposed to master it signifies the restrictions of the ascetic life. According to Buti, Dante was at one time a member of the Third Order of the Franciscans, whose emblem was the cord, from which they received the name of Cordiglieri (cp. Inf. xxvii. 67, 68). As this statement is not confirmed by any other authority, it may not be true; but since the meaning of this emblem was, as St. Francis intended it to be, that the body is a beast which requires to be checked by a halter, Dante in any case may be referring to it here as symbolizing asceticism. But when Virgil uses this cord as a signal to summon Geryon, who is the personification of fraud, a different form of symbolism is introduced. Here it seems to be the emblem of truth or righteousness, in accordance with such Scriptural expressions as 'having your loins girt about with truth,' Eph. vi. 14; 'righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins,' Is. xi. 5; and it is used here, because it is by truth that fraud is forced to come to the light and show itself.

111. **aggroppata**: 'knotted,' with a view to throwing.

112. **inver lo destro lato**: the object of this was that he might have his right hand free for throwing; but here again there is an underlying symbolism, for he turned to the right as a protest against sin.

115–7. **E pur convien che**: 'assuredly it must be that.' **nuovo**: 'unwonted.' **seconda**: 'follows.' Virgil was watching to see whether any response was returned to his signal.

120. **per entro**, &c.: Virgil had already said that he read Dante's secret thoughts, Inf. x. 18.

122. **che:** *quello* is understood before this. **sogna:** 'is vainly fancying.'

124–9. **Sempre,** &c. This passage is a marked instance of Dante's method of preparing the reader for an astonishing spectacle by saying that what he is going to tell is half incredible. For other instances cp. Inf. xxv. 46–8; xxviii. 113–7.

126. **Però che,** &c.: the meaning is:—'because it produces the impression of discreditable misstatement, though such is not the case.'

127–9. **note:** 'verses,' lit. 'strains.' **commedìa:** Dante tells us in his Letter to Can Grande (§ 10, ll. 218–25), that he gives this name to his poem because it ends happily, and because it is composed in the vulgar tongue. He accents both this word and *tragedìa* (Inf. xx. 113) paroxytone. **S' elle,** &c.: 'so may they not be doomed to short-lived favour.'

132. **ad ogni cor sicuro:** 'to every heart, steadfast though it be.'

136. **Che in su,** &c.: 'who, upward springing, close draws in his feet' (Cary). This describes the action of swimmers in rising.

CANTO XVII

ARGUMENT.—Geryon, who takes up his position on the brink of the precipice, is now described. While Virgil is negotiating with him about their descent into the eighth Circle, Dante is directed to visit the third class of sinners who are punished in this ring, viz. the usurers, who have done violence to art by causing money to generate money in defiance of the recognized laws of production by labour. These are seated not far off on the burning sand, with the flames of fire falling on them; and among them are several scions of noble Florentine families, who made their money by usury. Returning to Virgil, Dante finds him already mounted on Geryon's back, and by his orders takes his place in front of him. They descend in wide circles, until at last they are deposited at the foot of the precipice.

LINE 1. **la fiera:** Geryon, who is the mythological representative of the eighth Circle. He can hardly be said to correspond except in name to the Geryon of antiquity—a monster with three

bodies, who was king in Spain, and whose oxen were carried off by Hercules. A reason—in default of any better—for his representing fraud may be found in a legend given by Boccaccio, to the effect that Geryon was a king of the Balearic Isles, who used to entice strangers into his dwelling, and afterwards kill them; *Geneal. Deor.* i. 21.

6. **passeggiati marmi**: 'the stone causeway which we had traversed,' i.e. the bank of Phlegethon; cp. Inf. xiv. 83, 141; xv. 1.

8. **sen venne**: 'came on.' **arrivò**: here used active, 'brought up to the bank'; in Purg. xvii. 78 it is used neut. in this sense; der. from *riva*. Similarly in Engl. 'to arrive' is originally 'to come to shore'; Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*

10–5. **La faccia**, &c.: the symbolism of Geryon's appearance is, that the face signifies hypocrisy, the serpent figure deceit and malice, the talons rapacity, the knots and shields which appear on his body snares and subterfuges. **Tanto benigna**, &c.: 'so benevolent was its exterior semblance.' **l' altro fusto**: 'the rest of its figure.' **branche**: 'talons,' i.e. here 'arms provided with claws.' **rotelle**: the 'small bucklers' represent the subterfuges under which fraud *shields* itself.

16, 17. **Con più color**, &c.: 'with more colours, whether as groundwork or pattern, never did Tartars or Turks make a cloth.' The words **sommesse e soprapposte** are in apposition to **color**. The construction would be easier if we could read *in* before **drappo**, 'never did Tartars or Turks make the groundwork or pattern on a cloth with more colours'; and as the *n* of *in*, which would be written over (ĩ), would easily disappear, and the *i* would be lost after the final vowel of **mai**, this reading would have much in its favour if there were any trace of it in the MSS.; but there seems to be none. **Tartari**: the cloths manufactured by the Tartars were famous in the middle ages.

18. **Nè fur**, &c.: 'nor were webs so rich placed on the loom by Arachne.' Arachne was the typical weaver or embroiderer, who challenged Minerva to a contest in that art, and was changed by her into a spider. See Ovid, *Met.* vi. 1–145.

19. **burchi**: 'punts,' for river navigation.

22. **Lo bevero**, &c.: 'the beaver seats himself for his campaign' against the fishes. The beaver has a habit of sitting on a river bank with his tail in the water, and from this arose a fable that he used

his tail for fishing purposes, attracting the fish by the oil which dropped from it. As the beaver does not feed on fish, the story is evidently mythical, and is to be classed with the other 'tail-fishing' myths, in which that habit is attributed in various parts of the world to the bear, the jackal, the racoon, the monkey, and the jaguar. See Tylor's *Early History of Mankind*, pp. 364–7.

27. **a guisa di scorpion**: the image of the scorpion's tail is from Rev. ix. 10. The points of comparison are that the scorpion's tail contains poison, and that it can curve it over the back and move it in every direction.

30. **si corca**: for *corica*, 'is couching.'

31, 32. **scendemmo**: the reason why they went down is, that the banks of Phlegethon were higher than the edge of the precipice. **destra**: the meaning in this case of their deviation towards the right from their usual leftward course through Hell is that, when approaching the embodiment of fraud, they intended thus to express their formal adhesion to the way of right in protest against perverted justice. See note on Inf. ix. 132. In like manner **dieci passi** probably refers to the Ten Commandments as the rule of right.

33. **cessar**: 'avoid'; cp. Par. xxv. 133, 'cessar fatica.' **Per ben cessar**, &c., is intended to explain **in sullo stremo**, it being implied that the causeway at the edge of the precipice, like that of Phlegethon, was free from the action of the flames of fire.

36. **loco scemo**: as *scemo* means 'diminished,' this signifies 'the place where the ground falls away,' i. e. the precipice. Similarly the Mountain of Purgatory is said to be *scemo*, where the *Valletta dei Principi* is formed; Purg. vii. 65.

38, 39. **esto giron**: the third ring of the seventh Circle. **mena**: 'condition.'

43–5. **ancor**: 'once more,' i. e. continuing his course. **la strema testa**: 'the outermost ridge,' i. e. the causeway. **la gente mesta**: 'the usurers.' On them and their punishment see notes on Inf. xi. 97 and xiv. 21.

47, 48. **soccorrien**: 'defended themselves,' lit. 'came to the rescue.' **a' vapori**: 'against the flames'; cp. Inf. xiv. 142.

54. **Non ne conobbi alcun**: here in the case of the usurers, as with the avaricious in Inf. vii. 53, 54, the moral blindness involved in ignoring the purpose with which wealth was given destroys individuality of character, and obliterates distinctive traits.

55, 56. **tasca**: 'money-bag.' On this they were condemned to feast their eyes, as they had done in life, only it is now empty; and as they were men of good families, their arms are depicted on these bags, and by these alone they can be recognized. **certo colore**, &c.: the colour and pattern (**segno**) are those of the coats of arms.

59. **azzurro**: i. e. a blue object. Of the arms mentioned in what follows, the lion (l. 60) represented the Florentine family of the Gianfigliazzi, the white goose (l. 63) the Florentine Ubriachi, the sow (l. 64) the Paduan Scrovigni, the three kites' beaks (l. 73) Giovanni Buiamonti. All the persons intended were men of noble families, who were usurers.

61. **curro**: 'course,' 'forward movement'; the phrases *essere sul curro*, 'to be on the way to,' *mettere al curro*, 'to instigate,' show that this is the meaning; see *Vocab. Tramater*. The der. seems to be from Lat. *currus*, 'chariot,' which passes into the meaning of 'course.'

64–6. **grossa**: 'pregnant.' **questa fossa**: the Inferno generally is meant; cp. Inf. xiv. 136.

68, 69. **Vitaliano**: he was still alive, but as to who he was there are conflicting views. **sinistro**: as being the worse of the two.

72. **il cavalier soprano**: i. e. the prince of usurers, Giovanni Buiamonti.

74, 75. **distorse la bocca**: he made a wry mouth in contempt. **La lingua**: cp. Is. lvii. 4, 'against whom draw ye out the tongue?'

76. **temendo**, &c.: 'fearing lest by delaying I should move to wrath,' &c. **nol** for *no il*. For **temendo no** cp. Inf. iii. 80.

85–7. **riprezzo** = *ribrezzo*, 'shivering fit.' **rezzo**: 'chill'; here 'a shady place'; 'the man trembles all over at the mere sight of a shady place,' at the mere suggestion of chill. **Rezzo** is again used for 'chill' in Inf. xxxii. 75. Both this word and *orezza* (Purg. xxiv. 150) are derived from Lat. *aura*, 'breeze,' through a hypothetical form *auritium*; Diez, *Wört.*, p. 31.

88, 89. **porte**: 'uttered,' from *porgere*; cp. Inf. v. 108. **minacce**: Virgil's 'dread commands,' ll. 81–3.

91–3. **spallacce**: 'huge shoulders.' **'Sì'**: this is part of Dante's speech; take with **fa**; **fa sì che**, 'be sure that.' Some, however, take it with **volli dir**, 'in sooth I wished to say "Embrace me," but,' &c. **Com' io credetti**: 'as I intended,' lit. 'as I thought they (the words) would'; fear checked his utterance.

95. **Ad altro forse:** 'in meeting other hazards.'

98, 99. **Le rote,** &c.: Virgil desires Geryon to descend gently in wide circles. **la nuova soma:** 'the unwonted burden' of Dante's material body; cp. Inf. viii. 28–30; xii. 30.

102. **a giuoco:** 'at liberty.'

105. **con le branche:** Geryon had no wings, but paddled in the air with his paws.

107, 108. **Fetòn:** Phaëthon, son of Apollo, by whom he was permitted to drive the chariot of the sun for one day. In doing so, Phaëthon approached too near the heavens, which were thereby scorched (**il ciel si cosse**), and this was supposed to have been the origin of the Milky Way (**come pare ancor**). The story is told in Ovid, *Met.* ii. 200 foll.

109. **Icaro:** Icarus, when flying through the air in company with his father Daedalus, approached too near the sun, which melted the waxen fastenings of his wings; Ovid, *Met.* viii. 188 foll.

116, 117. **non me n' accorgo,** &c.: 'I am unconscious of the motion, except that I feel the wind in my face and from below.' Dante perceives that he is going forward because the wind comes in his face, and that he is descending because it comes from below. **venta:** impers. use, 'it blows'; cp. Purg. xvii. 68.

118, 119. **dalla man destra:** Geryon was circling round in the neighbourhood of the precipice from which he started; and, as the progress of the Poets through the Inferno is regularly towards the left hand, we may assume that Geryon started in that direction. Consequently, he had the precipice, and the water of Phlegethon that fell over it, on his right, when he had accomplished a half-circle, and was at the furthest point from it. **il gorgo:** 'the abyss' ('gorge'), from which the sound of the falling water came up. Others take it in the less usual sense of 'eddying stream,' Lat. *gurges*, i. e. the waterfall itself. **stroscio:** 'plashing,' 'boom.'

121. **scoscio:** 'precipice,' lit. 'broken place.' The word can hardly be dissociated from *scoscendere*, 'to break,' *discosceso*, 'shattered'; see note on Inf. xii. 8. They seem all to be derived from Lat. *excutere*, *excussio*; and the *dis-* of *discosceso* may have been suggested by the analogy of words where initial *s* stands for *dis*.

123. **mi raccoscio:** 'crouch my limbs'; cp. *s' accoscia* in Inf. xviii. 132. Others say 'grip with the thighs,' 'cling closer.'

125. **li gran mali:** the sight of torments.

128. **senza veder,** &c.: i. e. though neither being recalled nor in pursuit of prey. **logoro,** 'lure,' means in falconry a figure of a bird, represented by two bird's wings tied to a stick, by means of which the falcon was recalled.

134. **A piè a piè:** 'at the very foot'; cp. Inf. xiv. 12, *a randa a randa*, 'at the very edge.' **stagliata:** 'precipitous,' lit. 'cut away,' 'cut sheer.'

136. **cocca:** the notch of the arrow, used for the arrow itself; cp. the use of Lat. *cuspis*, 'point,' for 'spear.'

CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT.—The eighth Circle, which is called Malebolge, contains those classes of the fraudulent who have violated no special tie or bond. These are ten in number, and corresponding to them there are ten *bolge*, or deep trench-like valleys, into which the whole area is divided. They lie one within the other in concentric circles, separated by walls of rock, and the passage across them is made by means of bridges. The basement of the entire area of Malebolge slopes gradually towards the centre, where is the ninth Circle, which is the pit of Hell. In the first *bolgia*, to which we are now introduced, are the panders and seducers of women, who are scourged by demons. After seeing these, Dante crosses the bridge that spans this valley, and passing the intermediate rock-ridge looks down upon the second *bolgia*, which contains the flatterers, who are immersed in filth.

LINES 1–3. **Malebolge:** 'Evil-pits.' The word *bolgia* (Lat. *bulga*) means 'a wallet,' and so 'a hollow place.' For a description of Malebolge see the Argument. **la cerchia:** 'the encircling rock,' i. e. the precipice by the side of which they have descended. **che d' intorno il volge:** 'which runs round it,' lit. 'which turns it around.'

4–6. **dritto mezzo:** 'the very middle.' **campo:** 'area.' **Vaneggia:** 'opens wide,' 'yawns,' lit. 'forms a void (*vano*).' **pozzo:** the pit of Hell. **suo loco:** this Latin phrase is probably borrowed from scholastic Latin. **ordigno:** 'structure.'

7. **adunque** = *dunque*, 'then.' The meaning is inferential, marking the result of the position of Malebolge.

10–2. **Quale**, &c.: **Quale** agrees with **figura**, which is the predicate to **rende**. **La parte dov' ei son** means 'the ground which they occupy,' and **Quale figura la parte dov' ei son rende** signifies 'such as is their ground-plan.' The concentric valleys of Malebolge are compared to the moats which, one within the other, run round a fortress.

13, 14. **quelli**: understand *fossi*. **sogli**: 'thresholds of the gates.'

16–8. **Così**, &c.: 'so from the foot of the precipice started (**movien**) bridges of rock, which intersected the embankments and the ravines, until they reached the pit, where they end and meet.' There were bridges at intervals, which may be said to meet at the circle of the inner pit, in the same way as the spokes of a wheel meet at the nave. **scogli**: observe that throughout the account of Malebolge the word *scoglio* is used for 'a bridge of rock'; e. g. *infra*, l. 111; xix. 8. **raccogli**: for *raccoglieli*; cp. *accolo* for *accoglilo* in Purg. xiv. 6.

22, 23. **nuova pieta**: 'a strange form of woe.' **frustatori**: 'wielders of the lash' (Longf.): in Lev. xix. 20 (Vulg.) scourging is the penalty of seduction.

25. **ignudi**: this does not imply that the sinners in other parts of Hell were clothed, but draws attention to the condition of the present class, which exposed them defenceless to their punishment.

26, 27. **Dal mezzo in qua**: 'on the nearer side of the valley.' The sinners formed two lines, one on either side, and moved in opposite directions; those on the nearer side advancing towards the Poets, those on the farther side following the same direction as they were taking (**con noi**), only at greater speed (**con passi maggiori**), because they were driven by the demons. The former of these were the procurers, the latter the seducers. Dante and Virgil were walking leftwards (l. 21) along the ridge which bounded the dike or valley on the outer side.

28–30. **Come i Roman**: the simile is derived from what took place at the Ponte Sant' Angelo at Rome during the Jubilee of 1300. The rule of right and left for pedestrians on bridges is not unknown at the present day, for instance at Dresden, where it is enforced by the police. **esercito**: 'host of worshippers.'

Hanno, &c.: 'devised a plan to let the people pass.' *Passare* is used trans. elsewhere in Italian, e. g. for 'to put a person across a river,' &c.; see *Vocab. Tramater.*

32, 33. **il castello:** the Castle of St. Angelo, as the Mausoleum of Hadrian was then and is still called. This faces one who crosses to the right bank of the Tiber. **il monte:** the Capitoline Hill, which is the most important point to attract passengers in that direction, as St. Peter's is in the other.

35. **cornuti:** wearing horns, the emblem of adultery.

37. **levar le berze:** 'quicken their steps,' lit. 'lift their shanks.'

42. **digiuno:** here used, as in Inf. xxviii. 87 and Par. ii. 75, in the sense of 'lacking'; 'I have not failed erewhile to see this one': 'with sight of this one I am not unfed' (Longf.).

43–5. **a figurarlo:** 'to scrutinize his looks.' **indietro:** the person spoken of, being a procurer, had come from the opposite direction and was passing them; see note on ll. 26, 27. Dante retraces his steps in order to look at him.

49–51. **le fazion che porti:** 'the features that thou wearest.' **Venedico:** this person was head of the Guelf party in Bologna in the latter half of the thirteenth century. **pungenti Salse:** 'pungent brine,' i. e. acute pain. As the sinner whom Dante addresses was from Bologna, there is a reference here to a valley called Salse in the neighbourhood of that city, where the bodies of criminals were thrown.

53. **chiara favella:** 'accurate address'; it was Dante's precise mention of him which recalled his former life and inclined him to reply.

55–7. **Ghisolabella:** she was sister of Caccianimico, and was persuaded by him to become the mistress of the Marquis of Este. The reading *Ghisola bella*, which the old commentators give, is now proved to be incorrect, for her will, which has lately been found, gives her name as Ghislabella; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 271. **Come che,** &c.: 'in whatever form the scandalous story may be told.' This implies that Dante thought there was more than one version of the affair, and Benvenuto speaks to the same effect.

60, 61. **Che tante,** &c.: the meaning is:—'there are more natives of Bologna here than there are at present in the world above.' **apprese:** 'taught.' **sipa:** Bolognese for *sia.* Benvenuto, who resided in Bologna, asserts this; and Casini adds

that the modern Bolognese say *sepa* for *sia*. Hence **a dicer sipa** means 'to use the Bolognese dialect.' **Savena e Reno**: the two rivers which flow down from the Apennines on either side of Bologna.

63. **Recati a mente**, &c.: i. e. 'you will find the proof of it in the avarice of our hearts.' Benvenuto confirms the charge of covetousness.

66. **da conio**: 'for hire.'

68, 69. **divenimmo Là**: 'we arrived at the point'; cp. Inf. xiv. 76.

71, 72. **a destra**: as the Poets had followed the embankment *a sinistra* (l. 21), to cross the bridge they turn *a destra*. **scheggia**: the 'craggy mass' of the rock which formed the bridge. **cerchie**: 'encircling walls.' The precipices surrounding Malebolge are meant, which are called 'la gran cerchia' in Inf. xxiii. 134. The epithet **eterne**, as applied to these 'walls,' probably signifies that they were a place of everlasting imprisonment.

73, 74. **dov' ei vaneggia Di sotto**: **ei** is the bridge (*scoglio*, l. 69); 'where it opens wide below'; i. e. the bridge of rock forms an arch, so that the souls may pass through. For **vaneggia** see note on l. 5.

75, 76. **che feggia Lo viso in te**: lit. 'that the sight may strike on thee'; **feggia** from *ferire*, cp. Inf. xv. 39. **mal nati**: 'born in an evil hour'; cp. Inf. v. 7. The persons here spoken of are the seducers.

78. **con noi insieme**: see note on l. 26.

79, 80. **guardavam la traccia**: 'we were watching the file.' The Poets are looking down over the right-hand side of the bridge, towards which the sinners are approaching. **dall' altra banda**: 'on the other side' of the valley; cp. Purg. xiii. 79.

84. **per dolor**: 'for all his pain'; cp. Inf. xvi. 93, *per parlar*; xxi. 28, *per veder*. **non par . . . spanda**: *che* is understood after **par**, as it often is in modern Italian. Jason, like Capaneus (Inf. xiv. 46–8), refuses to show outward signs of pain.

86, 87. **core**: 'courage.' **monton**: i. e. the Golden Fleece. **fene**: a Tuscan form, for *fè*; cp. *puone*, Inf. xi. 31.

89. **Poi che**, &c.: when the Argonauts landed at Lemnos, they found it inhabited only by women, who had murdered by agreement all the males in the island.

91. **segni**: 'love-tokens.' There is much to be said in favour

of the reading *senno* here; see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 321. **parole ornate**: 'skilful speech'; cp. Inf. ii. 67.

92, 93. **Isifile**: Hypsipyle, whom Jason seduced and then deserted. Dante has taken the story in the main from Statius, *Theb.* v. 403 foll. **Che prima,** &c.: she saved from death her father Thoas, contrary to her agreement with the other women.

96. **di Medea**: Jason first won her love, and then deserted and wronged her, after she had accompanied him to Greece.

97–9. **da tal parte**: 'after this fashion.' **in sè assanna**: 'holds in its grip.'

100–2. **lo stretto calle**: the path which leads across Malebolge crosses one *bolgia* after another by means of the bridges, and cuts at right angles the embankments which intervene between them. At the point now reached it intersects (**incrocicchia**) the embankment between the first and second *bolge*, and starts from the farther side of that to form the bridge across the second *bolgia*. **fa di quello,** &c.: lit. 'makes it a buttress to another arch.'

103, 104. **Quindi,** &c.: in the second *bolgia*, which Dante here overlooks, the flatterers suffer an offensive punishment, suitable to their contemptible sin. **si nicchia**: 'whines.' **isbuffa**: 'snorts.'

108. **facea zuffa**: 'made war upon,' 'was offensive to.'

117. **non parea,** &c.: i. e. it could not be seen whether he had a tonsure or not.

121, 122. **asciutti**: in their natural state, without their covering of filth. **Alessio Interminei**: nothing is known of this man except that he was a flatterer, and that he was alive in 1295, as appears from a document dated in that year; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 24.

124. **zucca**: 'pate'; lit. 'gourd.'

130–2. **scapigliata fante**: 'wench with dishevelled hair.' **s' accoscia**: 'sits crouching'; cp. *mi raccoscio* in Inf. xvii. 123.

133. **Taide**: Thais, the courtesan in the *Eunuchus* of Terence. The passage in that play which is here referred to is *Eunuch.* iii. 1. 1, where Thraso (the soldier) says 'Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?' and Gnatho (the parasite) replies 'Ingentes.' It will be seen that Dante has made the mistake of putting Gnatho's reply into the mouth of Thais. The origin of this error is to be found in his not having taken the words direct from Terence, but from Cicero, who quotes the passage in *De Amicit.* xxvi. § 98; '"Magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?" Satis erat respondere, "Magnas":

"Ingentes" inquit. Semper auget assentator id, quod is, cuius ad voluntatem dicitur, vult esse magnum.' This explanation is strongly corroborated by the fact that Cicero introduces this as an instance of flattery; and since it is not definitely stated there by whom the word 'Ingentes' is spoken, it was easy for Dante to suppose that it was uttered by Thais herself. It may be added that Dante does not elsewhere give any evidence of being acquainted with Terence. See Moore, *Studies*, i. pp. 261, 262.

136. **quinci**: 'herewith.' This line suggests Dante's reason for giving such a brief account of this *bolgia*, viz. the contemptible character of its occupants.

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT.—The third *bolgia* contains those who had committed the sin of simony, or trafficking in the things of God for money. They are placed head downwards in fissures of the rocks, only their legs being visible, and on the soles of their feet are flames of fire. Dante is carried by Virgil to the bottom of the gulf, in order that he may converse with a spirit, who from the violent movement of his feet appears to be undergoing severe punishment. This is Pope Nicholas III, who intimates to Dante that his successors in the Holy See, Boniface VIII and Clement V, are destined to undergo the same torment. The Poet then takes the opportunity of inveighing against the rapacity of the higher clergy. After this Virgil retraces his steps, bearing Dante in his arms, and deposits him at a point whence the fourth gulf is visible.

LINES 1–4. **O Simon mago**, &c.: 'Ah! Simon Magus; ah! ye worthless followers of his! (I denounce you) because, while the things of God ought to be devoted to good works, yet in your greed you prostitute them for gold and silver.' L. 1 is a denunciation of the Simoniacs, or those who followed in the steps of Simon Magus, the first trafficker in spiritual things, Acts viii. 9 foll.; and **Chè** in l. 2 gives the reason for this denunciation. The difficulty of the passage lies in the reading in l. 3, where the MS. authority is nearly equally divided between **e voi rapaci** and *voi rapaci* (Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 323). With the latter of these the construction and the sense are clear, which is not the case with the former. But, considering

that the tendency of copyists is to alter what is unintelligible to them into what is intelligible, and not *vice versa*, it seems impossible that, if *voi rapaci* were the original reading, it could have been altered by so many scribes into **e voi rapaci.** In this case **e** has to be explained as expressing contrast to a previous clause, a use of which there are other instances in the *Div. Com.*; cp. Inf. xxx. 115; Purg. iv. 90. This seem to be an extension of the use of *e* in the sense of 'then,' 'thereupon,' where it is equally outside the grammatical construction of the sentence; see note on Inf. xxv. 34. **Deono:** for *Devono.* **spose:** lit. 'brides of,' 'espoused to.'

5. **suoni la tromba:** 'that proclamation should be made'; i. e. that your misdeeds should be announced to all.

7–9. **tomba:** 'receptacle of the dead,' lit. 'tomb,' meaning the *bolgia.* **scoglio:** the bridge; cp. Inf. xviii. 16, 111. **piomba:** 'falls perpendicularly,' like a plumb-line.

12. **quanto giusto:** *giusto* is subst.; 'how great justice does thy power dispense.'

13. **Io vidi,** &c.: the symbolism in what follows may be thus explained. Their being placed head downwards signifies their perversion of holy things; their being enclosed in a hollow of the rock corresponds—as explained in l. 72—to putting money in their purses; and the tongues of flame on their feet recall the fiery tongues of Pentecost—the gift of the Spirit, which they have profaned.

16–8. **Non mi parean,** &c.: in illustration of the exact realism of this passage cp. Inf. xv. 11. **San Giovanni:** the Baptistery of Florence, which at that time was the Cathedral. **per loco,** &c.: 'as places in which the baptizing priests might stand.' In the old font (now destroyed) in the Baptistery there were circular cavities at the four angles for the priests to stand in, so as to escape the pressure of the crowd, which was caused by baptisms only taking place on specified days. The existing Baptistery at Pisa is arranged in this manner; see the plan of it in Blanc, *Versuch*, p. 171, and the view in Vernon, *Readings*, ii. p. 65. On the occasion to which Dante refers, a boy had crept into one of these (presumably head downwards, as Mr. Butler remarks), and got stuck and was being suffocated, when in order to rescue him Dante, who was one of the priors, broke the marble.

19–21. **ancor non è,** &c.: the date of Dante's priorate was 1300. **annegava:** 'was losing his life.' *Annegare* usually means

'to be drowned,' but it is also used in the more general sense of the Lat. *enecare*, from which it is derived; see Körting, *Wört.*, No. 2817. **suggel**: 'guarantee'; this statement of Dante's is to be taken as a guarantee (he 'sets his seal' to it) that this is the true account, so as to disabuse others of an interpretation unfavourable to him, as if it was done from mischief.

22–4. **soperchiava**: the use of the singular verb with two subjects, the former of which is plural, is explained by its preceding them, so that it is quasi-absolute, 'there protruded.' **grosso**: 'the calf.'

29. **pur su per l' estrema buccia**: 'over the outer surface only.' **buccia**: lit. 'rind,' 'peel.'

31–3. **si cruccia**: 'shows such fury' (or 'excitement'). **rozza**: 'rude,' 'fierce'; there is some authority for *rossa* here. **succia**: 'licks'; 'over whom plays a fiercer lambent flame.'

35. **per quella ripa che più giace**: 'by the lower of the two embankments.' This is the one on the inner side of the *bolgia*, which is consequently the fourth (*argine quarto*, l. 40), being between the third and fourth *bolge*. It is the lower, because Malebolge slopes towards the centre, and therefore each embankment, according as it is nearer to the centre, rises from a lower level. Hence the descent from the inner embankment is the shorter of the two, and for that reason Virgil prefers it. All this is more fully explained in Inf. xxiv. 34–40.

41. **mano stanca**: 'left hand'; cp. *man manca*, Inf. xxiii. 68.

43–5. **anca**: the same word as Engl. 'haunch.' Virgil was carrying Dante; cp. l. 34. **sì**: for *sino*, 'until,' as in l. 128. **rotto**: the fracture in the cliff. **piangeva con la zanca**: 'was showing his pain by the movement of his leg.'

46, 47. **O qual che se'**: this is Nicholas III, who held the Papacy from 1277 to 1280. Villani says of him (vii. 54)—'fu de' primi, o il primo papa, nella cui corte s' usasse palese simonia per gli suoi parenti.' **come pal commessa**: 'being set like a stake.'

50, 51. **fitto**: i. e. 'set head downward in the earth.' *Plantatio*, or planting head downwards, was a common punishment in Florence at this time. **perchè la morte cessa**: 'because by so doing he delays his death'; if *per che* is read, it means 'whereby.'

52–4. **costì ritto**: 'standing there.' **Bonifazio**: Pope Boniface VIII, whom Nicholas was expecting to join him here, but at a

later period. As Boniface died in 1303, he was still alive in 1300, the supposed date of Dante's Vision. **lo scritto:** the record of the future. We have already seen (Inf. x. 100–5) that the dead could foresee the future, though they were ignorant of present events.

56, 57. **torre a inganno,** &c.: 'to carry off by fraud the beauteous dame,' i. e. the Church. The reference is to his having brought about the abdication of his predecessor, Celestine V, with a view to his own advancement. **farne strazio:** by simoniacal practices. Villani (viii. 64) gives numerous instances.

64. **tutti:** 'in every muscle'; for **tutti** in the sense of 'wholly' cp. Inf. xxxi. 15, 'Dirizzò gli occhi miei tutti ad un loco.'

70–2. **figliuol dell' orsa:** a member of the Orsini family, and as greedy as a bear. The cubs (**orsatti**) are the young Orsini. **Che su,** &c.: 'that in the world above I pocketed wealth, and here I have pocketed myself,' with reference to the hollow in the rock where he was fixed.

73–5. **tratti:** 'dragged down.' **piatti:** 'squeezed within the fissures'; *piatto* means both 'flattened' and 'hidden,' and may be used in either sense here.

79. **più è il tempo,** &c.: in 1300, when Nicholas III is supposed to be speaking, twenty years had elapsed since his death in 1280; between the death of Boniface in 1303 and that of Clement V in 1314, which is referred to in the form of a prediction in ll. 82–4, only eleven years elapsed. Scartazzini, in his *Companion to Dante* (p. 377), infers from this passage that, in order for Dante to make Nicholas III affirm that Clement V would be Pope for less than twenty years, he must have known the year of his death; and hence he concludes that this part of the poem was written subsequently to 1314. Mr. Butler, however, the translator of Scartazzini's work, well remarks, that this does not absolutely follow; for the number of Popes who ruled for that length of time was so inconsiderable, that it might safely be conjectured that Clement would not do so. On other grounds so late a date as 1314 for the composition of the Inferno is highly improbable.

83, 84. **un pastor senza legge:** Clement V, who is spoken of as being **Di ver ponente,** as being a French Pope. He was elected in 1305 through the influence of Philip the Fair, and played into his hands; by him the Papal See was removed from Rome to Avignon. Villani (ix. 59) mentions his simoniacal practices and his incon-

tinence. Dante again denounces him in Par. xxx. 142–8. **ricopra**: 'lie above,' in the *fessura della pietra*.

86. **Ne' Maccabei**: 2 Macc. iv. 7 foll. Jason, by a promise of money, obtained the high priesthood (*circ.* 175 B. C.) from Antiochus Epiphanes, and introduced Greek customs among the Jews. **molle**: 'indulgent,' in furthering his interests.

89. **a questo metro**: 'in this strain,' 'to this effect.'

91, 92. **in prima . . . Che**, &c.: 'before entrusting the keys to his keeping.' **in prima che** is again used for *prima che* in Par. xxx. 138, 'Verrà in prima che ella sia disposta.'

98, 99. **guarda ben**: 'see that thou keep,' iron. **la mal tolta moneta**: 'the money raised by extortions.' The expression here is equivalent to the *tollette dannose* of Inf. xi. 36, and both of them represent the *maletollettum*, 'extortions,' of mediaeval Latin. In French *maltôte* (O. F. *maltolte*) has the same meaning. What is here referred to is the confiscation of tithes, &c., by Nicholas, and it was the money thus obtained which encouraged him to oppose Charles of Anjou.

106–11. **Di voi pastor**, &c.: the passage here intended is the description of the 'great harlot' in Rev. xvii. This, which in reality refers to imperial Rome, is regarded by Dante—as it has often been by others since his time—as referring to papal Rome. Dante however—probably owing to confused recollection—interprets the passage quite differently from what the author of the Book of Revelation himself did. In that book the woman who sits on the waters and commits fornication with the kings of the earth, is seated on the beast with seven heads and ten horns (v. 3), and the seven heads are explained as being both seven mountains and seven kings (vv. 9, 10), and the ten horns are ten kings (v. 12), and both the heads and the horns are worldly powers. In Dante, on the contrary, the woman herself is born with seven heads, and her course is ordered by the ten horns; and these are good influences, because (l. 111) they prevailed so long as virtue was in the ascendant. Hence it is probable that by the seven heads he meant the sevenfold graces of the Holy Spirit, and by the ten horns the Ten Commandments. **ebbe argomento**: according to the interpretation given above this means 'took her rule of life from'; others say 'obtained the evidence of her truth from the Ten Commandments'; others again 'took her emblem from.' **Fin che**, &c.: 'so long as her

husband (the Pope) took pleasure in virtue'; it cannot mean 'so long as her virtue was acceptable to her spouse' (Christ), because **virtute** by itself does not signify '*her* virtue.'

113, 114. **che altro è da**, &c.: 'what difference is there between?' cp. Purg. xxiv. 62; Par. xxxii. 57. The explanation of the idiom is, that 'from . . . to' implies an interval *between*. **idolatre**: plur. of *idolatra*. **Se non**, &c.: the meaning is:—'Your idolatry is a hundredfold greater than theirs, for every piece of money is an object of worship to you'; 'where they worship one, you worship a hundred.' **egli** for *eglino*.

116, 117. **quella dote**: the Donation of Constantine of the States of the Church, and at the same time of the whole temporal power of the West, to Pope Sylvester I. In the present passage it is rather the former gift which is referred to, as appears from the epithet **ricco**; in Par. xx. 55–7 it is rather the latter. This donation, which is now known to be fictitious, was believed to be a fact in Dante's time.

119, 120. **O ira o**: 'whether it were anger or.' This is an elliptical use; Diez (*Gram.* iii. p. 335) compares Boccaccio, *Decam.* ii. 1, 'o vero o non vero che si fosse.' **spingava**: 'kicked about'; others read *springava* with the same meaning.

122. **labbia**: 'aspect'; cp. Inf. xiv. 67.

127, 128. **distretto**: 'closely clasped.' **Sì**: for *sino*, 'until'; cp. l. 44. Virgil now carries Dante up the inner side of the third *bolgia*, and then across the intervening embankment, and as far as the centre of the bridge which spans the fourth *bolgia*.

131. **soave per**: 'gently because of.'

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT.—In the fourth *bolgia* are seen the Necromancers, who walk backwards, their faces being reversed on their bodies, in punishment for their having pretended during their lifetime to look forward into the future. Among them are the Theban prophet Teiresias and his daughter Manto. In connexion with her, Virgil relates the legend of the foundation of his native city Mantua, to which she gave her name; and, in order to describe its site more

fully, he traces the course of the Mincio on which it stands, together with the streams that feed that river, and the lake of Garda through which they flow. Michael Scott and other diviners are also noticed.

LINE 3. **ch' è de' sommersi**: 'which **canzone** (or *Cantica*) treats of those who are plunged in Hell'; for **sommersi** cp. Inf. vi. 15.

5. **scoperto**: 'disclosed to view'; the two Poets were now on the highest point of the bridge above; Inf. xix. 128.

8, 9. **al passo**, &c.: at the slow pace of a religious procession.

13, 14. **dalle reni**: 'towards the reins'; for **da** meaning 'in the direction of' cp. Inf. xxii. 146; Purg. ii. 55. **gli**: for *loro*.

16. **parlasìa**: old form by contraction for *paralisìa* 'palsy.'

19. **Se Dio ti lasci**: 'so may God grant thee.'

22. **la nostra imagine**: the human form.

28. **pietà**: here used in the two senses of 'piety' and 'pity.' 'Here piety lives when pity is wholly dead.'

30. **passion porta**: 'introduces feeling where God's judgements are concerned,' lit. 'brings feeling to bear on God's judgement.' There is greater MS. authority for *passion comporta*, and for *compassion porta* (see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 326), but **passion porta**, being a less familiar expression, is more likely to have been altered into these than *vice versa*. The reading here is not affected by the question of metre, for Dante elsewhere uses *passion* both as a disyllable and a trisyllable; cp. Purg. xxi. 107; Inf. xxxi. 72. The meaning of the passage in any case is not very different. As regards the feeling displayed by Dante—he had shown compassion to Francesca and others in the upper Circles of Hell, but since entering Malebolge he had ceased to do so; and even here the feeling he expresses is rather for a class of persons, and for the distortion of the human frame, than for individuals. The same is true in Inf. xxix. 1–3, where he is again overpowered by grief.

31. **a cui**: this is the soothsayer Amphiaraus, one of the Seven against Thebes, who in the course of that expedition was swallowed up by the earth. Dante obtained the story from Statius, *Theb.* vii. 690 foll.; viii. 1 foll.; and the words "**Dove rui**," &c., which are here put into the mouth of the Thebans, were suggested by those which Statius attributes to Pluto, viz. viii. 84, 85, 'At tibi quos,

inquit, Manes, qui limite praeceps Non licito per inane ruis?' See Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 246.

35. **ruinare a valle**: 'plunge downwards'; for **a valle** cp. Inf. xii. 46.

40. **Tiresia**: Teiresias, the Theban soothsayer, who according to the story was changed into a woman in consequence of his having separated two serpents with his staff, and recovered his sex after seven years, when he met the same serpents and struck them again. The story is from Ovid, *Met.* iii. 320 foll.

45. **le maschili penne**: 'his manly plumes,' i. e. his beard, the sign of the male sex; cp. the use of *piume* for 'beard' in Purg. i. 42.

46–9. **Aronta**: Aruns, the Etruscan soothsayer, who foretold the civil war between Pompey and Caesar. Lucan, who tells his story (*Phars.* i. 584 foll.), speaks of him as an inhabitant of Luna—l. 586, 'Aruns incoluit desertae moenia Lunae.' The **monti di Luni** are the Carrara group to the eastward of Spezia, on the sea-face of which are the Carrara marble quarries (**bianchi marmi**, l. 49) and the town of the same name. **al ventre gli s' atterga**: 'turns his back to Teiresias' front.'

55, 56. **Manto**: daughter of Teiresias. It is noticeable that in Purg. xxii. 113, Dante, by a slip of memory, has placed her in Limbo. Moreover, in the present passage he has put into Virgil's mouth an account of the foundation of the city of Mantua, which is different from that which Virgil himself gives in *Aen.* x. 198–200; and, from what he says in ll. 97–9, it would appear that (for what reason we know not) he desired to correct the Virgilian legend. In the *Aeneid* we are told that Mantua was founded by Ocnus, the son of Manto and of the river Tiber—'Fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis, Qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen.' But in Dante's corrected version Virgil is made to say that Manto was unmarried (*vergine*, l. 82), and that she herself chose the site. The latter of these statements Dante may have obtained from Isidore, who says (*Orig.* xv. 1. 59), 'Manto Tiresiae filia post interitum Thebanorum dicitur delata in Italiam Mantuam condidisse.' See Moore, *Studies*, i. pp. 173–5, 304. **cercò**: intrans., 'made search,' i. e. went in quest of a resting-place. **dove nacqu' io**: Mantua was Virgil's birthplace.

59. **venne serva**, &c.: 'Thebes (of which Bacchus was the

presiding deity) fell into servitude'; the reference is to its capture by the Epigoni. **venne** for *divenne*; cp. Par. xxxiii. 52.

61–78. This passage is the most conspicuous illustration which the poem affords of Dante's delight in physical geography, and especially in the study of the courses of rivers. His object is to lead up to the site of Mantua; and in doing so he introduces a digression, in which the basin of the Lago di Garda is described, from the headwaters of its tributaries towards the north, to its southern end, where the Mincio, the river of Mantua, issues from it near Peschiera.

61–3. **Suso**: 'in the upper world.' **Appiè dell' alpe**, &c.: 'at the foot of the Alpine chain, which forms the boundary of Germany above Tyrol'; the mountains here intended are those which rise above Meran due N. of the basin of the Lago di Garda. **alpe**, in whatever sense it is used, is always sing. in the *Div. Com.* **Lamagna**: *Alamagna* is also read; both are forms of the Italian name of Germany. **Tiralli**: this name was applied both to the country of Tyrol and to the Schloss Tirol near Meran, the hereditary seat of the Counts who ruled it; here the latter is probably meant, because a definite locality is pointed to. **Benaco**: Benacus was the Latin name of the Lago di Garda.

64–6. **mille fonti**: these are the tributaries which feed the lake; and as the town of Garda is situated on its eastern side, and the Val Camonica lies away to the north-westward of it, the district here described must be the upland region of the Giudicaria to the northward of it, which has to be traversed in passing from one of these to the other, and which contains the principal tributaries of the lake. **Apennino**: a few MSS. read *Pennino*; in reality, as the preceding word *Camonica* ends in *a*, the corruption either way is easy, especially as they are proper names, and the MS. evidence does not decide much between them. By **Apennino** the chain of the Apennines cannot be meant; and though some of the commentators speak of a mountain of that name in the neighbourhood here referred to, there is no evidence of its existence. Dante probably wrote *Pennino*; for though the Pennine Alps in the ordinary acceptation of that name—i. e. the range of which the Great St. Bernard is the centre—would be out of place here, yet Orosius assigns to them just the required position, viz. to the south-west of Rhaetia, as the Tyrol was called in antiquity; Oros. i. 2. 60, 'Pannonia Noricus et

Rhaetia habent . . . ab Africo (i. e. to the S. W.) Alpes Poeninas.' Dante was probably following Orosius, who was one of his leading authorities in geography.

67–9. **nel mezzo**: in the middle of the region thus described. **segnar potria**: 'would be able to give his blessing,' as bishop of the diocese; by this it is implied that the three dioceses met at this point. The place intended probably is the mouth of the river Tignalga near Campione on the western shore of the lake, which until 1785 was the meeting-point of the three dioceses (see Casini *ad loc.*).

70–2. **siede**: take with **Ove**, l. 72; 'is situated where the level of the surrounding country is lowest.' **arnese**: 'fortress,' lit. 'harness.' **Da fronteggiar**: 'to face.' The fortress of Peschiera at the southern end of the lake, which lies between Verona on the one side and Brescia and Bergamo on the other, belonged at this time to the Scaligers, and was thus a frontier stronghold of Verona.

74. **può**: this line and those which rhyme with it are ten-syllable lines. For the justification of this exceptional metrical usage see note on Inf. iv. 56.

76–8. **mette co**: 'starts'; **co** for *capo*, cp. Inf. xxi. 64. **Governo**: now Governolo.

79. **lama**: 'plain'; cp. Inf. xxxii. 96; Purg. vii. 90.

82. **cruda**: 'unmarried'; Statius (*Theb.* iv. 463) calls her 'innuba Manto.'

87. **vano**: 'tenantless.'

93. **senz' altra sorte**: 'without further appealing to augury,' Lat. *sortes*.

94–6. **Già fur**, &c.: 'formerly its inhabitants were more numerous' than now. **la mattìa da Casalodi**: *di* is sometimes read for **da**; 'before the senseless counts of Casalodi (lit. the folly of Casalodi) were led into a trap by Pinamonte.' Casalodi was a fortress in the territory of Brescia, from which the family of that name, who were the leading house in Mantua, were called. Pinamonte, a citizen of Mantua, put himself forward as a popular leader towards the end of the thirteenth century, and after persuading the head of the Casalodi to remove a number of the foremost aristocrats in that city in order to appease the people, succeeded in expelling or massacring the Casalodi themselves. Dante puts this remark into

Virgil's mouth merely in order to narrate the recent history of Mantua.

97. **t' assenno:** 'I counsel thee'; on Virgil's remark here see note on l. 55.

105. **rifiede:** 'reverts to,' lit. 'strikes upon afresh'; from *rifedire*.

108–10. **quando:** the time of the Trojan war is meant. **Sì che,** &c.: 'so that hardly enough men remained to beget children,' lit. 'for the cradles' (Lat. *cunae*), i. e. for the supply of children. **diede il punto:** 'announced the moment.'

112. **così il canta:** Virg. *Aen.* ii. 114–9. In that passage we are told that Eurypylus was sent to consult the oracle of Apollo concerning the return of the Greeks from Troy, but nothing is said about his having given the signal for starting from Aulis. Dante seems by a slip of memory to have confused the two occasions.

113. **Tragedìa:** the Aeneid is called a tragedy, because of its elevated subject and style; cp. *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii. 4. ll. 38, 39, 'per tragoediam superiorem stilum induimus.' The word **Tragedìa,** like *commedìa* in Inf. xvi. 128, is accented on the penultima contrary to the modern Italian usage. **alcun loco:** 'a certain passage'; for *alcuno* in this sense, where the thing meant is not named, cp. Purg. iv. 80, *alcun' arte.* The indefinite manner of reference is here used in default of any more exact mode of quotation which a poet can employ.

115, 116. **ne' fianchi,** &c.: unless this is a description which was current at the time, we must suppose that it refers to the emaciated appearance of a recluse student. **Michele Scotto:** Michael Scott (*circ.* 1190–1250), who was reputed to be a wizard, was a native of Scotland, and studied in Oxford and Paris, and lived for some time at the court of Frederic II. He translated several of Aristotle's works into Latin from the Arabic.

118, 119. **Guido Bonatti:** an astrologer of Forlì patronized by Count Guido da Montefeltro. **Asdente:** a shoemaker of Parma who professed himself a prophet. **avere inteso,** &c.: 'to have given his attention to his leather and his thread,' instead of meddling with prophecy.

123. **imago:** an effigy of the person who was intended to be influenced by charms; cp. Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 75.

124–6. **tiene**, &c.: the general meaning of the passage is—'the moon is setting,' and this is used in place of 'the sun is rising,' because the mention of the name of that luminary is avoided in Hell. The time intended is about 6 a.m. on Easter Eve. **il confine**, &c.: the boundary line of the two hemispheres, of which Jerusalem and the Mountain of Purgatory were the two central points, and the Ganges and the west of Spain—here represented by Seville—the extremities; see note on Purg. ii. 1. **Sotto**: by 'below' is here meant 'beyond,' 'on the further side of Seville.' The moon was now setting in the northern hemisphere. **Caino e le spine**: the Man in the Moon, here used for the moon itself. The bundle of thorns, which, according to the story, Cain was condemned to carry, probably represents his offering of the fruit of the ground which was not accepted.

127. **iernotte**: 'yesternight,' i. e. the night before last, it being now early morning. The moon was full on the night which Dante had passed in the *Selva*, as is implied in the next two lines, and that was the night between Holy Thursday and Good Friday; see note on Inf. ii. 1.

129. **Alcuna volta**: 'on a certain occasion,' i. e. on an occasion which I do not name, but which you may remember; cp. *alcun loco* above, l. 113. **fonda**: abbreviated for *profonda*.

130. **introcque**: 'meanwhile,' an archaic word = *intanto*.

CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT.—After crossing another embankment of rock, the Poets mount to the highest point of the next bridge, from which they look down into the fifth *bolgia*, in which jobbery is punished. Here the sinners are immersed in boiling pitch, and are tormented by artful and malicious devils. A company of these evil spirits now appears, and prepares to attack the Poets; but Virgil persuades their leader to allow them to proceed with an escort selected from his troop.

The contempt which Dante felt for jobbers—in Inf. xi. 60 he speaks of them as 'baratti e simile lordura'—allowed him to

introduce into this part of the poem an element of grim buffoonery, which is seen, for instance, in the names of the devils—Malebranche ('Ugly claws'), Malacoda ('Ugly tail'), Scarmiglione ('Rough-and-tumble'), &c.—but especially in the device of the jobber to evade the devils which is described in Canto XXII. Perhaps this is also intended to lighten the strain on the reader's feelings in the midst of the horrors of the lower part of Hell.

LINE 2. **commedìa**: see note on Inf. xvi. 128.

7. **Arzanà**: the Arsenal of Venice is situated towards the eastern extremity of that city.

10. **in quella vece**: 'instead thereof,' i. e. of voyaging; cp. Purg. xvi. 36.

14. **volge sarte**: 'twists cordage.'

17. **pegola**: in accordance with the saying, 'Those who handle pitch shall be defiled therewith,' the pitch here symbolizes the dirty work of jobbery, and the money that sticks to the jobber's fingers.

20. **Ma' che**: 'aught else than,' Lat. *magis quam*.

25. **cui tarda**: 'who is impatient,' lit. 'to whom it seems long'; cp. Inf. ix. 9. The person here described is influenced at once by curiosity and fear.

28. **per veder**: 'for all his looking'; cp. Inf. xvi. 93, *per parlar*.

30. **lo scoglio**: the bridge of rock.

32. **nell' atto acerbo**: 'cruel in his aspect.

34–6. **acuto e superbo**: 'pointed and high.' **carcava**: 'encumbered'; the guilty soul was carried on the shoulders of the devil, who held him fast at the ankles by the tendons.

37. **Del nostro ponte disse**: 'from our bridge he exclaimed.' Some editors make **Del nostro ponte** part of the speech; in this case the meaning is, 'O ye Malebranche who guard our bridge,' it being implied that there was a band of them at each of the bridges which spanned at intervals this *bolgia*. **Malebranche**: this is a collective name for these demons; cp. Inf. xxxiii. 142: for this reason *Mettete* (l. 39) is plural.

38. **anzian di santa Zita**: Elders of Lucca: the city is here called by the name of the local saint who was its patron. 'Elders' was the title of its chief magistrates, as 'Priors' was for those of Florence.

39, 40. **per anche**: 'once more.' **ch' i' n' ho,** &c.: 'which I have well provided with such characters.'

41. **fuor che Bonturo**: ironical, Bonturo having been notorious for jobbery.

42. **ita**: 'yes'; this is the Latin word, which is used in that language in this sense. As regards the meaning of the line, Lana says that, when votes were taken in the public council at Lucca, two ballot-boxes were carried round, one for the Ayes, the other for the Noes; and that sometimes, when the interest of the state required that they should vote 'No,' they voted 'Aye' for a bribe.

44, 45. **mai non fu,** &c.: 'never was mastiff, when its leash was slipped, in such a hurry,' &c.

46–8. **convolto**: 'doubled up,' i. e. arching his back above the surface for the sake of relief, while he concealed the rest of his person. This action on his part is illustrated by the comparison of the porpoises in Inf. xxii. 19–24. **avean coperchio**: they were lying in wait under the arch. **Qui non,** &c.: 'It's no use invoking the Holy Face here.' The 'Holy Face' of Lucca was an ancient crucifix, and the Lucchesi used to invoke it in time of need.

49. **Serchio**: the river which flows near Lucca; formerly it joined the Arno below Pisa, now it enters the sea by a separate channel. Its stream was a favourite bathing-resort of the people of Lucca.

52–4. **addentar**: 'pronged.' **accaffi**: 'pilfer.'

57. **galli**: used, like the modern *galleggiare*, for 'to float.'

60. **che alcun,** &c.: 'that you may have some screen for yourself'; **haia** for *abbia*, as in Par. xvii. 140.

62, 63. **ch' io ho,** &c.: 'for I am conversant with the matter'; for **conte** cp. Inf. iii. 76. **altra volta**: the occasion referred to is that mentioned in Inf. ix. 22–7, where Virgil says that he was forced by the enchantress Erichtho to bring up a lost soul from the pit of Hell. **baratta**: 'bargaining,' i. e. negotiations with the demons.

64, 65. **co**: for *capo*; cp. Inf. xx. 76. **la ripa sesta**: the embankment which separates the fifth from the sixth *bolgia*.

69. **chiede ove s' arresta**: 'begs at the place where he stops.'

76. **Malacoda**: the leader of the devils in this *bolgia*; in l. 115 he speaks of the others as *questi miei*.

78. **dicendo**: **'Che gli approda?'**: 'saying (to himself),

what good will it do him?' lit. 'what does it benefit him?' Virgil's next remark is an answer to this. **approda**: der. from *pro*, *prode*, 'advantage.'

81. **schermi**: 'hindrances,' lit. 'means of defence.'

84. **silvestro**: 'wild'; cp. Inf. ii. 142.

89. **quatto**: 'crouching,' from Lat. *coactus*; Diez, *Wört.*, p. 260. It is the same word as Engl. 'squat,' which was originally 'quat'; Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s.v. 'squat.'

93. **temetti**: for *temei*; cp. Inf. xxxi. 109. **ch' ei tenesser**: 'that they would not keep'; the construction corresponds to that of the Lat. *vereor ut*, while *temer no* or *che non* means 'to fear that,' Lat. *vereor ne*; cp. Inf. ii. 35, 64; iii. 80. Others read *temetti non tenesser* here, but the MS. authority is strongly in favour of **ch' ei tenesser** (see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 330), and *non* arose from a misunderstanding of the idiom.

94–6. **E così**, &c.: what is here referred to is the evacuation of Caprona, a fort in the Pisan territory, by the Pisans in 1289, when it was captured by the people of Lucca and the Florentines. The words **vid' io** imply that Dante was present on the occasion.

102. **fa che gliele accocchi**: 'mind you poke at him.' The phrase here used is *accoccarla ad uno*, which means 'to play a person a trick'; and **gliele**—which is an indeclinable form, standing for *glielo*, *gliela*, *glieli* (cp. Inf. xxxiii. 149)—here represents *gliela*. For the use of *la* in such phrases see note on Inf. xv. 99.

106, 107. **per questo Iscoglio**: 'along this rocky ridge.' **Iscoglio** here, as in Inf. xviii. 16, is the transverse ridge which forms a line of bridges across Malebolge. The Poets were now on the embankment which separates the fifth from the sixth *bolgia* (l. 65), and Malacoda tells them that they cannot continue their course along the transverse ridge, because the next bridge was broken; so he recommends them to follow the embankment till they reached the next transverse ridge, saying that they could cross by the bridge there, which was unbroken (*tutto intero*, l. 126). In this last statement he was deceiving them, as they discover later (Inf. xxiii. 136 foll.), for there also the bridge was broken.

110. **grotta**: 'rock,' i. e. the embankment.

112–4. **Ier**, &c.: 'yesterday, five hours before the present time, completed 1266 years from the time when the way was broken.' **Ier** is the subject to **compiè**. **più oltre . . . che** signifies 'before.' **otta**

means the same as *ora*, just as *allotta* means the same as *allora*; its etymology is uncertain, but it is not connected with *ora*. This passage is of especial importance among the Time-References in the *Div. Com.*, because it serves as a starting-point, from which other computations of time in the poem may be made. The following is the explanation of it. Malacoda, in order to inspire Virgil with greater confidence in his statement, gives the exact date, computed from the moment at which he is speaking, of the destruction of the bridges, which took place at the time of our Lord's death, when the rocks were rent. This, he says, was 1266 years and a day (it was **ier**), all but five hours, before the present time. Now as Dante believed that Christ died in the thirty-fourth year of His age (*Conv.* iv. 23, ll. 95–8; 'il nostro Salvatore Cristo, il quale volle morire nel trentaquattresimo anno della sua etade'), the year here meant must be 1300 A. D. (1266 + 34). The day of the Church's year, being that which followed the day of our Lord's death or Good Friday, is Easter Eve. And, as Dante held that Christ died at mid-day (*Conv.* iv. 23, ll. 105–7; 'onde dice Luca, che era quasi ora sesta quando morìo'), by deducting five hours we find the present time of day to be 7 a.m. To sum up, we have now reached 7 a.m. on Easter Eve of 1300 A. D.

116. **se ne sciorina**: 'is airing himself'; 'if any of those in torment in the pitch is exposing his body to the air.'

120. **la decina**: the company of ten devils.

124–6. **pane**: for *panie*, plur. of *pania*, 'birdlime,' here used for 'tar.' **scheggio**: 'line of rock-bridges,' like *scoglio* in l. 111. **intero**: 'unbroken.' **tane**: 'dens,' i. e. the *bolge*.

135. **lessi**: 'boiled meat,' 'stews,' i. e. the sinners who are stewing in the pitch.

136. **sinistro**: the usual direction through the Inferno.

137. **stretta**: 'pressed the tongue with the teeth,' i. e. thrust the tongue between the teeth.

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT.—As the next in succession of the bridges had been broken down, Malacoda, the leader of the devils, instructs the escort which accompanies the Poets to conduct them towards another line of bridges along the embankment which separated the fifth from the sixth *bolgia*. As they pass, one of the devils catches a sinner emerging from the pitch, and Dante takes the opportunity of inquiring about him and others who are tormented with him. Meanwhile the jobber outwits and escapes from his captors, two of whom proceed to fight with one another.

LINES 1, 2. **mover campo**: 'start on the march': **campo**, which usually in the Italian of this period meant 'battlefield,' like Lat. *campus*, is here used for 'place of encampment.' **stormo**: 'an attack,' Germ. *Sturm*, cp. Diez, *Wört.*, p. 309. **far lor mostra**: 'set themselves in array'; others say 'be reviewed.' **mostra** is the same word as Engl. *muster* (= 'display,' 'review'), Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*; but as the other expressions in this tercet refer to a force in the field, it means here rather 'array' than 'review.'

4–6. **Corridor**: 'reconnoitring parties.' **Aretini**: as Dante is said to have been present at the battle of Campaldino, in which the people of Arezzo engaged the Florentines, he is probably referring to that occasion. **gualdane**: 'raiding bands.' **Ferir**, &c.: 'clashing tournaments and tilting jousts' (Cary). **Ferir torneamento** is the regular expression for 'to engage in a tournament'; the verbs, however, here are neuter, 'I have seen tournaments engaged in,' &c.

7, 8. **con campane**: 'to the sound of the bell.' The reference is to the great bell, called the Martinella, which was carried on a car in a wooden tower, and accompanied the Florentine armies. Together with it went another car, the Carroccio, on which the great standard of the commonwealth was borne; Villani, vi. 75, 78. **cenni di castella**: these 'fortress signals' were fire-beacons and the like. They are mentioned in the approach to the city of Dis, Inf. viii. 5.

10–2. **con sì diversa cennamella**: 'to fife so strange.' **cennamella** is derived from Lat. *calamus*, through mediaeval Lat.

calamella, 'reed pipe,' O. Fr. *chalemelle* and *canemelle*, to the last of which **cennamella** closely corresponds. **segno**, &c.: 'signal from the land or sight of star'; there is a *zeugma* here, **segno** being used in different senses with the two words.

14, 15. **nella chiesa**, &c.: i. e. adapt yourself to your company; the proverb corresponds to the Engl. saying 'When you're in Rome, do as the Romans do.'

16, 17. **era la mia intesa**: 'my looks were fixed'; **intesa** is subst. **contegno**: 'feature'; cp. Inf. xvii. 60.

19, 20. **fanno segno**, &c.: on our own coasts at the present day porpoises, when they come near shore, are regarded by sailors as a sign of bad weather coming. Brunetto Latini (*Tesoro*, bk. iv. ch. 5) refers to the dolphins in this connexion, and says that the signal of bad weather approaching was their moving to windward of a storm; but perhaps Dante's knowledge of the subject was not derived from book learning, but from his own observation. The **arco della schiena** (which Brunetto does not notice) is the crooked form which these animals assume in order to spring forward with greater force. Every one who has seen a shoal of porpoises will have observed this.

21. **Che s' argomentin**, &c.: 'that they should take thought for saving their vessel'; for **s' argomentin** cp. Purg. xxv. 15.

34. **d' incontra**: 'over against him.'

39. **E poi**, &c.: 'and when they were called by name, I noticed what names were given to them.'

48. **Io fui**, &c.: the early commentators say that this person's name was Ciampolo. **nato**: 'a native of'; Dante uses **nato fui** for *nacqui* in Inf. v. 97 and xxiii. 94, and similarly here it means 'was sprung from,' and so 'was a native of.'

50. **ribaldo**: 'knave,' 'low fellow'; it is the same word as Engl. 'ribald.'

52. **Tebaldo**: Thibaut (Theobald) II, who became king of Navarre in 1253.

56. **D' ogni parte**: 'on either side'; cp. *Da ogni mano*, Inf. vii. 32.

60. **inforco**: 'bestride,' 'grip.'

63. **disfaccia**: 'rend,' lit. 'unmake.'

65. **Latino**: Italian; cp. Inf. xxvii. 33; Purg. xi. 58; *Conv.* iv. 28, ll. 61, 62, 'Il nobilissimo nostro Latino Guido Montefeltrano.'

67. **fu di là vicino:** 'lived in the neighbourhood of that country,' i. e. Italy, the person being from Sardinia, as we learn from l. 82.

72. **lacerto:** here 'a piece of flesh'; or 'a sinew.'

73–5. **i:** for *gli*; cp. Inf. ii. 17. **decurio:** the captain of the *decina*, or band of ten devils, Inf. xxi. 120. **mal piglio:** 'frowning aspect'; cp. *piglio dolce*, Inf. xxiv. 20.

79, 80. **mala partita . . . facesti:** 'thou didst separate in an evil hour'; see ll. 66–9.

81. **frate Gomita:** of Gallura in Sardinia. Sardinia at this time belonged to the Pisans, who had taken it from the Saracens in 1017. It was divided by them into four provinces or jurisdictions, which were administered by Pisan nobles. Gallura, the north-eastern of these, was governed in the latter part of the thirteenth century by Nino Visconti (the 'Giudice Nin gentil' of Purg. viii. 53), and Frate Gomita acted as his administrator during his absence. This man, in whom Nino placed entire confidence, released from prison for a sum of money a number of his superior's enemies, and when this crime was brought home to him he was hanged.

83. **donno:** the use of this word is accounted for by its having been at that period a title in Sardinia, in which way it is introduced in l. 88, 'donno Michel Zanche.'

84. **fe' sì lor,** &c.: 'treated them so (in letting them escape), that they express their satisfaction therewith, one and all of them.' The phrase *lodarsi di* signifies 'to express satisfaction with'; cp. Inf. ii. 74.

85. **di piano:** 'quietly,' i. e. without formal trial. It is the legal Lat. term *de plano*, which from meaning 'on the level' came to be used for 'below the bench,' 'out of court,' and so 'extra-judicially'; see Lewis and Short's *Dict.*, s. v. *planus*.

88. **usa:** 'consorts.' **Michel Zanche:** he was administrator of Logodoro, the north-west province of Sardinia, under the governor Enzio, a natural son of Frederic II; and after his death in 1271 he married his widow.

93. **a grattarmi la tigna:** 'to scratch my scurf'; a low expression like this is suited to those punished in this *bolgia*.

94. **il gran proposto:** Barbariccia, the praefect in command.

100. **in cesso:** 'in retirement,' 'aside,' so that they might not be seen by the spirits emerging from the pitch.

107. **malizia**: 'knavery,' in the sense of 'deceitful cunning,' while *malizioso* in l. 110 is 'malicious' in conspiring to injure others.

109–11. **lacciuoli**: 'artifices'; the artifice in this case consisted in diverting attention from the *malizia* imputed to him by putting another construction on the word. **a' miei**: 'to my friends,' i. e. his companions in punishment.

112. **non si tenne**: 'could not refrain'; i. e. could not resist this proposal for alluring others of the sinners out of the pitch. **di rintoppo Agli altri**: 'in opposition to the others.'

113–5. **Se tu ti cali**, &c.: Alichino means that Ciampolo had no chance of escape, because he had only feet, while he himself had wings. 'If you cast yourself down in hopes of escape, I shall not follow you with speed of foot (i. e. running along the bank), but I shall hover over the pitch, so as to be sure of seizing you.'

116, 117. **Lascisi**, &c.: on either side of the lake of pitch there was a bank (**ripa**), running along above the level of the pitch; at the back of this a precipice rose, and at the highest point of this (**il colle**) the devils and their victim were stationed. The 'bank' here mentioned was on the opposite side, as we learn from l. 119, where the devils, following Alichino's indications, turn their eyes *dall' altra costa*. The meaning of the passage is—'Let us leave the summit, and let the bank serve as a screen (to conceal us from those sinners whom it is proposed to call up from the pitch), that we may see whether'—addressing Ciampolo—'your devices for escaping are cleverer than ours for preventing you.'

119, 120. **dall' altra costa**: 'towards the opposite side'; cp. l. 146. They looked that way to see what Alichino meant, and their attention being distracted, Ciampolo took the opportunity to escape. For **da** meaning 'in the direction of' cp. Inf. xx. 13; Purg. ii. 55. **crudo**: 'indisposed'; Cagnazzo is meant, ll. 106–8.

123. **dal proposto lor**: 'from their design' of further tormenting him.

126. **Tu se' giunto**: 'I'm down upon you,' lit. 'you are overtaken.'

127–9. **i**: for *gli*; cp. l. 73. **l' ali**, &c.: 'the speed of wings could not outstrip the speed of fear.' **suso**: because he was making for the crest of the embankment.

132. **rotto**: 'broken in spirit.'

134, 135. **invaghito,** &c.: 'delighted that the other (Ciampolo) should escape, that he might have the tussle.'

139. **sparvier grifagno**: 'a full-grown sparrow-hawk'; **grifagno** was the name given to the bird when it had reached maturity.

142. **Lo caldo,** &c.: 'the heat quickly separated the combatants.' **sghermitor**: 'intermediary,' one who separates those who are quarrelling.

146. **dall' altra costa**: 'towards the opposite side'; cp. l. 119.

148–51. **alla posta**: 'to their respective posts.' **gl' impaniati**: 'those sticking in the pitch,' lit. 'in the birdlime.' **crosta**: 'surface.' **così impacciati**: 'in this predicament.'

CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT.—Virgil, in order to rescue Dante from the malice of the enraged devils, takes him in his arms, and slides down the slope of the embankment which bounds the outer side of the sixth *bolgia*; in this way they pass the limits assigned to those evil spirits. At the bottom of this gulf they find the hypocrites, who wear cowled cloaks of lead, gilded externally, the weight of which causes them to walk slowly and with great pain. Among these sinners they meet with two who had belonged to the so-called 'Jolly Friars,' and at one point they behold Caiaphas, who is extended on the earth in the form of a cross. When they reach the next line of bridges, Virgil discovers that Malacoda has deceived him, and that here also the bridge across the valley is broken.

LINE 2. **N' andavam**: they were still following in a leftward direction (Inf. xxi. 136) the ridge of the embankment which separates the fifth from the sixth *bolgia* (Inf. xxi. 65).

3. **frati minor**: Minor Friars, i. e. Franciscans. The Anonimo Fiorentino says that it was their custom to walk in single file, the brother of higher position going first.

4. **favola d' Isopo**: the story of the Frog and the Mouse which is here referred to is not one of Aesop's Fables, but it is found in some of the various collections of tales which passed current under

that name in the middle ages. It appears in somewhat different forms, but as the point of Dante's comparison is that a person who was conspiring against another (Alichino against Ciampolo) brought disaster upon himself, the following seems to be the nearest of the versions which have come down to us to that which Dante had in his mind. A mouse and a frog came together to a river which they had to cross, and as the mouse could not swim, the frog proposed to convey her across by tying her to his leg. During their passage the frog tried to drown the mouse, but at this moment a kite swooped down and carried off the frog, setting the mouse at liberty. This is found in the collection translated by Marie de France in the twelfth century. See Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 219.

7. **mo ed issa**: both these words mean 'now,' **mo** being Lat. *modo*, **issa** Lat. *ipsa* (understand *hora*). They were both in common use in Dante's time; Blanc, *Versuch*, p. 208.

16. **s' aggueffa**: 'is added.' The original meaning of *aggueffare* is 'to weave on to,' the latter part of the compound being from O. Germ. *wifan* (Mod. Germ. *weben*); Diez, *Wört.*, p. 351, who compares the use of *attexere* for (1) 'to weave on to,' (2) 'to add,' in Latin.

23. **Malebranche**: a general name for these devils, as in Inf. xxi. 37.

25–7. **S' io fossi**, &c.: 'if I were a mirror, I should not more immediately assimilate your outward form, than I now receive the image of your thoughts' (**la tua imagine d' entro**). For **impiombato vetro** in the sense of 'a mirror' cp. Par. ii. 89, 90. **impetro**: 'receive,' 'obtain'; *impetrare*, from meaning 'to obtain by asking,' here signifies 'to become possessed of.'

30. **d' intrambi**, &c.: 'from the two corresponding thoughts I evolved a single purpose,' viz. that of flight.

31–3. **la destra costa**: i. e. the descent to the sixth *bolgia*, which would be on their right, since they were proceeding leftwards along the embankment. **giaccia**: 'slopes'; cp. l. 138, and Purg. iii. 76. **scendere**: on this line and those which rhyme with it as being twelve-syllable lines, see note on Inf. xv. 1. **immaginata**: 'which we have been picturing to ourselves.'

38. **al romore**: 'at the cries' of the neighbours.

42. **Tanto che**, &c.: take with **s' arresta** above; 'does not wait long enough to put on even an under-garment.'

44, 45. **Supin,** &c.: 'in a reclining posture slid down (lit. committed himself to) the sloping rock'; Virgil makes a sort of glissade. **tura:** 'encloses,' lit. 'stops up.'

47–9. **molin terragno:** 'a mill on land,' where the water is brought to the wheel by a sloping channel (**doccia**), as distinguished from mills in rivers, where the water flows below. Benvenuto distinguishes between *molendinum terrestre*, which means a mill with over-shot wheel, and *molendinum positum in aqua magna*, which latter he illustrates by the mills in the Po. **Quand' ella,** &c.: the fall of water in such a channel is steeper as it approaches the mill-wheel. **pale:** the paddles of the wheel. **vivagno:** 'bank,' lit. 'selvage.'

54. **Sopresso:** 'just over'; see note on Inf. xxxiv. 41. **gli:** 'there,' = *vi*, as in Purg. viii. 69; xiii. 7. **sospetto:** 'cause for fear.'

58. **dipinta:** this epithet refers to the gilding of their capes, l. 64. The spirits here met with are the hypocrites.

61. **cappe,** &c.: 'capes with low cowls coming down in front of their eyes.'

63. **Cologna:** Witte reads *Clugnì*. The MS. authority is considerably stronger for **Cologna,** but it is against this reading (1) that *Cologna*, being the more familiar name, would be less likely to be changed into *Clugnì* than *vice versa*; (2) that the line **Ché in Co|lógna | pér li | móna|ci fás|si** violates the stringent metrical rule, that there must be an accent either on the fourth or the sixth syllable of the verse. Consciousness of this rule may have produced the important variant, which is found in two of Witte's four test MSS., *Che per li monaci in Cologna fassi*; but this can hardly have been the original reading, being evidently *lectio facilior*. With the reading *Che in Clugnì* there is a certain irregularity in the non-elision of *Che*, but this, though unusual, is found in a fair number of lines in the poem. By *Clugnì* the Benedictine abbey of Cluny, twelve miles from Macon in Burgundy, would be meant. Nothing is known about the cowls worn either in Cologne or at Cluny.

64. **Di fuor dorate:** the bright external appearance of the cloaks, contrasting with the dull leaden colour within, symbolizes the double-faced character of hypocrisy. This idea, and with it the mode of punishment of the hypocrites, seems to have been suggested to Dante's mind by a false etymology of *hypocrita*, which was current in the middle ages, from *yper* (Gk. ὑπέρ), 'above,' and *crisis* (Gk. χρυσός),

'gold'—as Uguccione da Pisa, the grammarian of the twelfth century, who gives this derivation, says, 'quasi superauratus, quia in superficie et extrinsecus videtur esse bonus, cum interius sit malus.' See Toynbee's *Dict.*, pp. 545, 546. **egli abbaglia**: 'it dazzles,' **egli** meaning 'the gilding,' implied in **dorate son.** Perhaps this irregular use of **egli** is an extension of the impersonal use, which is seen in l. 31 above, *egli è*; Par. xiii. 118, *egli incontra*, and not infrequently elsewhere; see Blanc, *Versuch*, p. 211.

66. **Che Federico,** &c.: 'that the capes which the emperor Frederic II used to place on criminals were light as straw in comparison of them.' According to the commentators, in the punishment here referred to the victims were placed in these leaden capes in a boiler over a fire, and were killed by the melting of the lead. In any case, however, what Dante is referring to is the weight of the capes.

71, 72. **che noi,** &c.: 'that every step brought us abreast of fresh companions.'

75. **sì andando,** &c.: 'as we walk, cast thine eyes around.'

76. **la parola Tosca**: here, as in Inf. x. 25–7, the pronunciation is probably what is referred to.

79. **Forse ch' avrai**: 'maybe you will have'; for **forse** used with a verbal force and followed by *che* cp. Purg. iv. 98; xxi. 121.

84. **la via stretta**: 'the crowded way'; **stretta** means 'confined,' but it was so because of the multitude that crowded it.

88. **all' atto della gola**: 'from the movement of his throat' in speaking.

91. **collegio**: 'assembly,' 'company.'

97–9. **distilla**: in the form of tears. **sfavilla**: 'sparkles,' i. e. clearly reveals itself.

100–2. **rance**: 'orange'; from a Lat. form *aurantius*. **Fan così,** &c.: 'make their balances (scales) thus creak'; i. e. make those who support the weights emit these cries.

103. **Frati Godenti**: their proper name was Cavalieri di Santa Maria, an Order of Knighthood established under the sanction of Urban IV in 1261, with the object of reconciling feuds and protecting the weak; they obtained the nickname of Frati Gaudenti or 'Jolly Friars' because of their easy manner of life. The two members of the Order here named, Loderingo d' Andalò and Catalano de' Catalani, who were respectively a Guelf and a Ghibelline, were invited

to Florence to exercise the office of Podestà conjointly, but by their hypocrisy and peculation they forfeited all public confidence.

106–8. **un uom solingo**: i. e. the man who usually exercised in his single person the office of Podestà. **Gardingo**: a quarter of Florence near the Palazzo Vecchio, where was the palace of the Uberti, which was sacked and burnt by the populace during a rising against the Ghibellines in the time of the two Podestàs. This was an evidence of the condition of the city under the administration of these miscreants.

109. **O frati, i vostri mali . . .**: 'ye friars, your misdeeds . . .'

111. **tre pali**: these stakes ran through the two hands and the feet, and were used instead of nails, because they were fixed in the earth, there being no cross.

112. **si distorse**: through indignation at being seen in this position by a living person.

115. **Quel confitto**: Caiaphas, whose hypocrisy was shown by his giving his advice that it was expedient that one man should die for the sins of the people; John xi. 50. He is crucified in requital for Christ's death on the cross.

118–20. **Attraversato**: 'laid across.' **ch' ei senta**, &c.: 'that he should first feel the weight of every one who passes'; 'first,' i. e. before he has passed.

121–3. **il suocero**: Annas. **si stenta**: 'is tormented'; the der. is from Lat. *abstinere* through a form *astentare*; hence from the meaning of 'to abstain,' *stentarsi* in Ital. signifies (1) 'to be in need,' (2) 'to be in suffering'; Diez, *Wört.*, p. 403. **mala sementa**: 'the source of woes,' lit. 'evil seed.'

124, 125. **maravigliar**: as a heathen, he would know nothing of the story of Christ's passion. **disteso in croce**: stretched in the form of a cross'; see note on l. 111.

129. **alla man destra**: they were going to the left along the *bolgia* (l. 68), consequently the embankment between the sixth and seventh *bolge* was on their right hand. **foce**: 'passage.'

130, 131. **uscirci**: for the use of **ci** for *di qui* cp. Inf. iv. 49, *uscicci*. **Senza costringer**, &c.: 'without compelling the black angels to come to deliver us.' Virgil could require this on the strength of the divine command which authorized him to pass through Hell, Inf. xxi. 83, 84.

135, 136. **Si move**: 'starts,' cp. Inf. xviii. 16, 17; the **sasso**

here is one of the *scogli* or 'rock-bridges' mentioned in that passage, while the **gran cerchia** is the precipice which encircles Malebolge. **a questo**: sub. *vallon*, 'at this *bolgia*.'

138. **giace**: this word and **soperchia** are contrasted, 'which slopes at the side and rises at the bottom.' This is what would happen with a fall of rock, the great mass of which would slide down into the valley. For **giace** meaning 'slopes' cp. l. 31.

140. **contava la bisogna**: 'explained the matter.' Malacoda had told them that this bridge was standing, Inf. xxi. 111.

142–4. **Bologna**: the speaker's native place, l. 103. It is specially mentioned here because of its School of Theology. **bugiardo**, &c.: cp. John viii. 44.

145. **sen gì**: the introduction of the ten-syllable lines here, which involves the loss of the weak eleventh syllable, is perhaps due to the desire of expressing a sudden movement; see on this the note to Inf. xxxi. 145.

147. **incarcati**: burdened with the leaden capes.

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT.—Dante, with the assistance of Virgil, climbs up the embankment over the ruins of the broken bridge, after which they pass onward to the seventh *bolgia*, where the thieves are tormented by serpents. As they watch the scene, one of these sinners, being bitten, is reduced to ashes, and then returns again to his human form. Being questioned by Virgil, he declares himself to be Vanni Fucci, who was a violent adherent of the Black Guelf party, and notorious on account of a sacrilegious robbery. When he discovers that Dante is one of his political opponents, he prophesies to him the evils impending over the White faction.

LINES 1–15. This beautiful simile—in which the effect on Dante of Virgil's clouded looks and of his recovery of serenity is compared to the change of feeling in the rustic, when he first sees the country white with hoarfrost, and shortly afterwards finds it green again—is, for Dante, unusually long and elaborate in its details. Dante

has produced a similar effect of contrast by introducing a quiet rural scene in the midst of the horrors of Malebolge in the simile of the fireflies in Inf. xxvi. 25, and the description of the runlets of water in Inf. xxx. 64. This mode of poetic treatment is one for which he may have been indebted to Virgil, who introduces similes drawn from rural life into his battlepieces, e. g. *Aen.* x. 803, of a labourer taking refuge during a storm; xii. 473, of a swallow flying round a house; xii. 587, of smoking out bees.

1, 2. **quella parte**: the latter part of January and the beginning of February, when the sun is in Aquarius. **i crin . . . tempra**: 'tempers his locks,' i. e. warms his rays. That **tempra** means 'warms' is shown by the next line, which implies that it was after the turn of the year; 'cools his rays' would rather apply to autumn.

3. **E già**, &c.: 'and now the nights retire towards the south,' i. e. as the days lengthen and the sun advances towards the north, the nights shorten and retreat southwards. The night is regarded as occupying the part of the heavens opposite the sun (cp. Purg. ii. 4); therefore, when the sun approaches the tropic of Cancer, the night approaches that of Capricorn—in other words, retires towards the south. Others say—'the nights are progressing towards half the day,' i. e. the equinox is approaching.

4–6. **Quando**, &c.: 'when the hoarfrost portrays on the ground the likeness of her white sister, but the fine point of her pen (with which she portrays the snow) does not last long.' The general meaning is:—'when the hoarfrost produces the effect of snow, but easily melts in the sun.' The words here used—**imagine, penna, tempra**—show that the metaphors are drawn from the art of calligraphy, **tempra**, in particular, meaning the 'point' of a pen, just as *temperare* is 'to make or mend' a pen. **assempra**: lit. 'copies'; cp. *Vita Nuova*, § 1, l. 6; der. from Lat. *exemplum*, which is found in O. Ital. as *assemplo* and *assempro*; Körting, *Wört.*, No. 2941.

7–9. **a cui**, &c.: 'poverty-stricken'; cp. Purg. xiii. 61, *a cui la roba falla.* **si batte l' anca**: 'smites his thigh' in despair.

10. **qua e là si lagna**: 'goes complaining to and fro,' 'restlessly bewails him.'

12. **ringavagna**: 'regains.' The latter part of this obsolete word is, according to Diez, p. 175, from O. Fr. *gaagner* (Mod. Fr. *gagner*, Ital. *guadagnare*). Others derive it from the dialectic Ital.

gavagno, *cavagna*, 'basket,' with the meaning 'stores up,' in support of which Blanc compares Inf. xi. 54, 'fidanza non imborsa.'

18. **al mal,** &c.: 'the remedy (lit. plaster) was applied to the wound.'

19–30. This passage, with its careful description of a rock-climb, has been cited to prove that Dante, however unwillingly, had had some experience of mountaineering. Thus Mr. Douglas Freshfield says, that it reads 'like a modern description of an Almer or Devouassoud at work' (*Alpine Journal*, vol. x. p. 404). The point is one of some interest, because, if true, it tends to show that in other passages of the *Div. Com.* where mountain climbing is referred to, the Poet is drawing on his experience rather than his imagination.

20, 21. **piglio**: 'aspect,' 'look'; cp. *mal piglio*, Inf. xxii. 75. **a piè del monte**: at the foot of the Mountain of Salvation (Inf. i. 13), where Virgil first met him.

24. **diedemi di piglio**: Virgil now takes hold of Dante, and partly lifts him (*levando*, l. 27), partly pushes him (*sospinto*, l. 32) upwards.

25. **che adopera,** &c.: i. e. who, while he works, is deliberating on the next step.

31–3. **da vestito di cappa**: for the hypocrites with their capes of lead. **sospinto**: 'with the help of his pushing.' **di chiappa in chiappa**: 'from one point of rock to another.'

34–6. **da quel precinto**: 'towards that enclosure,' i. e. the inner embankment of this *bolgia*. The reason why this embankment was lower than the outer one is given in the lines which follow. See note on Inf. xix. 35, in which passage, as here, the inner embankment is spoken of. **sarei**: for *sarei stato*; for other instances of the omission of *stato* after *sarei* or *fora* cp. Par. xxvii. 85; xxxiii. 77.

37–40. **porta**: 'opening,' 'mouth.' **pende**: 'slopes downward.' **Lo sito,** &c.: 'the position of each *bolgia* brings it to pass that one side is higher and the other lower,' lit. 'rises' and 'sinks.'

42. **Onde,** &c.: 'from which the last stone (of the broken bridge) splits off'; for **scoscende** see note on Inf. xvii. 121.

43–5. **munta**: 'exhausted,' lit. 'milked out,' 'forced out'; the word is similarly used of gushing tears in Inf. xii. 135. **nella prima giunta**: 'as soon as I arrived.'

52–4. **ambascia:** here 'weariness.' **Se col suo,** &c.: 'if he does not give way through infirmity of the flesh.'

55–7. **Più lunga scala:** the ascent of the Mountain of Purgatory. **da costoro,** &c.: 'to have escaped from these,' i. e. the occupants of Hell. The symbolical meaning is, that it is not sufficient to escape from sin, but one must proceed to practise virtue. **fa sì,** &c.: 'see that you profit by my admonition.'

61–3. **Su per lo scoglio:** 'over the rocky bridge': **scoglio** here is the same as the *sasso* of Inf. xxiii. 134, and is one of the lines of bridges which cross the *bolge*, Inf. xviii. 16–8. **quel di pria:** the line of bridges which they had previously followed.

65, 66. **altro fosso:** the seventh *bolgia*, into which they now look down. **A parole,** &c.: 'ill-suited to form articulate words.'

70. **vivi:** i. e. of one still in the body.

73. **Dall' altro cinghio:** 'at the next (circular) embankment,' i. e. the one which separates the seventh from the eighth *bolgia*. **lo muro:** the bridge.

78. **Si dee seguir,** &c.: 'should be followed by its performance.'

81. **la bolgia:** it should be observed that the class of thieves who are punished in this *bolgia* does not include the highwaymen, who are placed in the Circle of the violent (Inf. xii. 137, 138). The symbolism in what follows is not easy to interpret, but probably the serpent, as the enemy of the human race, represents the thief, as the foe of society at large, while its stealthy movements and sudden attack signify the secrecy of the thief's proceedings. The change of form and temporary loss of identity have been regarded as corresponding to the thief's ignoring the difference between *meum* and *tuum*; in any case this feature of the punishment resembles the shiftiness of the malefactor's proceedings.

83, 84. **mena:** 'kind,' 'species.' **scipa:** 'pines my blood.'

85–7. **Più non,** &c.: Dante is here referring to Lucan, ix. 706 foll., where the serpents of Libya are enumerated, including the names which are here given. **Libia con sua rena:** 'Libya and its sands,' i. e. the deserts of Libya. By Libya here is meant the Roman province of Africa, which lay to the W. of Egypt; this name is assigned to that district by Dante's geographical authorities, Solinus and Orosius, and by the Hereford map, which represents the mediaeval views on that subject.

88–90. **Nè tante,** &c.: 'nor did Libya, with the addition of

all Ethiopia, and of the region which borders on the Red Sea, display plagues (of serpents) so many and so dire.' By Ethiopia the country to the S. of Egypt is intended, while 'the region which borders on the Red Sea' is the eastern coast of Egypt, the *lito rubro* of Par. vi. 79. **ee**: cp. Purg. xxxii. 10.

93. **pertugio**: a hole to hide themselves in. **elitropia**: the stone called heliotrope, which had the power of rendering the wearer invisible.

94–6. **Con serpi**, &c.: the snakes were knotted in front, and twisted round the arms behind, and the head and tail were fixed in the loins.

97. **da nostra proda**: 'by our bank,' i. e. near the side of the embankment where we were.

100–2. **Nè O**, &c.: the point here is, that O and I can be written with one stroke of the pen. **Convenne che**, &c.: 'he must needs become.'

105. **di butto**: for *di botto*, 'suddenly.'

106–8. **per li gran savi**, &c.: 'it is declared by the most famous sages.' Among the authorities with whom Dante was acquainted, Solinus (xxxiii. 12) gives the life of the phoenix as 540 years; Isidore (*Orig.* xii. 7) says 'quingentis ultra annis'; Brunetto Latini (*Tesoro*, bk. v. ch. xxvi), 'Li più dicono ch' egli invecchia in cinquecento anni.' Ovid, whom Dante is here following, says (*Met.* xv. 395), 'Haec ubi quinque suae complevit saecula vitae.'

109–11. Ov. *Met.* xv. 393, 394, 398–400; 'Non fruge neque herbis, Sed turis lacrimis et suco vivit amomi. . . . Quo simul ac casias et nardi lenis aristas, Quassaque cum fulva substravit cinnama myrrha, Se superimponit, finitque in odoribus aevum.' **son l' ultime fasce**: 'are its winding-sheet at last.'

113, 114. **ch' a terra il tira**: like the man described in Luke ix. 42, who was 'thrown down' by the devil that possessed him. **oppilazion**: 'obstruction,' i. e. an influence which prevents an organ from working.

119, 120. **quant' è severa**: 'how strict it is.' Another reading is *quanto se' vera*, 'how just art thou'; this deserves serious consideration, because it is far the harder of explanation of the two, and therefore more likely to have been altered into **quant' è severa** than *vice versa*. The objection to it is, that it involves a change from the second to the third person in **croscia**; but

this perhaps is not so great as might at first sight appear, because *quanto se' vera* is rather a reflexion on the poet's part (= 'how great is thy justice') than a real address. **cotai colpi . . . croscia:** 'rains down such blows.'

122, 123. **piovvi:** this word is used again of the descent of a condemned soul to its 'own place' in Inf. xxx. 95. In Inf. v. 15 the souls, after the sentence of Minos, are said to be *giù volte*. **gola:** 'gorge,' the *bolgia*.

125. **mul:** here used in the sense of 'bastard.' **Vanni Fucci:** a violent partisan of the Black Guelfs in Pistoia. In 1293 he broke into the sacristy of St. James in the church of San Zeno in that city, and for this crime another man was hanged.

127. **che non mucci:** 'not to shirk'; that he was a likely person to do so is implied in *non s' infinse*, l. 130.

133. **Più mi duol,** &c.: his pain arose from the satisfaction which his punishment would cause to a political opponent; cp. l. 140. He afterwards avenges himself by predicting the misfortunes which were about to befall the White Guelfs, ll. 144 foll.

138. **de' belli arredi:** take with *la sacrestia*, 'the sacristy of the beauteous ornaments.' On account of the richness of its decoration this sacristy was called 'il tesoro di S. Jacopo.'

143, 144. **di Negri si dimagra:** 'is depopulated (lit. thinned) of Black Guelfs.' In May, 1301, the Black Guelfs were driven out of Pistoia. **rinnuova,** &c.: 'changes her families and her fashions.' In Nov., 1301, the White Guelfs were driven out of Florence by Charles of Valois. The 'fashions' were the government, which passed into the hands of the Blacks.

145, 146. **Tragge,** &c.: the mist which Mars draws from Val di Magra is Moroello Malaspina, lord of the Lunigiana in the north-west of Tuscany, through which the river Macra (**Magra**) flowed. He was captain of the Florentine Black Guelfs, when in company with the Lucchesi in 1302 they attacked Pistoia, which was then occupied by the Whites. **torbidi nuvoli:** the thunder-clouds of war.

148. **campo Picen:** a district in the neighbourhood of Pistoia. As there is no record of a battle having taken place there on this occasion, the allusion seems to be to the capture by Moroello of the stronghold of Serravalle, which was near the Campo Piceno, in the course of the attack upon Pistoia; Villani, viii. 52.

149. **ei**: the *vapor*, i. e. Moroello, who is symbolized by it. His bursting the cloud is his charging the foe.

151. **perchè doler ti debbia**: 'that you may have whereat to grieve,' as being of the White party.

CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT.—The seventh *bolgia* is further treated of, two other kinds of torment inflicted by serpents being described. In the former of these the serpent and the man who is bitten by it are changed into a single form, so that they are identified. In the latter there is an interchange of forms, the man assuming the serpent's shape, and the serpent the man's. Among the malefactors who suffer these punishments several descendants of noble Florentine families are found.

LINES 2, 3. **fiche**: this insulting gesture consists in thrusting the thumb between the first and middle fingers. **Togli**: 'take that.' **squadro**: 'level,' 'point.'

4. **Da indi in qua**, &c.: 'from that time forth the serpents were endeared to me.'

9. **un crollo**: 'a jerk,' referring to the movement of the thumbs. This serpent hindered him from his blasphemous gestures, as the other had from his blasphemous words.

10, 11. **chè non stanzi**, &c.: 'why dost thou hesitate (lit. 'dost thou not settle,' 'determine') to reduce thyself to ashes?' with reference to what had just happened to Vanni Fucci, who was a citizen of Pistoia; Inf. xxiv. 100–2, 126.

12. **lo seme tuo avanzi**: 'thou surpassest the seed from which thou didst spring,' i. e. the gang of Catiline. It was believed at that time that Pistoia was founded by the remains of Catiline's army; Villani, i. 32. For **seme** meaning 'progenitors' cp. Par. vii. 86.

15. **quel che**, &c.: Capaneus, Inf. xiv. 46, where see note.

17. **un Centauro**: we learn from l. 25 that this is the monstrous giant Cacus, who lived in a cave on the Aventine Hill, and stole the cattle of Hercules when he passed by that way; Virg. *Aen.* viii. 193 foll. The epithet 'half-human' (= half-savage), which

Virgil applies to him ('Semihominis Caci,' l. 194), seems to have misled Dante into the idea that he was a Centaur.

19–21. **Maremma:** the marshy and uncultivated district between the mountains of Tuscany and the sea; see note on Inf. xiii. 9. **nostra labbia:** 'the human form,' i. e. the fore-part of the Centaur, in contrast with **groppa,** which is the hind-quarters. **labbia,** which elsewhere in the *Div. Com.* signifies the look of the face, from meaning 'aspect' comes here to be used for 'form.'

24. **affoca:** in Virgil it is Cacus himself who is described as 'Ore vomens ignes,' *Aen.* viii. 199.

26, 27. **il sasso:** i. e. his cave. **Di sangue,** &c.: Virg. *Aen.* viii. ll. 195, 196, 'semperque recenti Caede tepebat humus.' **laco:** *lago* for a 'pool' of blood is found in Purg. v. 84.

28–30. **co' suoi fratei:** the other Centaurs were in the Circle of the violent, Inf. xii. 55 foll. **lo furar che frodolente fece:** this is Cacus' deceitful stratagem of dragging the oxen backwards that their footprints might convey a false idea of the direction they were following, Virg. *Aen.* viii. l. 210. **frodolente** is here an adv.; others read *lo furar frodolente che fece*, in which case it is an adj. **ch' egli ebbe a vicino:** 'which were in his (Cacus') neighbourhood.' Virgil describes (l. 204) how Hercules' drove occupied a valley near the Aventine.

31–3. **biece:** 'sly,' 'wily.' **e non,** &c.: 'though he (Cacus) did not feel ten of them,' because he was dead first. Virgil on the other hand makes Hercules strangle Cacus. **le diece:** sub. *percosse.*

34. **ed ei trascorse:** 'he then passed by.' The use of *ed* here and in l. 50 below (cp. also Purg. viii. 94), which at first sight seems pleonastic, is explained by Diez (*Gram.* iii. p. 317), who gives numerous examples of *et*, *ed*, *e* used in this manner in Ital. and Old French. He says that it has the force of 'then,' and is used with the latter of two clauses which have different subjects, and that it serves to make the latter of the two subjects the more prominent. The use of *e* in the sense of 'yet' seems to be an extension of this; see note on Inf. xix. 3.

35. **tre spiriti:** these are three Florentine thieves, Agnello Brunelleschi, Buoso degli Abati, and Puccio Sciancato. Their names are mentioned below in ll. 68, 140, and 148. **sotto noi:** Dante and Virgil were on the side of the embankment below the bridge; Inf. xxiv. 79, 80.

38. **novella**: 'discourse.' This meaning seems to be derived from that of 'narrative,' 'talk,' Inf. xviii. 57.

40–2. **ma ei seguette**, &c.: 'but it came to pass, as by some accident a thing doth happen, that one had occasion to name another.'

43. **Cianfa**: one of the Donati family, who was a housebreaker. He was missing at this time, as the question here implies, because he had been transformed into the serpent with six feet, l. 50.

45. **dal mento al naso**: i. e. on my lips, enjoining silence. From hearing Cianfa's name Dante recognized that the others were Florentines.

46–8. **Se tu**, &c.: this form of apology or protest on Dante's part is one of his devices for drawing attention to something especially marvellous; cp. Inf. xxviii. 113–7. The passage which follows is one of the most remarkable in the poem for its skill in giving reality to things which pass human experience, viz. loss of individuality, and interchange of personality.

49–78. The change which is here described consists in the man and the serpent being blended into one form.

50. **ed**: 'then'; see note on l. 34.

63. **Nè l' un nè l' altro**: understand *colore*.

64–6. **Come**: the simile here is intended to illustrate *mischiar lor colore* in l. 62. The indeterminate colour assumed by the two bodies, which had now become one, is compared to the brown tint which steals over a piece of white paper, as it burns, before it turns black. 'As there spreads over (**suso per**) the paper in front of the flame a brown hue, which is not yet black, though the white tint is disappearing.' **papiro**: 'paper.' Paper made of cotton was in use in Dante's time.

73. **Fersi**, &c.: 'from being four strips (of flesh) the arms became two.'

77. **Due e nessun**, &c.: 'the unnatural figure appeared both, yet neither of the two,' i. e. the likeness both of the man and of the serpent was there, yet it was not the real likeness of either of them. Dante here had in his mind Ovid's description of the formation of Hermaphroditus, where it is said (*Met.* iv. 378, 379), 'Nec duo sunt et forma duplex, nec femina dici Nec puer ut possint; neutrumque et utrumque videntur': see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 213.

79. **Come**, &c.: Dante now proceeds to describe the third effect of a serpent's bite, viz. that the man changes into a serpent's shape,

the serpent into that of a man. **fersa**: 'heat'; it is probably another form of *ferza*, 'lash,' which also bears this sense; thus Villani (viii. 72) uses 'alla ferza del sole' for 'in the heat of the sun.'

83. **un serpentello**: from the reference in l. 151 to the person concealed in this form we learn that he was Francesco Guercio de' Cavalcanti. **acceso**: 'infuriated.'

85, 86. **quella parte**: the navel. **un di lor**: Buoso degli Abati.

94, 95. **là**, &c.: in *Phars.* ix. 761 foll. Sabellus and Nassidius were two soldiers of Cato's army, who were bitten by serpents in Libya. The body of Sabellus putrefied from the bite of one kind of serpent (ix. 763–82), while Nassidius died from the swelling of his body owing to the bite of another (ix. 790–7).

96. **or si scocca**: 'is about to be revealed'; **si scocca**, lit. 'is let fly.'

97. **Ovidio**: the change of Cadmus into a snake is described in Ov. *Met.* iv. 563 foll., that of Arethusa into a fountain in v. 572 foll.

98–102. Dante maintains that his description is more wonderful than those of Ovid, because Ovid only narrated the change of a human being into something else, whereas he himself relates a double change, viz. that of a man into a serpent and that of a serpent into a man.

101, 102. **forme**: this word may here be rendered by 'persons,' **materia** by 'substance.' In the language of the Schoolmen *forma* is the essential element which distinguishes a species; hence it is used of the essence or personality of living beings (cp. Par. iv. 54), while *materia* signifies the bodies in which they reside.

103–5. **Insieme**, &c.: 'they corresponded one to other (**insieme**) in such fashion'; what is intended is that they made a mutual change. **ristrinse**, &c.: 'drew his feet together into one.'

106, 107. **Le gambe**, &c.: 'the legs (of the man), thighs and all, of themselves adhered so to each other.' **seco stesse**: 'of themselves,' i. e. simply from contact. The description here is taken from Ov. *Met.* iv. 578, 579, of Cadmus, 'commissaque in unum Paulatim tereti sinuantur acumine crura.'

109–11. **Togliea**, &c.: 'the forked tail (of the serpent) assumed the form,' &c. **quella di là dura**: the man's skin became hard and scaly, like that of a serpent.

112. **entrar**: the man's arms closed in at the armpits; but the

use of **accorciavan**, 'shortened' (l. 114), implies that they did not disappear altogether, but that sufficient length was left to form the serpent's fore-legs.

115–7. **li piè**: i. e. those of the serpent. **n' avea due porti**: 'had put forth two such (feet),' thus forming the feet of the serpent. **porti** from *porgere*.

118. **il fummo**, &c.: the smoke gives the man the colour of a serpent, and the serpent that of a man.

119, 120. **genera**, &c.: 'causes the hair to grow on the surface (**suso**) on the one figure (the serpent become a man), and removes it from the other (the man become a serpent).'

122, 123. **Non torcendo però**, &c.: 'yet not for all that withdrawing from one another their malign eyes.' From l. 91 it is seen that they were looking fixedly at one another. **muso**: 'muzzle,' i. e. the lower part of the face.

124–34. The next six lines describe the transformation of the serpent's face into that of the man; the five that follow describe the converse change.

124–6. **Quel che**, &c.: 'the one that was upright drew it (sc. *muso*, the snake's projecting face) in the direction of the temples.' The fore part of the snake's face had to be drawn inwards and upwards, in order to form that of the man. **scempie**: 'flat,' lit. 'simple.'

127, 128. **Ciò che**, &c.: 'the matter which did not run backward but stayed, formed with that superfluity a nose for the face.'

133. This and the following line, together with l. 137, are from Ovid, *Met.* iv. 585–8, of Cadmus, 'lingua repente In partes est fissa duas, nec verba volenti Sufficiunt; quotiesque aliquos parat edere questus, Sibilat.'

134, 135. **la forcuta**, &c.: 'the forked tongue of the other (the snake) closes up.' **il fummo resta**: the smoke, which had marked the commencement of the transformation (ll. 92, 93), ceases when it is completed. For **resta** cp. Purg. xxix. 19.

138. **parlando sputa**: 'sputters as he speaks.' This describes the process of imperfect speech, before the habit is formed.

139, 140. **Poscia**, &c.: 'afterwards he (the serpent in human form) turned on him (Buoso in his serpent form) his newly assumed back, and said to the other (Puccio), 'I desire that Buoso should run,' &c.

142. **zavorra**: 'vile gang,' Lat. *saburra*, 'ballast'; from this meaning it gets the sense of 'rubbish,' 'refuse,' and so 'a worthless company.' In Modern Greek at the present day σαβοῦρα, which is also derived from Lat. *saburra*, is used as a term of contempt for 'a good-for-nothing person.' The change from initial *s* into *z*, which is found in *zavorra* from *saburra*, appears also in *zolfo* from *sulphur*. **La settima zavorra** means the occupants of the seventh *bolgia*.

144. **se fior la penna abborra**: 'if my pen (style of writing) is somewhat at fault.' For the origin of the adverbial use of **fior** in the sense of 'slightly,' 'a little,' see note on Inf. xxxiv. 26. **abborra**: Lat. *aberrat*, 'wanders,' 'bungles'; cp. Inf. xxxi. 24.

146, 147. **smagato**: 'bewildered'; see note on Purg. x. 106. **chiusi**: 'secretly,' lit. 'hidden.'

151. **L' altro**: the *serpentello* of l. 83. Guercio was killed by some people of Gaville in the upper Valdarno, and in consequence of this his relations slew many of the inhabitants of that place.

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT.—The two Poets now cross into the eighth *bolgia*, where the givers of fraudulent counsel are punished by being wrapped, each of them, in an enveloping flame. As they look down on these moving lights from the bridge above, Dante inquires from Virgil the meaning of one of the flames which has a double crest; and being informed by him that the spirits of Ulysses and Diomede are contained within it, earnestly begs his guide to await their approach. Ulysses, at Virgil's request, relates to them the story of his last voyage and the manner of his death.

LINES 1–6. Dante with bitter irony, before leaving the company of the thieves, congratulates Florence on the fame of her infamy in Hell.

4–6. **cotali**: referring to their being men of noble birth. **E tu**, &c.: 'and thou thereby dost rise to no great honour.'

7. **presso al mattin**: the idea that morning dreams are true is of frequent occurrence in poetry; Dante may have obtained it from

Ovid, *Heroid.* xix. 195, 196, 'sub auroram, iam dormitante lucerna, Somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent.' This point is further treated of in Purg. ix. 16–8. In the present passage Dante is predicting misfortunes which were about to fall on Florence, and—in default of any other kind of prophetic power that he could claim—he professes to have had a dream to that effect.

8, 9. **Tu sentirai,** &c.: 'within no long time thou wilt be aware of that which Prato, not to say others, covets for thee.' The connexion between this remark and what precedes (ll. 1–6) is that Dante regards the misfortunes which are impending over Florence as a judgement for the immorality of her citizens. The misfortunes here pointed to seem to have been the great fire of 1304, and the fall of a wooden bridge over the Arno, involving the loss of many lives, in the same year. As these disasters were associated in the popular mind with the interdict, under which the city shortly before this was laid by Cardinal Niccolò da Prato, in consequence of the failure of the mission on which he had been sent thither by Benedict XI, this may perhaps account for Prato being mentioned among the enemies of Florence, whereas she was generally on friendly terms with her neighbour.

11, 12. **Così,** &c.: 'would that it were already, since it must even come, for it will lie heavier upon me, the more I advance in years.'

13, 14. **le scalee,** &c.: 'the stairs, which the projections of the rock had made for us.' **borni:** *bornio* is the same as the Fr. *borne*, a 'spur-stone' projecting from the angle of a house just above the ground, to ward off blows of wheels, &c.; Diez, p. 528. **a scender pria:** cp. Inf. xxiv. 79.

17. **scoglio:** the line of rock, which crosses the embankments and forms the bridges. They were now crossing the embankment between the seventh and eighth *bolge*.

19–24. In these lines Dante says that he was distressed by what he saw in this *bolgia*, viz. the punishment of men who were gifted with great ability and had misused it; and that his distress is renewed whenever circumstances arise which recall it to his mind; and that at such times he keeps guard over his talents to prevent them from going astray, lest he should thus forfeit what Providence has bestowed upon him. **Ora** here is sometimes interpreted to mean 'at this moment,' and **lo ingegno affreno** is also regarded

as referring to what the Poet is now writing, as if for the time being he checked his power of expression; but this view can hardly be reconciled with what follows, for in the two stories of Ulysses and Guido da Montefeltro his treatment of the subject is singularly effective, and in the similes and other features of style his poetic art is conspicuously seen. **Ora** rather means 'now, since I have returned from Hell to earth,' and **Quando** is used in a general sense for 'whenever.' Translate thus :—'At that time I was pained, and now (since my return to earth) my pain is renewed, whenever I reflect on what I then beheld; and (on such occasions) I curb my genius more than is my wont, that it may not pursue a course which is not under the guidance of virtue; so that, if a favouring star, or a Higher Power, has vouchsafed to me that good gift (of genius), I may not by my own doing cause myself to forfeit it (lit. grudge it to myself).'

26, 27. **Nel tempo,** &c.: in the summer season, when the sun is longest above the horizon.

28. **Come,** &c.: in the late evening, when the flies disappear and the gnats come out.

34–6. **E qual,** &c.: the point of this simile is, that the flame alone, and not the person or object within it, was seen. **colui,** &c.: Elisha, who caused the bears to tear the children who mocked him; 2 Kings ii. 23, 24. **levorsi**: for *si levarono*.

40–2. The symbolism involved in those who abused the tongue by giving evil counsel being wrapped in flame is derived from the words of St. James, iii. 6, 'the tongue is a fire,' which 'setteth on fire the course of nature; and it is set on fire of hell.' Also, the words *furto* in l. 41, and *foco furo* in xxvii. 127, suggest that the concealment of the person was symbolical of the fraudulent crime.

41, 42. **chè**: 'for,' explaining the application of the simile. **il furto**: 'the person whom it conceals.' **invola**: 'keeps in hiding,' lit. 'steals away.'

48. **quel ch' egli è inceso**: 'that with which he is on fire.'

50. **m' era avviso**: 'it was my view'; **avviso** is subst.

52. **diviso**: forming two horns of flame, the *fiamma cornuta* of l. 68.

53, 54. **che par,** &c.: the bodies of the twin brothers, Eteocles and Polynices—the sons of Oedipus, who contended for the sovereignty of Thebes, and ultimately killed one another in single

combat—when placed on the same pyre, refused to commingle their ashes, so that two separate flames went up from them; see Statius, *Theb.* xii. 431, 'exundant diviso vertice flammae.'

55. **si martira:** observe the quasi-absolute use of the verb sing. preceding the two subjects, while *vanno* (l. 57), which follows them, is plur.

56, 57. **insieme,** &c.: 'they go in company to meet their punishment, as they did to vent their fury' on the Trojans. The reference is to their deeds of violence when they carried off the Palladium, or tutelary statue of Athena; Virg. *Aen.* ii. 166, 'caesis summae custodibus arcis.'

59. **fe' la porta,** &c.: the 'ambush of the wooden horse,' through which Troy was taken, was the cause of the departure of Aeneas from that place, and of his founding the Roman state in Italy.

61, 62. **l' arte,** &c.: when Achilles was left by his mother Thetis in Scyros, that he might not take part in the Trojan war, Deidamia, the daughter of Lycomedes king of Scyros, fell in love with him, but lost him owing to Ulysses, who, in company with Diomede, artfully persuaded Achilles to come to the war, after which she died of grief; Statius, *Achill.* i. 538 foll.; ii. 15 foll. **ancor:** with reference to **morta,** 'though dead, still grieves.'

65, 66. **assai,** &c.: 'with all my heart I pray thee once and again, so that my prayer may have the force of a thousand prayers.'

67. **nego:** 'refusal,' for *niego.*

72. **si sostegna:** 'check itself'; i. e. keep silence.

74, 75. **ei sarebbero,** &c.: 'since they were Greeks, perhaps they would be shy of your address,' i. e. of being addressed by you. No explanation of this remark has been suggested which is wholly satisfactory; but perhaps the best is that which connects it with the rule that is observed throughout this part of the poem, that Virgil converses with the ancient, and Dante with the modern characters. The souls in Hell may be supposed to recognize the fitness of this; and in that case what is here referred to would be Dante's ignorance of the Greek language, which, if he spoke, would be a sufficient evidence to Ulysses and Diomede that he was not an 'ancient.'

82–4. **gli alti versi:** the Aeneid, in which he had commemorated them. **l' un di voi:** Ulysses. **Dove,** &c.: 'where, after he had lost his way, he went to die.' **gissi** is for *si gì* used impersonally, so that **per lui gissi** is 'it was gone by him.'

85, 86. **Lo maggior corno**: that which represents Ulysses, who is the more eminent of the two. **crollarsi**: this is the result of the voice struggling for utterance.

90 foll. The story of Ulysses' last voyage and death is a digression, like that of the foundation of Mantua in Inf. xx, for it bears no relation to the subject of the Inferno. Both of these serve, however, to give variety, and to lighten the uniformity of gloom. The story here given is quite different from the enigmatical description of Ulysses' peaceful end in the *Odyssey* (xi. 134–7), and, as far as we can learn, was Dante's own invention. The idea of it may have been suggested to him by the Genoese voyages of discovery in search of a western continent, which were made in his time; one of these expeditions started in 1291, and was never heard of again; Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 264 note. The story of Tennyson's 'Ulysses' is based on Dante's version.

91–3. **sottrasse**: 'withdrew me from the company of men.' **più d' un anno**: suggested by Ov. *Met.* xiv. 308, 'Annua nos illic tenuit mora.' **là presso a Gaeta**: the place meant is Circeii. **la nominasse**: after Caieta, his nurse; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 1–4.

94. **la pieta**, &c.: 'the sorrow felt by my aged sire.'

98. **del mondo esperto**: this is the traditional character of Ulysses as he is described in the *Odyssey*. Dante may perhaps have got it from Horace, *Ars Poet.*, l. 142, 'Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.'

108. **segnò**: 'set up to view,' lit. 'marked.' **riguardi**: 'boundary-marks,' the Pillars of Hercules, Calpe and Abyla. According to Perticari (quoted by Blanc, *Versuch*, p. 240), *riguardo* is regularly used in this sense in the Romagna.

111. **già**: 'already,' for Ceuta (**Setta**) is opposite Gibraltar, and some distance E. of Seville.

114, 115. **vigilia**: 'waking-time,' before 'the night cometh in which no man can work.' **ch' è del rimanente**: 'which still remains,' lit. 'which is of what remains.'

117. **Diretro al sol**: 'following the sun,' i. e. in a westward course. **del mondo senza gente**: the whole world except the Old Continent was then supposed to be uninhabited.

124–6. **volta . . . mattino**: this is equivalent to 'turning our prow to the west'; but the stern is mentioned, because they

were leaving behind them the lands towards the east. **Sempre,** &c.: 'ever trending more and more towards the left.' Their course, from being westward, became south-westward. If, as is usually thought, the mountain which Ulysses at last sights is the mountain of Purgatory, which according to Dante was the antipodes of Jerusalem, this direction would just lead to it.

128. **Vedea la notte:** 'the night beheld.' Blanc quotes Petrarch, 'Non vide tante stelle alcuna notte.'

131, 132. **di sotto,** &c.: 'on the under side of the moon,' i. e. that which is turned towards the earth. **alto passo:** 'perilous passage'; see note on Inf. ii. 12.

133, 134. **bruna,** &c.: 'dim owing to the distance.'

139. **Tre volte,** &c.: cp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 116, 117, 'ast illam ter fluctus ibidem Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat aequore vertex.' **con tutte l' acque:** 'with a rush of waters.' Mr. Beazeley remarks (*Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 14) that the Arabs said that whirlpools always destroy the adventurer who sails into the Atlantic.

141. **altrui:** God, whose name is not uttered in Hell, except in blasphemy by Vanni Fucci, Inf. xxv. 3

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT.—After Ulysses and Diomede have passed on, a voice is heard to issue from another flame, asking for news concerning the present state of Romagna. When Dante has satisfied his request, the imprisoned spirit informs them, though without mentioning his name, that he is Guido da Montefeltro, and proceeds to explain how he was persuaded by Boniface VIII to give fraudulent counsel, and what befell him after death.

LINE 3. **licenza:** 'permission'; see l. 21, where the words with which Virgil dismissed him are given.

7–12. **il bue Cicilian:** the brazen bull made by Perillus for Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily, in which the human victim could be burnt, so that his cries produced the effect of

bellowing on the part of the bull. Perillus was the first victim who met this fate. Cp. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 653–6, where 'neque enim lex aequior ulla Quam necis artifices arte perire sua' suggested **e ciò fu dritto. temperato:** 'shaped.'

13. **Così:** the application of the simile consists in the sound which proceeded from the bull in the one case and from the flame in the other being made by the voice of the person concealed within it.

14, 15. **Dal principio del foco:** others read *nel foco*, but **del foco** has a great preponderance of MS. authority; see Witte, *Quattro Testi*, p. 179; Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 195. With **del foco** the meaning is:—'the melancholy words were converted by the element of fire into its language,' i. e. into a rushing sound. It must be confessed that **il principio del foco**, in the sense of 'the element of fire,' is a more stilted expression than we should expect to find in Dante's poetry. With *nel foco* the interpretation is easier, and **Dal principio** means 'at first.' 'Similarly, from having at first no passage or opening in the flame, the woful words were converted into the language of flame,' i. e. a dull murmur. **Dal principio** is thus contrasted with *poscia* in l. 16.

18. **in lor passaggio:** i. e. in pronouncing them; 'giving it (the tip of the flame) that vibration, which the tongue had given them (the words) in their passage through the mouth.'

20. **mo:** 'just now,' Lat. *modo*. **Lombardo:** i. e. using, as a Mantuan, the Lombardic dialect.

21. **Dicendo,** &c.: 'when thou didst say, "Now go thy way, I urge thee no more to speak"'; these are the words used by Virgil in parting from Ulysses, which are implied in *licenza*, l. 3. The Lombard element which the spirit discovered in what Virgil said is probably to be referred to the pronunciation rather than to any of the words used, for **issa** was not peculiar to that dialect (see note on Inf. xxiii. 7), and of the obsolete **adizzo**, 'I excite,' 'urge' (or, as some read, with the same meaning, *aizzo*), we know nothing certain. **issa:** the vast majority of MSS. read *istra*, a word of no meaning, which seems to have been introduced through an early blunder on the part of copyists, for the greater number of the Commentators support **issa**, which is found in the sense of 'now' in Inf. xxiii. 7 and Purg. xxiv. 55; Moore, *Text. Crit.*, pp. 338, 339.

27. **Latina**: of Italy; cp. Inf. xxii. 65. **ond' io**, &c.: 'which is the origin of all my sin,' referring to his political career there.

28. **i Romagnuoli**: Romagna was the country between the Po and the Apennines in one direction, and Bologna and the Adriatic in the other; cp. Purg. xiv. 92.

29, 30. **io fui**, &c.: the speaker is Guido da Montefeltro, the leader of the Ghibellines in Romagna, and one of the ablest military commanders of his time. In the latter part of his life he was reconciled to the Church, and he joined the Franciscan Order in 1296. **intra**: the hiatus between this word and **Urbino** is very unusual; *sopra* is similarly unelided in Par. xxvi. 45. **il giogo**: the main chain of the Apennines, 'il gran giogo' of Purg. v. 116. **si disserra**: 'issues,' lit. 'is unlocked.' Montefeltro, which is described in this and the preceding line, was a mountainous district on the northern side of the Apennines towards Urbino and San Marino.

31–3. **ingiuso**: towards the *bolgia* below. **Latino**: Italian, cp. l. 27. Perhaps the point here is that he is a 'modern,' in contrast to Ulysses and Diomede, who were 'ancients'; see note on Inf. xxvi. 75.

38, 39. **suoi tiranni**: these are the great families, between whom there were feuds in every important city of Romagna, though in 1300 there was no open war (**in palese**).

41, 42. **L' aquila**, &c.: the counts of Polenta, whose arms were an eagle, were now lords of Ravenna. One of these, Guido Novello, was subsequently Dante's host at that place. **là si cova**: 'there doth brood.' If *la si cova* is read, it = *se la cova*, 'broods over it,' 'covers it with its wings.' **Cervia**: a town on the coast S. of Ravenna.

43–5. **La terra**: 'the city'; Forlì is meant, which in 1282 endured a long siege (**la lunga prova**) by the French troops sent against it by Pope Martin IV, until they were finally defeated by Guido da Montefeltro. **le branche verdi**: 'the green paws'; a green lion was the arms of the Ordelaffi, who were lords of Forlì in 1300.

46–8. **Il Mastin**, &c.: the old Mastiff is Malatesta da Verrucchio, lord of Rimini, and the young Mastiff is his son, Malatestino. The castle of Verrucchio was presented to the Malatesta family by the city of Rimini for their services. **da**

Verrucchio goes with both **vecchio** and **nuovo**. **Che fecer**, &c.: 'who disposed ill of Montagna'; for **governo** meaning 'treatment' cp. Purg. v. 108. Montagna de' Parcitati, a Ghibelline chieftain, was treacherously taken prisoner by Malatesta, and murdered in prison by Malatestino. **Là dove**, &c.: 'make augers of their teeth (i. e. seize and rend the population) there where such is their wont' (i. e. in their subject lands).

49–51. **Le città**, &c.: Faenza on the Lamone, and Imola on the Santerno. **Conduce**: 'governs.' **il leoncel**, &c.: Maghinardo Pagani, whose arms were a lion azure on a white field. He had gained possession of those two cities. **muta parte**, &c.: 'changes sides with the seasons' (or 'from south to north'); the meaning is, that he was a Guelf in Tuscany and a Ghibelline in Romagna.

52, 53. **quella**: Cesena, on the Savio. **sie'**: for *siede*.

56, 57. **Non esser**, &c.: 'be not more unyielding than other spirits in the Inferno have been, so may thy name maintain itself in the world above.'

61. **S' io credessi**, &c.: the souls in Hell, as a rule, are anxious that their memories should be recalled to men's minds on earth; but those who have committed crimes at once flagrant and mean against their fellow men desire not to be named: see note on Inf. vi. 89.

67, 68. **Io fui**, &c.: Guido now tells the story of his yielding to the specious arguments of Boniface VIII, and giving him fraudulent counsel concerning his mode of dealing with his enemies, the Colonna family; and then reveals what happened after his death. **cordelliero**: a Franciscan friar. They were so called from the cord with which they were girt (**sì cinto**).

69. **veniva intero**: 'was on its way to fulfilment.' For *venire* used with an adj. in the sense of *divenire* cp. Par. xxvi. 102, *venia gaia*; xxxiii. 52, *venendo sincera*.

70. **il gran Prete**: Pope Boniface VIII. **a cui mal prenda**: 'on whom may ruin seize.'

75. **Non furon**, &c.: Dante here is clearly referring to the passage in the *De Officiis* (i. 13. 41), which he has used for the distinction of sins of violence and fraud (Inf. xi. 22–4, where see note), where Cicero says, 'fraus quasi vulpeculae, vis leonis videtur.' The character here attributed to Guido is not that which he bears in history, for he is spoken of as being a distinguished soldier.

See Villani, vii. 44, and the Forlì chronicler quoted by Philalethes, p. 198.

76. **accorgimenti**: 'shrewd plans.'

83, 84. **pentuto**, &c.: 'after repentance and confession I became a monk.' *Rendersi* is a regular expression for becoming a monk; cp. Purg. xx. 54, 'renduto in panni bigi.' Both this and **calar le vele** (l. 81) are used in *Conv.* iv. 28, ll. 62–4, where Guido is mentioned in company with Lancelot: 'questi nobili calaron le vele delle mondane operazioni, chè nella loro lunga età a religione si rendêro.' **sarebbe**: here used irregularly for *avrebbe*.

85, 86. **Lo Principe**, &c.: Pope Boniface, to whom Dante gives this title as being the leader of the worldly clergy of his time. **guerra**: with the Colonna family, who dwelt near St. John Lateran; his struggle with them culminated in 1297.

89, 90. **E nessuno**, &c.: 'and none of his enemies were in the number of the Saracens who conquered Acre, or of the Jews who trafficked within the dominions of the Soldan.' Acre, the last possession that remained to the Christians in Palestine, was captured by the Saracens in 1291. The traffic here referred to was confined to the Jews after the capture of Acre, for the Pope then forbade all Christians to trade with Alexandria and Egypt (Villani, vii. 145 *ad fin.*); before that time a considerable trade, including that in material of war, had been carried on in those parts by the Genoese and Venetians, as well as the Jews.

91. **ordini sacri**: 'Holy Orders' in our sense of the term.

92, 93. **quel capestro**: the cord of St. Francis, which is called *l' umile capestro* in Par. xi. 87. **solea**: the past tense implies the neglect of the rule of poverty by the Franciscans.

94, 95. **come Constantin**, &c.: 'as Constantine sought out Sylvester in the recesses of Soracte to cure him of his leprosy.' According to the mediaeval story, when Constantine before his conversion was suffering from a leprosy, which resulted from his persecution of the Christians, he was recovered from it by Pope Sylvester in his retreat in a cave on Mt. Soracte (**Siratti**). Similarly Guido was in retirement in the Franciscan convent at Assisi, when Boniface applied to him.

96, 97. **maestro**: 'director,' with the further implication of 'physician,' which sense also the word bears. **superba febbre**: 'fever of pride,' i. e. feverish eagerness to ruin the Colonna.

98. **tacetti**: for *tacqui*; cp. Inf. ii. 75.

101, 102. **Finor**: 'from this time forth.' **Penestrino**: Palestrina, formerly Praeneste. This was at this time a fortress of the Colonna, which the Pope was anxious to get into his power. It was surrendered by them under promise of an amnesty, after which Boniface razed it to the ground.

105. **il mio antecessor**: Celestine V, who abdicated the Papacy; see note on Inf. iii. 60. **non ebbe care**: 'valued little.'

107. **Là 've**, &c.: 'to the point where (i. e. to the conclusion that) to hold my peace was the worse counsel,' i. e. was more ill-advised than to speak. He considered that the Pope's authority outweighed the sin of giving evil advice. **avviso**: subst., as in Inf. xxvi. 50.

110, 111. **Lunga**, &c.: 'promising much and fulfilling little.' *Attendere la promessa* means 'to keep one's word.' **alto seggio**: the papal throne.

112, 113. **Francesco**, &c.: the description of the contest between St. Francis and the devil for the possession of Guido's soul is the counterpart of, though in strong contrast with, the struggle for the soul of his son Buonconte, which is related in Purg. v. 104 foll. **Cherubini**: perhaps the devil who is here introduced is called by this title because of the power of argument which he displays (ll. 118–20), for the Cherubim were the Order of angels in Heaven whose special gift was knowledge.

115–7. **meschini**: 'minions'; so in Inf. ix. 43 the Furies are called the *meschine* of Proserpine. **Dal quale**, &c.: 'since which up to the present time I have been waiting to seize him.'

119, 120. **pentere e volere**: 'to repent and to desire to commit the crime.' **nol consente**: 'does not admit of it.' Repentance and the desire to commit sin are contradictory to one another, and two contradictories cannot be held together. It is the logical form into which this statement is put which the devil refers to in l. 123.

121–3. **mi riscossi**: 'I shuddered.' **loico**, for *logico*, 'a logician'; 'that I could argue so cogently.'

125. **Otto volte**: as a token that he was assigned to the eighth Circle; cp. Inf. v. 11, 12.

127. **furo**: 'thievish,' i. e. which hides its prey; cp. *furto* in Inf. xxvi. 41.

134–6. **lo scoglio**: see note on Inf. xxvi. 17. **il fosso**: the ninth *bolgia*. **in che**, &c.: 'in which the penalty is paid by those who by sowing discord lay on themselves (lit. win for themselves) a burden.' For **si paga il fio** in this sense cp. Purg. xi. 88. **scommettendo**: *scommettere* is the opposite of *commettere*, 'to unite.'

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT.—The ninth *bolgia* contains the schismatics and propagators of discord, who are rent and gashed with a sword by a devil, in recompense for their having caused disunion among mankind. The first of these lacerated figures which attracts Dante's attention is Mahomet, who is here presented as the type of religious schismatics. Others, who follow him, were persons conspicuous in their lifetime as fomenters of social and political discord; conspicuous among whom are Pier da Medicina, who stirred up strife between families in the Romagna; Curio, who urged Caesar to make war on the senate of Rome; Mosca Lamberti, through whom the Guelf and Ghibelline factions at Florence arose; and the troubadour Bertrand de Born.

LINES 1–3. **con parole sciolte**: 'with untrammelled words,' i. e. in prose. **per narrar più volte**: 'even if he repeated the tale,' lit. 'for all his repeating'; for this use of *per* cp. Inf. iv. 11; xxi. 28.

5, 6. **Per lo**, &c.: owing to the inability of human language to express it, and of human intellect to grasp it. **seno**: lit. 'bosom'; taken with **a comprender** it means 'capacity for embracing.'

7. **s' adunasse ancor**: these two words can hardly be taken together as forming a single expression; 'were recalled to life (**ancor**) and assembled.'

8, 9. **fortunata**: 'fateful,' i. e. doomed to disaster. Dante now enumerates in their historical order five scenes of bloodshed which had occurred in Apulia (**Puglia**), using that name, as it was often used in the middle ages, in a wide sense, so as to embrace a large part of Southern Italy; cp. *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 10. ll. 49–52, where Apulia is said to be divided in two parts by the Apennines. The carnage produced by these battles, he says, would not equal what

was displayed to view in this *bolgia*. **fu del suo sangue dolente**: 'suffered from their wounds.'

10–2. **Per li Troiani**: in the wars following Aeneas' landing in Italy. **la lunga guerra**: the Second Punic War, including the battle of Cannae. **dell' anella**: referring to the bushels of rings taken by the Carthaginians from the fingers of the slain Roman knights after Cannae. **alte**: 'high-heaped,' representing the *acervus* of Livy xxiii. 12. **Livio**: his account of the battle is in xxii. 47 foll.

13, 14. **Con quella**: understand *gente*; the Greeks and Saracens are meant, who were slain in their wars with the Norman Robert Guiscard during the eleventh century. **Per contrastare**: 'owing to their making head against.'

15, 16. **il cui**, &c.: 'whose bones are still heaped'; **ossame** (lit. 'pile of bones') favours this translation, while **s' accoglie** is better suited to the other, 'whose bones are still picked up.' **Ceperan**: on the Liris near Monte Cassino. This point the Apulians were to have defended against Charles of Anjou, but they deserted their post (**bugiardo**, 'faithless'). The massacre which is implied in **ossame** was the battle of Benevento (A. D. 1266), where Manfred was defeated; Dante's words imply that there was an action at Ceperano, but this was not the case.

17, 18. **là**: see note on Inf. vii. 22. **da Tagliacozzo**: 'at Tagliacozzo' in the Abruzzi, where Manfred's nephew, Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufen, was defeated by Charles of Anjou in 1268. **senz' arme**: by his advice, not by fighting. Erard (**Alardo**) de Valéry persuaded Charles to keep a third of his forces in reserve, and when Conradin's troops thought they had won the day and were pursuing their opponents, these attacked and defeated them; Villani, vii. 27.

19–21. **E qual**, &c.; *se* is here to be supplied from l. 7, and **qual**—**qual** refer to *la gente*, ibid. 'And if some of these victims showed how their limbs were pierced, others how they were cut off, that would be nothing to compare with what was seen,' &c.

22, 23. **Già veggia**, &c.: 'a cask was never so rifted from the loss of centre-piece or side-piece, as one whom I saw.' The position of the clauses here is curiously inverted; for a similar instance cp. Inf. xxix. 16, 17. **mezzul** is the middle piece, **lulla** one of the side pieces of the bottom of a cask.

25, 26. **minugia**: 'entrails.' '**corata**': 'vitals.' **sacco**: 'pouch,' the stomach.

30. **mi dilacco**: 'I rend myself,' lit. 'dismember.'

31. **Maometto**: Mahomet's new departure in religion caused him to be regarded as a schismatic.

32. **Alì**: the two great Mahometan sects—the Shiites, who are now represented by the Persians, and the Sunnites, who are represented by the Turks—are divided on the question whether Ali was or was not the rightful successor to Mahomet in the Caliphate, the Shiites maintaining the former view, the Sunnites the latter. Thus Ali came to be regarded as a source of schism, though he did not himself found a sect. For the ten-syllable line here and in the rhyming lines see note on Inf. iv. 56.

33. **nel volto**: i. e. in the part of his person which in Mahomet's case was sound, the meaning being that Ali caused a schism in Mahometanism.

35. **scandalo**: 'dissension.'

37–40. **accisma**: this seems to be the same word as O. Fr. *acesmer*, 'to set in order,' 'adorn'; here 'makes us such a sight.' For a similar ironical use cp. *conciando* in Inf. xxx. 33. **al taglio**, &c.: 'putting anew to the sword's edge.' **risma**: 'gang,' lit. 'bundle,' the word being used as a term of contempt for the occupants of the *bolgia*, like *zavorra* in Inf. xxv. 142. Both in origin and meaning it is the same as Engl. 'ream' of paper, the der. being from Arab. *rismat*, 'bundle,' which word was imported into Europe along with the introduction of cotton by the Moors; Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s. v. 'ream.' **Quando**, &c.: i. e. when we have completed the circle of the *bolgia*.

42. **Prima**, &c.: 'before any of us reappears in his presence.' **altri** for 'any one' is rare; the *Vocab. Crusca* compares Tasso, xiii. 34, 'Non mai la vita, ove cagion onesta Del comun pro la chieda, altri risparmi' ('let not any one spare').

43–5. **muse**: 'musest'; *musare* is der. from *muso*, O. Fr. *muse*, 'mouth,' 'snout.' Skeat (s. v. 'muse') says, 'the image is that of a dog snuffing idly about.' **tue accuse**: 'your confession of crimes,' with reference to the self-accusation, when the soul confesses its sins to Minos, Inf. v. 8; cp. also Purg. xxxi. 40, 41.

55. **Or di'**: Mahomet is speaking; cp. l. 62. **Fra Dolcin**: the

leader of a sect of fanatical religious reformers called the Apostolic Brothers at the end of the thirteenth century. He is said (though it was probably a calumny) to have advocated community of wives, and this may account for the interest which Mahomet is here represented as taking in him. The circumstances referred to in what follows were these. When Clement V issued a Bull for the extirpation of the sect, he and his followers withdrew to the hills between Novara and Vercelli, where they occupied a strong position; but they were ultimately forced to surrender owing to failure of provisions and a great fall of snow. Fra Dolcino was burnt alive at Vercelli in 1307. Dante regards him as a schismatic. **s' armi**: take with *di vivanda* in l. 58.

58, 59. **stretta di neve**: 'a deep snow-fall'; the first meaning of **stretta** is 'a compact mass.' **Noarese**: the people of Novara, who led a crusade against him.

61–3. **Poi che**, &c.: if what is said here is merely a description of starting to walk, it is strangely elaborate, but there is something like it in Purg. xiii. 14, 15. Casini takes it as referring to the brief interval occupied by Mahomet's speech, as if he were hurrying his departure. Possibly it may describe his difficulty in walking owing to his body being cleft.

64 foll. The persons who are now introduced were promoters of political discord.

71. **Latina**: Italian.

73. **Pier da Medicina**: he was so called from the town of Medicina near Bologna. He kept alive the strife between the families of Polenta and Malatesta.

75. **dichina**: 'slopes,' i. e. with the fall of the river. The plain is that of Lombardy, Vercelli lying in the western part towards its head, Marcabò near the mouths of the Po.

77. **Guido**: he and Angiolello were two leading men of Fano, whom Malatestino of Rimini—the 'young Mastiff' of Inf. xxvii. 46—shortly after 1312 invited to a conference at La Cattolica, a coast-town between Rimini and Pesaro, and caused to be drowned by the sailors when they were on their way thither.

80. **mazzerati**: 'thrown overboard'; *mazzerare* is to throw a man into the sea tied up in a sack. **Cattolica**: for the twelve-syllable lines here and in ll. 82, 84 see note on Inf. xv. 1.

82–4. **Tra l' isola**, &c.: Cyprus and Majorca are here taken as

marking the eastern and western limits of the Mediterranean. **fallo**: 'outrage.' **Argolica**: the early Greek settlers in Italy and Sicily were regarded, not without reason, as brigands.

85. **Quel traditor,** &c.: Malatestino, who had lost an eye.

86, 87. **la terra,** &c.: 'the city (Rimini), which one in my company here would be glad never to have seen.' This is explained below (l. 102) to be Curio, who there advocated the civil strife for which he is now punished. There is a suppressed relative after the clause **tal è qui meco**. For **digiuno** meaning 'lacking of' cp. Inf. xviii. 42.

89, 90. **al vento,** &c.: 'neither vows nor prayers against the wind of Focara will be needed for them.' Focara was a headland near La Cattolica, which was dangerous on account of its storms; but they would have no need to invoke the protection of Heaven, because they would be drowned before reaching it. *Fa mestiere* is a phrase for 'it is necessary.'

93. **dalla veduta amara**: to whom it is painful to have seen Rimini, ll. 86, 87.

96. **non favella**: because his tongue was severed, l. 101.

97. **scacciato**: 'being banished.' After Caesar was declared a public enemy by the Senate, Curio fled to him from Rome, and urged him to commence the civil war without delay. According to the facts of history he reached him at Ravenna before he crossed the Rubicon, but Dante represents him as having given this advice at Rimini (see note on ll. 86, 87), and therefore after he had crossed the Rubicon. He is here following Lucan, who says that after Caesar had crossed the Rubicon (i. 223, 224) he attacked Ariminum (l. 231), and was there joined by Curio (ll. 266–9); and when he was hesitating whether he should advance (l. 272), Curio used the words 'Tolle moras; semper nocuit differre paratis' (l. 281).

98, 99. **il fornito,** &c.: 'one who is prepared always loses if he endures to wait'; this is a paraphrase of 'semper nocuit,' &c. These words of Lucan are quoted by Dante in his letter to Henry of Luxemburg, *Epist.* vii. 4, ll. 81–4.

102. **a dire . . . ardito**: Lucan speaks of Curio as 'audax venali lingua,' l. 269.

106. **del Mosca**: Mosca Lamberti, concerning whom Dante had already made inquiries in Inf. vi. 80. His story is as follows. Buondelmonte, a young Florentine nobleman, was betrothed to

a lady of the Amidei family, but married instead a daughter of the Donati (see Par. xvi. 140). When the Amidei were consulting how they could best avenge themselves for the insult, and various counter-insults were proposed, Mosca exclaimed, 'Cosa fatta capo ha,' meaning that 'Death settles a matter once for all'; and accordingly Buondelmonte was murdered.

108. **il mal seme**: in consequence of this quarrel, the leading nobles of Florence ranged themselves on the side of one or other of these families, and ultimately the Buondelmonti took the lead of the Guelf, the Amidei of the Ghibelline faction. Hence Mosca is placed among the propagators of discord.

109. **E morte**, &c.: 'it was death withal to thy race.' After 1266 the Lamberti are not heard of.

114. **contarla**: the use of **la** after *che* preceding is pleonastic; cp. Inf. v. 69.

117. **osbergo**: 'hauberk,' 'breastplate.'

119. **sì come**, &c.: walking onwards, like the rest of the sowers of discord, though he was without his head and could not see.

124–6. **lucerna**: his head, thus suspended from his hand, enabled him to see his way. **governa**: 'ordains.'

128. **con tutta la testa**: 'and the head along with it.' Casini quotes Boccaccio, *Decam.* x. 9, 'il letto con tutto messer Torello fu tolto via.'

134. **Bertram dal Bornio**: Bertrand de Born, a troubadour and warrior of the latter half of the twelfth century, was distinguished by his wild love of fighting, which caused him to propagate strife among his neighbours. With this object he supported the younger Henry, eldest son of Henry II of England, against his father. He is thus a type of another form of sowing discord.

135. **diedi . . . i mai conforti**: 'gave the wrongful encouragement.' **re giovane**: 'the Young King' was the title by which the younger Henry was called, because he was crowned during his father's lifetime; Villani (v. 4) speaks of him by that name, when he mentions his having been at war with his father. The MS. authority is extremely strong in favour of the reading *Giovanni*, but this appears to have arisen from a mistake on the part of the copyists, who confused the young Henry with his younger brother, John Lackland. It seems almost impossible that Dante should have been in error on this point, because the title of 'the Young

King,' as applied to the eldest son of Henry II, was well known at that time in Italy, and is also frequently introduced into the poems of Bertrand de Born. See Moore, *Text. Crit.*, pp. 344 foll.; Toynbee in *The Academy*, vol. xxxiii. p. 274.

136–8. **ribelli**: 'hostile.' **Achitofel**: 2 Sam. xv. 12 foll. **non fe' più d'**: 'did not more so with,' i. e. 'did not stir up more ill-will between.'

141, 142. **suo principio**: the spinal marrow. **lo contrapasso**: the law of retaliation.

CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT.—While they are crossing the next embankment, the Poets converse about Geri del Bello, a relation of Dante, whom he believes he saw among the sowers of discord. In the tenth and last *bolgia* of the eighth Circle falsifiers are punished by being afflicted with loathsome diseases, owing to which they lie helplessly in various positions on the ground. In the present Canto alchemists, or falsifiers of metals, are introduced; and among them Dante parleys with two Italians, Griffolino and Capocchio, who had committed that crime.

LINES 4, 5. **Che pur guate?** 'why art thou absorbed in gazing?' **pur** here, and in the following line, from meaning 'only' comes to be used with a verb for 'to do nothing else than.' **si soffolge**: 'is riveted,' lit. 'propped,' 'stayed,' Lat. *suffulcire*; cp. Par. xxiii. 130, where the form is *soffolce*.

8. **se tu**, &c.: 'if thou thinkest to take count of them,' i. e. of the number of souls in this *bolgia*.

9. **miglia ventidue**: the 'valley' here, which has the circuit of twenty-two miles, is the ninth *bolgia*, and in Inf. xxx. 86 we are told that the tenth *bolgia* is eleven miles in circuit, or half that of the preceding one. Dante seems to have introduced the number twenty-two for a double purpose:—first, to give an idea of the size of the *bolgia* itself and of the number of souls which it contained; and secondly, to suggest incidentally the size of the

part of Hell which still remained to be visited. For 22 : 7 was understood in Dante's time to be the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of a circle (cp. Brunetto Latini, *Tesoro*, Bk. ii. Ch. xl: Mr. Butler refers also to Dante's contemporary, Cecco d' Ascoli, in his Treatise on the Sphere); and by the mention of twenty-two miles as the circumference it is implied that the diameter was seven miles; consequently the diameter of the circle formed by the tenth *bolgia*, which was half that size, was three and a half miles. The line thus measured crossed both the tenth *bolgia* and the Pit of Hell which was enclosed within it. The numbers given in the present passage and in Inf. xxx. 86 have been taken by Philalethes (p. 234) as the basis of a calculation of the size of Malebolge; starting from the assumption that all the *bolge* are to be reckoned on the same scale, he estimates the circumference of that area as 115½ miles. Agnelli, in his *Topo-cronografia del Viaggio Dantesco*, pp. 15 foll., has gone still farther, and extended this calculation so as to apply to the size of the Inferno itself. Such inferences as these, however, are doubtfully justifiable. When Dante introduces numbers into his poem, they are usually intended to serve the purpose of enabling his readers to realize more distinctly the scenes or objects which are presented to them, and it is dangerous to argue from them to larger measurements. These he prefers to leave to the imagination.

10–2. **E già**, &c.: the time which is thus indicated is between 1 and 2 p.m. Here, as elsewhere in the Inferno, time is measured by the moon instead of the sun; see note on Inf. xx. 124. **poco**: about five hours, the whole amount allowed for the Inferno being between twenty-four and twenty-five hours. **Ed altro**, &c.: 'and there is more to be seen besides what thou seest.'

15. **m' avresti**, &c.: 'thou wouldest have allowed me to stay even longer.'

16, 17. **Parte**: 'meanwhile'; cp. Purg. xxi. 19. The order of the words here is confused by **Lo Duca**, the subject to **gía**, being introduced out of place, and so separating **facendo** from **io**, to which it refers. For a similar inversion cp. Inf. xxviii. 23.

18, 19. **quella cava**: the *bolgia*. **a posta**: 'attentively.'

22, 23. **Non si franga**, &c.: i. e. 'trouble not thyself further about him.' The phrase resembles the Engl. 'to break one's head' over a matter.

27. **udì 'l nominar:** 'I heard him named.' This Geri del Bello was a distant relation of Dante. He was a worthless character, and a turbulent person, in consequence of which he is placed among the propagators of discord. He was murdered by one of the Sacchetti, and afterwards, but not till later than 1300, his death was avenged.

28–30. **impedito:** 'engrossed.' **Altaforte:** Hautefort, the name of Bertrand de Born's castle. **sì:** 'so,' marking the consequence. If a comma is substituted for the semicolon before **sì**, the meaning is 'until,' **sì** being for *sino*, as in Inf. xix. 44.

32, 33. **vendicata:** the right of *vendetta* (private vengeance) was legally recognized in Florence at this time, the whole family being affected by the indignity (**dell' onta consorte**); and from this passage it appears that Dante approved of it.

36. **pio:** 'compassionate.'

38, 39. **dello scoglio:** 'from the ridge'; see note on Inf. xxvi. 17. **mostra:** for *mostrarebbe*. The irregular sequence of the indic. after **fosse** is the same idiom which is found in Lat., e. g. in Hor. *Od.* ii. 17. 27, 'Me truncus illapsus cerebro Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum Dextra levasset.' The literal meaning is:—'which displays a complete view of the next *bolgia* to its lowest depths; that is, it would do so if there were more light there.' For other instances in Dante cp. Inf. xv. 111, 'S' avessi avuto . . . potei'; Purg. iii. 39, 'se aveste . . . non era'; and Purg. vii. 117; Par. vii. 118; viii. 56. The present instance differs from the others in using the pres. indic.

41. **conversi:** 'lay-brethren'; these are the inmates of the 'chiostra.'

47. **Valdichiana:** in consequence of the sluggish character of the stream of the Chiana in Tuscany (cp. Par. xiii. 23), the valley in which it flowed was a marshy and unhealthy district. There were hospitals at that time in various parts of it, dependent on the convent of Altopascio. The river has now been diverted and the valley drained.

48. **Maremma,** &c.: Sardinia and the Maremma on the coast of Tuscany are still notorious for malarial fevers. **mali:** 'diseases,' plur. from *male*.

52, 53. **ultima riva:** the last embankment, which was on the further side of the tenth *bolgia*, separating it from the pit of Hell.

Del, &c.: 'from the long bridge.' **pur da man sinistra**: 'keeping constantly to the left.'

54. **fu . . . più viva**: 'had more power to penetrate.'

57. **che qui registra**: 'whom it assigns here,' lit. 'enters in the book of doom as belonging here.'

58, 59. **Non credo**, &c.: the order of the words here and in ll. 65, 66 is—'Non credo che il popol tutto infermo fosse maggior tristizia a veder, che era a veder gli spirti languir,' &c. **in Egina**: the story is told in Ov. *Met.* vii. 523 foll. After the whole population of Aegina had been destroyed by a pestilence, Jupiter in response to the prayers of Aeacus repeopled it by changing ants into men, whence arose the name Myrmidons (from *μύρμηκες*).

69. **Si trasmutava**: 'shifted his place.'

74. **Come**, &c.: 'as platter in heating leans against platter.'

76–8. **E non vidi**, &c.: 'never saw I groom for whom his master is waiting, or who is anxious for his night's rest (lit. 'is kept awake against his will'), use a currycomb to a horse so hurriedly.' **signorso**: for *signor suo*; similarly *patremo* for *patre mio*, *mogliama* for *mia moglie*, &c., are found, and *mammata* for *mamma tua* is still in use in the Neapolitan dialect; Blanc, *Gram.*, pp. 278, 279.

81. **non ha più soccorso**: 'is irremediable'; others say 'can find no other relief.'

83. **scardova**: 'carp,' or 'bream.'

85. **dismaglie**: 'scale,' 'flay'; from *maglia*, 'coat of mail.'

88, 89. **Latino**: Italian. **se**: 'so may'; the sarcasm here implied is merciless and repulsive.

95. **balzo**: rampart or terrace of rocks; cp. Inf. xi. 115.

97–9. **si ruppe**, &c.: 'they ceased their mutual support'; i. e. they started asunder, ceasing to rest against one another; cp. l. 73. **di rimbalzo**: 'indirectly,' since it was not addressed to them.

100–2. **a me tutto s' accolse**: 'turned all his attention to me.' **poscia**, &c.: 'since such was his pleasure'; **volse** for *volle*.

103, 104. **s' imboli**: for *s' involi*, 'disappear.' **primo mondo**: the world of the living.

109. **Io fui**, &c.: the speaker is a certain Griffolino, an alchemist of Arezzo, who practised on the credulity of Albero or Alberto, a natural son of the Bishop of Siena. For this he was burnt.

114. **vaghezza**: 'curiosity' or 'fondness for novelties'; the meaning of the word here is intermediate between that of *vago*, 'eager for,' and that of *vago*, 'wandering.'

116, 117. **nol feci Dedalo**: 'did not enable him to fly,' referring to Daedalus' flight on artificial wings. **a tal**, &c.: 'by one (the bishop) who regarded him as his son,' though he was illegitimate. *a* is regularly used for 'by' after *fare* preceding.

122. **vana**: 'frivolous,' with reference to the 'vaghezza e senno poco' of Albert of Siena, who is taken as a representative of the character of his countrymen. Dante, who seldom misses an opportunity of inveighing against the Sienese, the traditional opponents of Florence, repeats this charge in Purg. xiii. 151.

125, 126. **Trammene Stricca**: 'prithee except Stricca.' For the irony of this cp. 'fuor che Bonturo' in Inf. xxi. 41. Stricca and the rest who are mentioned here were extravagant votaries of fashion at Siena. **me** in **Trammene** is the dative case, like the ethic dative in Greek, expressing the speaker's interest in what he says; cp. Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, i. 2. 11, 'Villain, I say, knock me at this gate.' **le temperate spese**: 'such modest outlays.'

128, 129. **Del garofano**: he is said to have seasoned pheasants and partridges with cloves. **orto**: the class of epicures is meant. Others take it as referring to Siena.

130–2. **la brigata**: the *brigata spendereccia*, or Prodigal Club, of Siena, composed of twelve young men, whose aim was to run through the greatest possible amount of money in riotous living in a short time. **la vigna**, &c.: the vineyards and forest-lands were his patrimony. **l' Abbagliato**: a nickname of Bartolommeo de' Folcacchieri, a man who held high offices of state at Siena.

133–5. **ti seconda**: 'supports your views' of the fatuity of the Sienese. **ti responda**: 'may answer the question you asked,' viz. 'Who are you?' l. 106.

136. **Capocchio**: an alchemist, who was burnt at Siena in 1293.

138, 139. **se ben t' adocchio**: 'if I scan thee aright,' i. e. if I am not mistaken in recognizing thee. **scimia**: 'ape,' 'imitator.' Capocchio was an artist and a clever mimic, and is said to have been a fellow student of Dante. His power of mimicry is probably referred to here, for **scimia** would hardly be used of imitation in art.

CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT.—The tenth *bolgia* continued. The falsifiers treated of in this Canto are (1) counterfeiters of others' persons, (2) false coiners, and (3) perjurers. They are afflicted, respectively, with madness, dropsy, and fever. The first of these three classes is represented by two mad spirits, who rush hither and thither, lacerating those whom they meet; among the false coiners is seen Master Adam of Brescia, who counterfeited the money of Florence; and among the perjurers Sinon, whose false statements were the cause of the capture of Troy by the Greeks. The interest which Dante shows in an unseemly wrangle between the two last-named malefactors calls down Virgil's censure upon him.

LINES 1–21. To illustrate the madness with which two counterfeiters of others' persons are afflicted, the insanity of two classical personages, Athamas and Hecuba, is described.

2, 3. **Per Semelè**: because of Jupiter's amour with Semele, daughter of Cadmus, king of Thebes. **una ed altra fiata**: another instance, besides that which Dante proceeds to give, is the murder of Pentheus by his mother Agave, Semele's sister, which Juno caused; Ov. *Met.* iii. *ad fin.*

4. **Atamante**, &c.: Athamas, king of Thebes, was struck with madness by Juno, because his wife Ino brought up Bacchus, Semele's son by Jupiter. The story, including the deaths of his wife and children, is taken from Ov. *Met.* iv. 511 foll., and the resemblance between the two passages is very close, extending even to some of the expressions used; see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 212.

8. **al varco**: 'at the passage,' i. e. where they have to pass; in Ovid it is, 'his retia tendite silvis,' l. 512.

12. **l' altro carco**: the other child's name was Melicertes.

16–8. **Ecuba**: the story of Hecuba is given in Ov. *Met.* xiii. 403 foll., where 'Troia simul Priamusque cadunt,' l. 404, corresponds to l. 15 here. **cattiva**: 'captive.' **Polissena**: Polyxena, daughter of Hecuba, was offered in sacrifice to appease the shade of Achilles. **Polidoro**: Polidorus, son of Hecuba, was murdered by Polymestor, king of Thrace, to whose keeping Priam had entrusted

him, after which his body was found by Hecuba on the shore. Polydorus has already been referred to in connexion with Inf. xiii. 31.

20. **latrò**: cp. Ov. *Met.* xiii. 569, 'Latravit conata loqui.'

22–4. **furie**: 'bursts of frenzy.' **in alcun**: 'in the heart of any one'; that this is the meaning is shown by *in due ombre*, l. 25. **Non punger bestie**: take with **tanto crude**; 'so cruel in goading beasts': **Non** is resumptive from **nè . . . nè** above.

27. **si schiude**: 'is let out.'

28. **nodo Del collo**: 'nape of the neck.'

31–3. **l' Aretin**: Griffolino; cp. Inf. xxix. 109. **folletto**: 'sprite.' **Gianni Schicchi**: this person was an extraordinary mimic, and when the thief Buoso Donati (cp. Inf. xxv. 140) died, and his son Simone was afraid that he might have left his money in such a way as to make amends to persons whom he had robbed, Schicchi personated him as if he was on his deathbed, and dictated to a notary a will in favour of Simone and himself. **conciando**: 'harrying,' lit. 'trimming,' 'giving a dressing to.'

34–6. **se,** &c.: 'so may not the other of these two spirits gore thee,' as Gianni Schicchi has gored Capocchio. **si spicchi**: 'darts off,' lit. 'detaches himself.' The word expresses the movement of the mad spirits; so *spiccare un salto* is 'to turn a summerset.'

38. **Mirra**: Ov. *Met.* x. 298 foll. She professed to be another girl; 'Nomine mentito veros exponit amores,' l. 439.

42–5. **l' altro**: Gianni Schicchi. **sostenne**: take with **Falsificare**, l. 44, 'persevered in counterfeiting'; the word implies that it was an elaborate process. **la donna della torma**: 'the queen of the herd'; this was a handsome mule belonging to Buoso Donati, which Schicchi claimed as part of the price of his roguery. **norma**: 'legal form.'

48. **mal nati**: 'born in an evil hour': cp. Inf. v. 7.

49–51. **Io vidi,** &c.: the person who is now described is an example of a false coiner. **a guisa di liuto,** &c.: 'so that he would have resembled a lute, if his legs had been cut off at the groin,' lit. 'if he had had the groin cut off towards the forked part of man.'

52–4. **dispaia**: 'disproportions,' by making the face lean and the belly distended, l. 54. **che mal converte**: 'which assimilates (neut.) amiss.'

55. **a**: used after *fare*; cp. Inf. xxix. 117.

61. **maestro Adamo**: Master Adam of Brescia, a coiner of

counterfeit money, was instigated by Count Guido II of Romena, and his brothers Alessandro and Aginolfo, to issue adulterated coins, counterfeiting the golden florin of Florence. For this he was burnt by the Florentines in 1281.

65. **Casentin:** Romena, the scene of his crime, was a village in the Casentino in the upper valley of the Arno.

70–2. **fruga:** 'chastises,' lit. 'goads.' **A metter,** &c.: 'to give wings to my sighs,' i. e. to cause me to vent them.

74. **La lega,** &c.: 'the currency stamped with the Baptist'; the Florentine gold coins bore the figure of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of Florence. The first meaning of **lega** is 'legal standard of coinage' (Diez, *Wört.*, p. 191); hence it signifies 'currency.' Later it is used for 'alloy,' as in Par. ii. 139.

78. **Per fonte Branda,** &c.: the meaning is:—'I would not exchange the pleasure of seeing them enduring the same torment as I am for that of drinking at an ample fountain.' As they were the cause of his ruin, he desired to enjoy his vengeance. **fonte Branda** is the great fountain at Siena, which is enclosed within a large and deep marble basin, and supplied with water by four channels. By some it is supposed to be a fountain of that name, now dried up, near Romena, and there is said to be some documentary evidence to show that this spring existed at an early time (see Casini). It is not, however, mentioned by the early commentators, and the fountain at Siena from its volume of water would be a typical instance of a copious source, such as a thirsty man would have in his mind.

79, 80. **Dentro c' è l' una:** 'within this *bolgia* is one of them.' Probably Guido is meant, but the dates of their deaths are not certainly known. **Ombre:** those of Schicchi and Mirra.

84. **sarei messo:** 'would have started'; the full phrase is *mettersi in cammino.*

86, 87. **ella volge,** &c.: 'its circuit is eleven miles,' i.e. that of the **gente sconcia,** and consequently of the *bolgia* which contains them. On this line see note to Inf. xxix. 9. **men d' un mezzo,** &c.: 'it is not less than half a mile across.'

90. **Che avean:** as **avean** is metrically a disyllable, in order to make this line scan **Che** must be unelided. Witte, Casini, and Toynbee read *Che avean ben*, Scartazzini *Che avevan.* **mondiglia:** 'base metal,' lit. 'refuse.' The legal standard was 24 carats of gold; those which he struck had only 21.

92, 93. **come man bagnate**: 'like hands which steam after having been dipped in water.' **stretti**, &c.: 'close together just on your right hand.'

95. **piovvi**: 'was flung down,' cp. Inf. xxiv. 122. **greppo**: 'chasm.'

97, 98. **la falsa**: Potiphar's wife; Gen. xxxix. 7 foll. She and Sinon represent the class of perjurers. **Sinon**: the treacherous Greek, who by his false tale persuaded the Trojans to admit the wooden horse within their walls.

100–2. The cross-fire of coarse repartee between Sinon and Master Adam which follows, like the scene in Canto XXII between the devil and the jobber, is probably intended to lighten the strain on the feelings in this part of the poem. **si recò a noia**: 'became annoyed.' **oscuro**: 'darkly,' i. e. with discredit, being called *falso*. **croia**: 'hard.'

110. **così presto**: 'so ready for use'; the criminal at the stake had his arms bound. The reference is to his death by burning; see note on l. 61.

114. **del ver**, &c.: 'you were asked about the truth'; cp. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 149, where Priam says to him, 'mihique haec edissere vera roganti.' **Troia**: this word must be scanned as a monosyllable.

115. **e tu**: 'yet thou'; **e** here expresses contrast: cp. Inf. xix. 3 and note; Purg. iv. 90.

118–20. **cavallo**: the wooden horse. **siati reo che**: 'be it rueful to thee, that.'

121–3. **te**: this word is to be regarded as a repetition of *ti* in *siati* preceding; this explains the omission of *a* before it. A few MSS. read *A te*. **Che il ventre**, &c.: 'which thus raises thy belly like a hedge in front of thine eyes,' i. e. causes it to obstruct thy sight.

124, 125. **Così**, &c.: 'by saying that, thou openest thy lips to thy own detriment'; the meaning is, that he gives an opportunity for retort: this explains *Chè* in l. 126. **si squarcia**: 'opens wide,' lit. 'rends itself.'

128. **lo specchio di Narcisso**: a pool of water, with reference to the fable of Narcissus having pined away for love of his own face reflected in water; Ov. *Met.* iii. 407 foll.

131. **Or pur mira**: 'aye, look your fill,' lit. 'now do nothing but look'; see note on Inf. xxix. 4.

135. **si gira :** 'it eddies through my memory.'

136. **quale è quei,** &c. : the point of the comparison here is, that the person has attained what he desires without being conscious of it. The man who has a painful dream, longs in his dream that it may be a dream and not a reality; and this is the case, though he is unaware of it. Dante, while feeling unable through lack of words to excuse himself, longs to be able to do so, and unconsciously effects his object by his shame and silence. This is a conspicuous instance of an interesting class of similes—viz. those drawn from mental experiences—of which there are as many as thirty in the *Div. Com.*

145–7. **fa ragion :** 'consider'; cp. Par. xxvi. 8. **che fortuna t' accoglia :** 'that chance finds (lit. greets) thee,' i. e. 'that thou chancest to be.' **piato :** 'dispute,' lit. 'law-suit.' This word, like Engl. 'plea' (Skeat), is the Low Lat. *placitum*, as used in the law-courts. Ducange gives as one of the meanings of *placitum*, 'lis intentata,' and of *placitare*, 'lite contendere.'

CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT.—From the tenth *bolgia* of the eighth Circle the Poets pass to the ninth Circle, which is the Pit of Hell. This is surrounded by a precipitous bank of rock, on the inner side of which appear at intervals the forms of giants, who stand on the floor of the Pit below, so that their lower half is concealed from the view of one approaching from the outer side, while the upper part towers aloft. Nimrod, who is one of their number, here pays the penalty of having erected the Tower of Babel and thereby caused the Confusion of Tongues, by his inability to speak intelligibly. Another giant, Antaeus, deposits Dante and Virgil in the ninth Circle.

LINE 4. **la lancia,** &c. : the classical fable here referred to is, that a wound inflicted by the spear of Achilles could only be healed by applying to it rust taken from the spear. In the mediaeval form of the story it is not the rust, but the application of the spear itself, which effects the cure. An additional point of interest is found in the mention by Dante of the father of Achilles, i. e. Peleus, as having first possessed the spear. This feature is found in Homer,

Il. xvi. 143, Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πόρε Χείρων Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς: but Dante was unacquainted with Homer, and as it is not given by any Latin writer he could not have obtained it from a classical source. The story, however, including this point, is of frequent occurrence in the early mediaeval poets (see the quotations in Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 422), and from them Dante obtained it. There can be little doubt that the idea that the spear first belonged to Peleus was suggested to their minds by a mistranslation of 'Pelias hasta' in Ovid's line, 'Vulneris auxilium Pelias hasta tulit' (*Rem. Amor.*, l. 48), where the meaning is not, as they supposed, 'the spear of Peleus,' but 'the spear from Mount Pelion' (Πηλιάδα μελίην).

6. **mancia**: 'gift,' the two gifts here were the wound and the remedy.

12. **corno**: this horn, as we subsequently learn (l. 71), was sounded by Nimrod, who is reckoned among the giants.

14, 15. **seguitando**: 'as my eyes followed the course of the sound in an opposite direction to it.' The gerund **seguitando** here is used as equivalent to a participle. **tutti**: 'wholly'; cp. Inf. xix. 64. **ad un loco**: i. e. to the point from which it seemed to come.

16. **rotta**: the defeat and destruction at Roncesvalles on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees in 778 of the rear-guard of Charlemagne's army, commanded by his nephew Roland (Orlando), at the conclusion of Charlemagne's expedition into Spain against the Saracens. This disaster, which is related by Eginhard (*Vita Caroli*, § 9), was the work of the Gascon mountaineers, who overwhelmed and plundered that part of his forces; but in Dante's time it was attributed to the Saracens.

17. **la santa gesta**: 'the sacred host'; sacred, because of the crusade on which they had been engaged. **gesta** is here used in the same way as O. Fr. *geste*, which often signifies 'host' in the early romances.

18. **Orlando**: Orlando's horn, the sound of which is frequently referred to in poetry, on this occasion is said to have been heard by Charlemagne at a distance of eight miles from Roncesvalles; Turpin, *Chronicle*, § 23.

19–21. **Poco**: take with **Che** in l. 20, 'Not long . . . when'; cp. Inf. xvi. 91, 92. **terra**: 'city.'

22, 23. **Però che**, &c.: 'because thou peerest (lit. penetratest) through the darkness from too far off.' The form **dalla lungi**

seems to be intermediate between *da lungi*, Inf. viii. 5, and *a lunga*, Inf. ix. 5: the fem. gender is used because *distanza* or *parte* is understood.

24. **nel 'maginare aborri**: 'thou wanderest in thy fancies.' **aborri**: from Lat. *aberrare*; cp. *abborra* in Inf. xxv. 144.

25–7. **là ti congiungi**: 'approach that place,' lit. 'bring thyself near there.' **alquanto**, &c.: 'press on (lit. spur thyself on) a little more.'

31. **giganti**: these giants are the mythological figures of the ninth Circle. The reason why Dante places them in the Pit of Hell is to be found in Virg. *Aen.* vi. 580, 581, 'Hic genus antiquum terrae, Titania pubes, Fulmine deiecti fundo volvuntur in imo.' The description of the giants as resembling towers when first seen through the murky air is an example of Dante's method of introducing an unusually impressive sight by the aid of an intermediate stage, in order to render its realization more easy. Similarly, in Canto XXX of the Paradiso, the Heavenly Host, before it is finally revealed to Dante's sight, is presented to him in the figure of a river of light with sparks issuing from it.

36. **che l' aere stipa**: 'which thickens the air.'

41. **Monteregion**: the castle of Montereggione stands about eight miles to the N. of Siena on the road to Empoli. Its resemblance to Dante's description is very remarkable. It is round in shape, and the walls (**la cerchia tonda**) remain to the height of 50 or 60 feet, with twelve towers in them, which rise at intervals above the line of circuit. At the present day, the space thus enclosed is partly occupied by a village of 200 inhabitants.

43, 44. **Torreggiavan**: 'crowned as with towers.' **minaccia**: as Jupiter subdued the giants, when they made war on the Gods, by his thunderbolts (see Inf. xiv. 58), the sound of thunder is a perpetual reminder to them of what they have to fear if they attempt to revolt.

48. **per le coste giù**: 'down along their sides.'

49–51. **quando**, &c.: 'when she ceased from the craft of producing creatures like these.' **Per torre**, &c.: 'to deprive Mars (the god of destruction) of such ministers.'

52–7. Dante is here answering a supposed objection, that if Nature was right in ceasing to create giants, she ought also to cease from creating other monsters, such as elephants and whales. He

replies that it is the possession of reason by the former which renders them especially dangerous.

53. **Non si pente:** 'does not repent of (and therefore cease from) creating.'

55. **l' argomento della mente:** 'the equipment of the mind,' i. e. the reasoning faculties; for this use of **argomento** cp. Purg. ii. 31; xxx. 136. Dante here had in his mind Aristotle, *Pol.* i. 2. 16, *χαλεπωτάτη γὰρ ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα, κ.τ.λ.*

59. **la pina:** the bronze pine-cone, which is believed to have originally stood on the summit of the Mausoleum of Hadrian, and in Dante's time was in a portico in front of the old basilica of St. Peter at Rome. It is now in one of the gardens of the Vatican at the back of St. Peter's. Its height is 11 feet.

61. **era perizoma:** 'served him for a skirt,' lit. 'apron'; **perizoma,** which is properly a Greek word, is taken from the Vulg. of Gen. iii. 7, of Adam and Eve, 'fecerunt sibi perizomata.' The meaning is, that the lower half of the giant's body was concealed by the rock; cp. ll. 32, 33.

63. **chioma:** the part of the body here intended by 'the hair' seems to be the collar-bone, thus corresponding to 'the place where a man buckles his cloak,' l. 66.

64. **Frison:** the Frieslanders were noted for their great stature.

65. **gran palmi:** 'ample spans.' Casini estimates the *palmo* at 24 centimetres, and on this computation 30 *palmi*—the measure of the giant from his collar-bone to his waist—would correspond to 21½ ft.: adding 11 feet for the head and something for the neck, the upper half of the giant would be about 35 feet, and his total stature about 70 feet.

67. **Rafel,** &c.: these words are the incoherent utterances of a wild and fierce being: they are shown to be unintelligible by l. 81. Observe that the metre of this line is imperfect, there being only ten syllables; and the lost syllable is not, as in other ten-syllable lines, the final one or hypermeter—for *álmi* is accented on the first syllable, as is shown by the rhyming words *palmi* and *salmi*—and consequently it is omitted from the body of the verse. Probably the Poet intended in this way to make the incoherency still more conspicuous.

71. **Tienti col corno:** 'keep to your horn'; *tenersi con* is here used in the sense of *attenersi a.* The horn is no doubt assigned to Nimrod because he was 'a mighty hunter,' Gen. x. 9.

73–5. **soga**: 'cord'; it is the Low Lat. word for 'rope'; Diez, p. 297. **doga**: 'crosses'; *dogare* is 'to fix the staves of a barrel' (*doghe*).

76. **s' accusa**: i.e. his confusion of mind and unintelligible speech mark him out as the author of the Confusion of Tongues.

77. **Nembrotto**: the idea that Nimrod was a giant and built the Tower of Babel is not found in the Bible. Dante, who repeats these statements in *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 7, ll. 24–31, probably found them in St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xvi. 3, 4, where both occur. **coto**: 'thought,' Lat. *cogitatum*; see note on Par. iii. 26.

84. **l' altro**: 'the next.'

85–7. **A cinger**, &c.: 'who it was that had the power to bind him I cannot say, but he (Ephialtes, l. 94) was holding his left hand pinioned in front,' &c.

89, 90. **sì che**, &c.: 'so that on the part of his body that was visible (above the bank) it wound round to the number of five coils.'

94. **Fialte**: the only place in the classical writers with whom Dante was acquainted, where the giant Ephialtes is mentioned, is Virg. *Culex*, l. 234, but he may have found his name also in Servius on Virg. *Georg.* i. 280; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 234.

98. **Briareo**: Briareus, the hundred-handed giant; Stat. *Theb.* ii. 595 foll., where *immensus*, l. 596, is the original of **ismisurato** here.

100–2. **Anteo**: Antaeus, who is best known for his combat with Hercules, by whom he was slain, was not present at the battle with the Gods (ll. 119–21), and it is probably for that reason that he is not chained (**disciolto**). **parla**: speaks intelligibly, not like Nimrod. **nel fondo**, &c.: 'in the lowest depth of guilt,' i.e. in the Pit of Hell.

106–8. **Non fu**, &c.: 'never was earthquake of such violence, as to shake a tower so mightily as Ephialtes in a moment shook himself.' This movement was an indication of Ephialtes' wrath at being described as less fierce than Briareus.

109, 110. **temetti**: for *temei*; cp. Inf. xxi. 93. **E non**, &c.: 'and to cause death nothing beyond the apprehension was needed.' **dotta** is connected with *dubitare*.

112–4. **allotta**: for *allora*; cp. Inf. v. 53. **alle**: 'ells.' The old commentators are not agreed what measure of length is here intended, but it was evidently more than the English ell.

uscía, &c.: 'stood out above the rock,' which formed the bank between the eighth and ninth Circles.

115. **fortunata**: 'fateful'; cp. Inf. xxviii. 8. The valley of Bagrada near Zama—the scene of Hannibal's defeat by Scipio—is meant, where, according to Lucan, iv. 587 foll., Antaeus had his abode.

118. **Recasti,** &c.: Lucan says of him (iv. 601, 602), 'latuisse sub alta Rupe ferunt, epulas raptos habuisse leones.' This compliment on Virgil's part, and still more the suggestion that with his aid the giants might have conquered the Gods (which is also from Lucan, ll. 596, 597), are intended to propitiate Antaeus. The Poet for once becomes 'all things to all men,' following the maxim which Dante quotes, 'nella chiesa Coi santi, ed in taverna coi ghiottoni,' Inf. xxii. 14.

119. **che**: this refers to *tu* in l. 115; unless it is redundant, it must be taken as 'concerning whom' with **e' si creda.**

122, 123. **schifo**: subst., 'disdain.' **Dove,** &c.: 'where the cold congeals (lit. locks up) Cocytus.' Cocytus is formed by the waters that descend from the upper part of Hell; cp. Inf. xiv. 112 foll.

124. **Non ci far,** &c.: 'force us not to betake ourselves to your brother giants, Tityus or Typhon'; this is an appeal to Antaeus' jealousy. Here again the names are borrowed from Lucan, ll. 595, 596.

125, 126. **quel che,** &c.: viz. to be remembered on earth, as we see from l. 127. **torcer lo grifo**: 'make a wry mouth' to display unwillingness.

132. **Ond' Ercole,** &c.: 'the hands, of which Hercules erst felt the mighty grip,' lit. 'from which Hercules once felt great pressure.' The contest between Hercules and Antaeus was suggested to Dante in this connexion through its being narrated by Lucan in iv. 609 foll.

136. **la Carisenda**: the lower of the two leaning towers of Bologna, which are out of the perpendicular owing to a settlement of the foundations. This one, which got its name from having been built by members of the Garisendi family, is 163 ft. in height, and 10 ft. out of the perpendicular.

137, 138. **Sotto il chinato**: i. e. to one looking from beneath its incline. **quando,** &c.: 'when a cloud passes over it in such a manner that the tower inclines towards it.' What is here de-

scribed is an optical illusion, when a cloud passing through the sky in the opposite direction to the incline appears to stand still, and the tower seems to be falling. This exactly illustrates ll. 139, 140, where Antaeus bends over the two Poets as he deposits them below him.

139, 140. **stava a bada**: 'was on the watch.' **fu tal ora**, &c.: 'it was so dread a moment that,' &c.

142, 143. **divora**: 'engulfs.' **sposò**: 'set us down'; from *sposare* (= *posare*).

145. **albero**: the mast here intended is one that could be raised or lowered, resting on a crutch. **levò**: the ten-syllable line with its abrupt termination, especially as it concludes the Canto, is probably an adaptation of sound to sense, being intended to express the suddenness of the rebound. Possibly the three other instances in the poem of ten-syllable lines which cannot otherwise be accounted for, may be explained in this manner, for in each case one of the rhyming lines expresses something sudden or abrupt; viz. Inf. xxiii. 145, 'Appresso il Duca a gran passi sen gì'; Purg. vii. 10, 'Qual è colui che cosa innanzi sè Subita vede'; Par. xxv. 100, 'Poscia tra esse un lume si schiarì.' For explanations of the other ten-syllable lines see notes on Inf. iv. 56 and Purg. xxiii. 74.

CANTO XXXII

ARGUMENT.—The ninth Circle contains those classes of the fraudulent who have violated some special tie or bond. The malefactors here are immersed in ice, which forms the floor of the Pit of Hell, gradually sloping towards the centre. The area is divided into four concentric rings, which are distinguished, not by any definite barriers, but by the increasing severity of the punishment inflicted in them. They are called respectively Caina, Antenora, Tolomea, and Giudecca. The first two of these are treated of in the present Canto. In Caina those who have violated the bond of relationship are fixed in ice up to the neck; in Antenora those who have betrayed their country have only part of their head emerging. In the latter ring Dante discovers Bocca degli Abati, the traitor on the Florentine side at the battle of Montaperti.

LINES 1–12. In order to impress on his readers the extraordinary character of what he now saw, Dante first dwells on his own want of power to describe it, and then invokes the aid of the Muses.

1. **rime**: 'verses'; in *Conv.* iv. 2, ll. 101–8, Dante explains that he uses *rima* both in the sense of 'rhyme' and as 'metrical rhythm,' i. e. 'verse.' **chiocce**: 'grating.' In the only other passage in the *Div. Com.* where *chioccia* occurs, viz. Inf. vii. 2, it is a disyllable, and therefore it probably is so here. If so, this line, as it stands, is unmetrical, being one syllable short. As the conjunction *e* is easily lost after a final *-e* preceding, it seems likely that *rime e aspre e chiocce* should be read. Witte's *B* has *rime ed aspre.*

3. **Sopra,** &c.: 'upon which is the thrust of all the other rocks'; the pressure of the rocky walls and declivities of the other Circles converges towards the Pit of Hell.

4. **Io premerei,** &c.: 'I would distil the essence of my imaginings,' i. e. express what is in my mind.

7–9. **da pigliare a gabbo**: 'to take in jest,' 'to make light of.' **fondo,** &c.: the Pit of Hell is at the exact centre of the earth, and that, according to the Ptolemaic system, in the centre of the universe, where is the centre of gravity; cp. ll. 73, 74 and Inf. XXXIV. 110, 111. **chiami,** &c.: 'uses childish prattle'; cp. *pappo, dindi,* Purg. xi. 105.

10, 11. **quelle Donne**: the Muses. **a chiuder**: 'in enclosing'; the walls of Thebes were fabled to have been raised by the music of Amphion's lyre with the aid of the Muses.

13–5. **mal creata**: 'created in an evil hour'; cp. *mal nati,* Inf. XXX. 48. **stai**: the sing. here shows that *plebe* is regarded as a noun of multitude, while in **foste** (l. 15) the individuals composing it are regarded. For an analogous use cp. Inf. vi. 70. **onde**: 'of which.' **qui**: in the world above. **zebe**: 'she-goats.'

17, 18. **assai più bassi**: this was because of the downward slope in the ice-floor. **alto muro**: the precipitous bank of rock which surrounds the ninth Circle; see Argument to Canto XXXI.

21. **fratei**: these are the two brothers of whom we hear more in ll. 55–7.

23. **gelo**: the ice symbolizes the cold-heartedness of the traitor. In what follows this trait of character is revealed in their willingness

to reveal the identity of their neighbours, while they try to conceal their own.

26, 27. **la Danoia in Osteric**: 'the Danube in Austria (Oesterreich).' **Tanai**: the Don, Lat. *Tanais*. **là**: for the use see note on Inf. vii. 22.

28–30. **Tambernic**: this mountain has not been identified. **Pietrapana**: the group of mountains called Pania or Alpe Apuana (Lat. *Petra Apuana*) in the north-west of Tuscany, to which the Carrara mountains belong. **pur dall' orlo**: 'even at the edge,' where the ice breaks most easily. **cric**: the sound of cracking.

32. **quando**, &c.: the summer-time is meant.

34–6. **là dove**, &c.: the face, on which blushes are seen. This is shown to be the meaning by **col muso**, &c., in the simile, l. 32. **Mettendo**, &c.: 'setting their teeth to the note of the stork,' i. e. chattering like a stork. **Mettendo in nota** is used like *mettere in musica*, 'to set to music.'

37. **in giù**: from shame, not wishing to be recognized.

38, 39. **Da bocca**, &c.: 'among them (i. e. for all of them) the cold procures for itself evidence from the mouth, the sadness of the heart from the eyes.' The chattering of the teeth proves the cold, the tears their agony.

41. **Volsimi a' piedi**: 'I turned my looks (downward) to my feet.'

45–51. **E poi**, &c.: what is here described is this:—When the two spirits turned their heads backwards to look at Dante, this movement caused the tears to drop from their eyes, so that they saw one another; and this sight so infuriated them that, when they were once more blinded by the tears freezing, they struck their heads violently together. Translate:—'And when they had lifted up their faces towards me, their eyes, which ere this were only moist within (i. e. no tears had yet fallen), brimmed over (lit. overflowed at the brims; *labbro* = 'edge,' 'brim'), and the cold congealed the tears within them, and closed them fast again; never did clamp fasten two logs together so firmly: whereupon they butted against one another like two he-goats, such fury mastered them.'

52–4. **un**: Camicione de' Pazzi, l. 68; he reveals who the other two are. **pur**: 'just as he was,' without lifting his head. **Perchè**, &c.: 'why dost thou gaze so fixedly at us?' lit. 'look

at us as if looking at a mirror.' Though he did not see Dante, he knew he was gazing at them from his remarks in l. 43.

56. **Bisenzio**: the Bisenzio flows near Prato, and joins the Arno below Florence. In the valley through which it passes were the castles of Vernia and Cerbaia, the property of the Conti Alberti of Mangona. The two sons here mentioned, who were called Napoleone and Alessandro, quarrelled about the inheritance, and at last killed one another.

58. **Caina**: this first ring of the ninth Circle was so called from Cain, the first fratricide.

60. **gelatina**: 'jelly,' i. e. the ice. The somewhat vapid irony which this word implies does not stand alone in the *Div. Com.* A similar instance will be found in Inf. viii. 53, where 'attuffare in questa broda' is used of a spirit in the filthy water of the Stygian marsh.

61. **quelli**: Modred, son of king Arthur, who tried to kill his father treacherously, but was discovered and slain by him. **l' ombra**: according to the romance of Lancelot of the Lake the wound inflicted by Arthur's sword was so wide that the sunlight appeared through it.

62. **con esso un colpo**: 'with a single blow'; here, as in Purg. iv. 27; xxiv. 98, where *esso* (Lat. *ipse*) is used indeclin. with *con*, it means 'only.' This use of *esso* is slightly different from that with other prepositions; see note on Inf. xxxiv. 41.

63. **Focaccia**: of Pistoia, who according to the early commentators slew an uncle of his. **che m' ingombra**, &c.: 'whose head is in my way.'

65, 66. **Sassol Mascheroni**: he murdered his nephew to obtain his inheritance. Being convicted of this, he was first dragged through the streets of Florence in a cask with nails, and then beheaded. **ben sai**: because the mode of his punishment caused his crime to be widely known.

67, 68. **metti**, &c.: 'involve me in further conversation.' **Camicion de' Pazzi**: he killed one of his kinsmen; but, as is explained in the next line, he looks forward to being exculpated by comparison with the darker guilt of another member of his family, Carlino de' Pazzi, who betrayed for money to the Black Guelfs a castle which he was defending. For this crime he would be placed in the second ring, Antenora; but, as it was committed

in 1302, it was still in the future at the supposed time of Dante's Vision, whence the expression **aspetto** is used.

70–2. **Poscia**: at this point Antenora, the ring of traitors to their country, begins. It was so called from the Trojan chief Antenor, who according to Dictys Cretensis (*Bell. Troi.* iv. 22; v. 8–10), from whom Dante obtained the story, conspired to betray first the Palladium and afterwards Troy itself into the hands of the Greeks. **cagnazzi**: 'grinning like a dog'; but the meaning is not certain. **riprezzo** = *ribrezzo*, 'shivering.' **de' gelati guazzi**: 'at the sight of frozen pools.'

74, 75. **Al quale**, &c.: which is the centre of gravity; cp. Inf. xxxiv. 110. **rezzo**: 'chill'; cp. Inf. xvii. 87.

76. **voler**: the will of Heaven.

81. **Mont' Aperti**: the speaker, as we learn from l. 106, is Bocca degli Abati, whose treason caused the defeat of the Florentine Guelfs at Montaperti, six miles to the E. of Siena, in 1260. He cut off the hand of the standard-bearer, after which the rest took to flight. The **vendetta** (l. 80) is his punishment in Antenora.

83. **un dubbio**: perhaps this is the question, who was the real traitor at Montaperti.

91–3. **caro**: 'of advantage'; cp. Purg. v. 36. **l' altre note**: 'my other reminiscences.'

96. **lusingar**: 'to flatter,' i. e. to extract his name by fair promises. **lama**: 'plain,' 'level,' as in Inf. xx. 79; Purg. vii. 90.

97. **cuticagna**: the hair at the back of the head towards the nape of the neck.

100–2. **Perchè**: 'even if,' 'however much.' **in sul capo**, &c.: 'stumble on my head,' as he had done at the first, l. 78.

105. **in giù raccolti**: so as not to be recognized.

107. **sonar**: i. e. 'chatter' from the cold; cp. l. 36.

116, 117. **quel da Duera**: Buoso da Duera in 1265 was posted with a considerable Ghibelline force in the neighbourhood of Parma to oppose the advance of Charles of Anjou, but being bribed by the French withdrew without offering any resistance. **stanno freschi**: 'are in the cool,' iron. for 'cold'; probably there is a reference to the colloquial expression *sto fresco*, 'I am in a pretty pickle.'

119, 120. **quel di Beccheria**: Tesauro di Beccheria, abbot of

Vallombrosa. He was beheaded at Florence in 1258 on a charge of having traitorously intrigued with the exiled Ghibellines. Villani however (vi. 65) believed him to be innocent. **gorgiera**: 'gorget,' 'collar,' here for 'throat.'

121. **Gianni de' Soldanier**: a Ghibelline leader in Florence, who at a time of civic commotion in 1266 deserted his side, and put himself at the head of the popular faction.

122. **Più là**: 'farther in that direction.' **Ganellone**: in the legends of Charlemagne Ganelon was the traitor, who having been bribed by the Moors persuaded Charles to withdraw the main body of his troops from the Pyrenees, and thus caused the defeat of Roncesvalles. See note on Inf. xxxi. 16. **Tribaldello**: he betrayed his native city Faenza in 1280 to the Bolognese.

126. **era cappello**: i. e. overhung; fitted closely over, the other.

130. **Tideo**: the story is from Statius, *Theb.* viii. 761, 762, where Tydeus, one of the Seven against Thebes, being mortally wounded by the Theban Menalippus, gets possession of his enemy's head, and gnaws it furiously.

132. **faceva**: 'did,' resumptive of the preceding verb; see note on Inf. xi. 104. **l' altre cose**: 'its purtenance,' skin, sinews, &c.

138, 139. **te ne cangi**: 'I may requite thee for it,' i. e. for telling me the tale. **Se quella**, &c.: understand *lingua*, implied in **con ch' io parlo**; 'if my tongue is not dried up' by death, i. e. if I live to recount it.

CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT.—Count Ugolino relates to Dante how he and his sons were starved to death in prison by the orders of the Archbishop Ruggieri. The Poets then pass into the third ring, or Tolomea, which contains those sinners who have betrayed their friends or companions; they lie in the ice with the face upwards, so that the tears congeal before they escape from their eyes. One of their number, Frate Alberigo, explains that in the case of some of the condemned souls in Tolomea, the body still lives and moves on earth, being occupied by a demon.

LINE 3. **guasto**: for *guastato*.

4. **Tu vuoi**: the expressions here and in l. 9 are taken from Virg. *Aen.* ii. 3, 12; see note on Inf. v. 124 (story of Francesca da Rimini), where the same is the case.

11, 12. **Fiorentino**: the point of this seems to be that, as being a Florentine, he would probably be a Guelf, and so would be likely to publish abroad the crime of the Ghibelline Archbishop. **quand' io t' odo**: his pronunciation is probably referred to; see note on Inf. x. 25.

13–75. The story of the death of Count Ugolino, which is here given, is probably the most famous passage in the *Div. Com.* The circumstances which led up to it are these. Count Ugolino della Gherardesca had succeeded in 1284 in securing for himself the office of Podestà in Pisa, and in order to concentrate the Guelf party, of which he was the head, in that city, he associated with himself his nephew, Nino Visconti, judge of Gallura in Sardinia (Purg. viii. 53), who had an important Guelf following. They did not however agree, and in order to get rid of his nephew, Ugolino in 1288 allied himself with Abp. Ruggieri degli Ubaldini, the leader of the Pisan Ghibellines, and by his assistance Nino was driven from the town. But in giving this aid the Archbishop's object had been to weaken his opponent's faction; and before long he turned against him, with the result that Ugolino with his sons and grandsons were forced to surrender, and were imprisoned in a tower, where after eight months they were starved to death. The reason why Dante has placed Ugolino and Ruggieri in Antenora, where political traitors are found, is that they were both factious persons, who made the interests of the state subservient to their private ambitions. This was especially seen in their combining to expel Nino Visconti, in doing which Ugolino's aim was to secure for himself the sole authority in Pisa, while that of Ruggieri was to divide the Guelf faction, and so secure the triumph of his own party.

13, 14. **fui**: the past tense is used because of the title **Conte**, in accordance with Dante's rule in treating of the world of spirits, that, while permanent conditions, such as a man's name and personality, are spoken of in the present tense, for those which have passed away, such as his title and dwelling-place, the past tense is used. The passages which most forcibly illustrate this

contrast are Purg. v. 88, 'Io *fui* di Montefeltro, io *son* Buonconte,' and Par. vi. 10, 'Cesare *fui*, e *son* Giustiniano.' In the present passage this is a reason for omitting *è* after **questi** in l. 14, though it is found in the great majority of the MSS.

15. **tal vicino**: i. e. so hostile a neighbour, having my teeth fixed in his scull.

22–4. **muda**: 'cage,' Engl. 'mew.' **della fame**: a tower which subsequently bore the name of 'la Torre della Fame' in the Piazza degli Anziani—now called Piazza dei Cavalieri—at Pisa. It has since been destroyed. **altri**: 'others.' As there is no evidence to show that any special person was afterwards imprisoned in the tower, this seems to be merely an anticipation on Ugolino's part that his political opponents would be incarcerated there.

26. **lune**: the MS. authority for this and *lume* is almost equally balanced (Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 357), but the meaning is strongly in favour of **lune**.

28. **maestro e donno**: 'huntsman-in-chief and leader.'

29, 30. **il lupo**: in a dream of starvation the 'famished' wolf was a natural image to present itself to the mind. It has often been maintained that Ugolino is here represented by the wolf, because that animal was an emblem of the Guelf party to which he belonged; and this interpretation of the symbolism would no doubt be suitable to the passage, because the struggle between Ugolino and Abp. Ruggieri was conspicuously one between Guelf and Ghibelline. But in all the other passages in the *Div. Com.* where *lupo* and *lupa* occur, the reference is, not to the Guelfs, but to elements of character, such as greed and avarice. Moreover, there does not seem to be any evidence that the wolf was used as a Guelf symbol in Italy, or that Dante and his contemporaries thought that the name Guelf was derived from Germ. *Wulf*; and in default of such evidence there appears to be hardly any ground for explaining *lupo* here in this manner. **al monte**, &c.: the Monte San Giuliano, which is interposed between Pisa and Lucca, to the N.E. of the former city.

31–3. **Con cagne**, &c.: 'the Archbishop had set in front of himself (suborned as his agents) Gualandi, &c. (three of the chief Ghibelline families in Pisa), accompanied by lean hounds (their attendants and retainers), eager and well-trained.'

35. **scane:** notwithstanding the correspondence in meaning to *sanna*, which is from the Latin, this word is probably derived from Germ. *zahn*.

37–9. **innanzi la dimane:** sub. *ora*, 'before the morrow morn.' **figliuoli:** by this are meant his sons Gaddo and Uguccione, and his grandsons, Anselmo and Il Brigata, who were sons of his eldest son, Guelfo. **domandar del pane:** from this and what is said in l. 45 we gather that the sons and grandsons also had had a dream of starvation.

46. **chiavar:** 'nailed up'; not 'locked,' for *chiavare* is used everywhere else in the *Div. Com.* of nailing, and the sound of the locking of the door would not have been sufficiently unfamiliar to cause their terror. The mistake arose from the misinterpretation of the story in Dante by Villani, who says (vii. 128), 'feciono chiavare la porta della detta torre e le chiavi gittare in Arno.' In Dante's description the sudden sound from without breaking in upon the tense stillness within recalls the 'knocking' in Macbeth, the effect of which De Quincey in a well-known paper has analyzed with much subtlety.

49. **Io non piangeva:** this is a fine instance of the 'grief too deep for tears.'

60. **manicar:** for *mangiare*; the corresponding form *manucar* is spoken of by Dante in the *De Vulg. Eloq.*, i. 13, ll. 17–9, as a Florentinism which had become antiquated. **levorsi:** for *si levarono*; cp. Inf. xxvi. 36.

70. **come tu mi vedi:** 'as surely as thou dost see me.'

75. **più che,** &c.: 'hunger did what sorrow could not do,' i. e. killed me. By others, however, this line is taken to mean that Ugolino ate his sons, and a passage in a chronicle of Cent. xiii. (printed by Villari, in his *I Primi due Secoli della Storia Fiorentina*, ii. p. 250) proves that some persons at the time believed that he did so. It is there said (under the year 1287), 'e così morirono d' inopia fame (*sic*) tutti e cinque, ciò fue il conte Ugolino, Uguiccione, Brigata, Anselmuccio e Guelfo; e quivi si trovò che ll' uno mangiò de le carni all' altro.' Notwithstanding this, it is highly improbable that such was the case. In the first place, after eight days' fasting eating flesh is an impossibility, as a competent medical authority has definitely stated. Besides this, Buti, himself a Pisan, relates that after eight days—i.e. at the expiration

of the time mentioned by Dante—the bodies were taken out dead, and he gives no hint of any of them having been mutilated.

76. **torti**: 'askance,' the effect of hatred.

79, 80. **Pisa**: Villani (*loc. cit.*) regards the Pisans generally as having been guilty of the crime. **Del bel paese**, &c.: Italy is meant; in *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 8, ll. 40 foll., Dante distinguishes the districts where *oc*, *oil*, and *sì* were used.

82. **Caprara**: now Capraia. This island and Gorgona lie off the coast of Tuscany to the southward of the mouth (**foce**) of the Arno.

85–7. **aveva voce**, &c.: 'was reputed to have deprived thee of thy castles by treachery.' Ugolino surrendered several Pisan castles to the Florentines and the people of Lucca; not however by treachery, but in order to save his country, which was then threatened by a league formed by those two peoples and the Genoese. By using the words **aveva voce** Dante avoids committing himself to a condemnation of him on this ground, though he regarded him as a traitor to his country on other grounds, as already explained. **porre a tal croce**: 'expose to such suffering'; cp. Inf. xvi. 43.

88–90. **l' età novella**: there is something of poetic exaggeration here, for Anselmo was the only one of them who was under age. **Tebe**: the stories of Oedipus, Antigone, Eteocles and Polynices, and others associated with Thebes, furnish a long catalogue of horrors. **gli altri due**: Gaddo, l. 68, and Anselmo, l. 50. **appella**: 'names.'

91. **là 've**: this is the ring called Tolomea (see l. 124), where those who betrayed their friends and companions are placed. These lie on their backs in the ice, facing upwards.

94. **Lo pianto**, &c.: 'their very tears prevent their shedding tears,' **pianto** being the frozen tears; the meaning is further explained in the following line, where **duol** ('grief') signifies the rising tears, and **in sugli occhi rintoppo** ('the obstacle on the surface of the eyes') are the frozen tears.

100–2. **come d' un callo**: 'as from a callous spot of flesh.' **stallo**: lit. 'abode'; take with **cessato**, 'had ceased to abide in,' 'had quitted my face'; cp. *s' astalla* in Purg. vi. 39.

105. **vapore**: 'exhalation'; as wind was caused by exhalations raised by heat, and in Hell there was no sun to produce

exhalations, Dante is surprised at wind being found there. Dante derived this view of the origin of wind, as Mr. Butler has pointed out, from Aristotle, *Meteorol.*, ii. 4. 1–4, where it is stated that the sun draws up two kinds of exhalations—the moist, which is the source of rain, and the dry, which is the cause of winds.

106–8. **Avaccio sarai, dove**: 'soon wilt thou reach a point, where'; for **Avaccio** cp. Inf. x. 116. **piove**: 'showers forth,' 'emits.' The cause was the motion of the wings of Lucifer, Inf. xxxiv. 46–51.

110. **crudeli**: 'wildly criminal'; he supposes that they are on their way to the final ring (**l' ultima posta**) or Giudecca.

117. **ir mi convegna**: 'may I be bound to go.' Dante desires to make with this person a compact which does not bind him. As he was going in any case to the bottom of the Pit of Hell, he considers that in using these words he lays himself under no obligation; see ll. 149, 150.

118. **Frate Alberigo**: one of the Frati Gaodenti (Inf. xxiii. 103). He invited to a banquet his brother and his nephew, with whom he had quarrelled, pretending to be reconciled to them; but he had ordered assassins to be in waiting, and towards the end of the entertainment gave them the signal, 'Bring in the fruit,' on which they entered and murdered the victims. This took place in 1285. Dante implies in what follows that Frate Alberigo was still alive in 1300, the date of his Vision.

119, 120. **quel delle frutta**, &c.: 'the dealer in the fruits of the evil garden' of treachery; with reference to the signal already mentioned. **dattero per figo**: 'a Roland for an Oliver' (Longf.).

121–3. **ancor**: 'already.' **nulla scienza porto**: it should be remembered that the dead, though they are acquainted with the past and the future, have no knowledge of the present; see Inf. x. 100–5.

124. **Tolomea**: the ring of those who have violated the ties of friendship and hospitality is so called from Ptolemaeus the son of Abubus, who slew Simon the Maccabee and his sons at a banquet under circumstances not unlike those of Frate Alberigo; 1 Macc. xvi. 11–7.

126. **Innanzi**, &c.: 'before Atropos—the third of the three Fates, who severs the thread of life with "the abhorred shears"—

sets it on its way,' lit. 'gives it motion' (**mossa**). The strange form of punishment which is here described seems to have been suggested to Dante by Ps. lv. 16, where it is said of traitorous friends, 'Let them go down *quick* (while they are still alive) into Hell.'

132. **Mentre che,** &c.: 'until its appointed time has fulfilled its course,' lit. 'has completed its orbit.'

133–5. **sì fatta cisterna**: the Pit of Hell. **di qua retro,** &c.: 'winters here behind me'; **verna** refers to the chilling ice, **retro** to Branca d' Oria's position behind him upon it.

136. **se tu,** &c.: 'if thou hast but just now come down.'

137. **Branca d' Oria**: a member of the famous Doria family of Genoa. He caused his father-in-law, Michael Zanche, to be murdered in 1290 at a feast to which he had invited him. Both he and Frate Alberigo might have been in Caina, because they dealt treacherously with relations, but they are placed in Tolomea because the violation of the laws of hospitality was the greater crime.

142–7. **fosso . . . di Malebranche**: the fifth *bolgia*, or that of the jobbers, the devils that presided over which were called by the collective name of Malebranche, Inf. xxi. 37. **Michel Zanche**: cp. Inf. xxii. 88; the meaning here is, that before Michael Zanche reached the fifth *bolgia*, Branca d' Oria and a relative of his who was his accomplice reached this spot, and their bodies were occupied by devils.

149, 150. **gliele**: on this indeclinable form see note on Inf. xxi. 102. **cortesia,** &c.: ''Twas courtesy to be churlish in dealing with him.' Courtesy changed its nature, when the subject of it was so base. It has already been noticed in note on l. 117, that Dante, by what appears rather like juggling with words, had avoided committing himself to any promise.

151, 152. **Genovesi**: the *hiatus* after this word is modified by the comma. **diversi D' ogni costume**: 'alien to all right conduct.'

154–6. **spirto di Romagna**: Frate Alberigo, who was one of the Manfredi family of Faenza in that district. **Cocito**: i. e. the frozen lake formed by its waters; cp. Inf. xxxi. 123.

CANTO XXXIV

ARGUMENT.—The fourth ring of the ninth Circle is called Giudecca from Judas Iscariot, the arch-traitor. In it those who betrayed their benefactors are totally submerged in the ice. In the centre rises Lucifer, the traitorous rebel angel, whose body is half above, half below the ice; he has three faces, and his three mouths contain respectively the three greatest traitors whom in Dante's estimation the world had known—Judas, the betrayer of our Lord, and Brutus and Cassius, the betrayers of Julius Caesar, the founder of the divinely appointed system of the Empire. The Poets now pass the centre of the earth's gravity, which is at the middle of Lucifer's person, and, ascending in a direction opposite to that of their descent, ultimately regain the upper air.

LINE 1. **Vexilla,** &c.: this is an adaptation of the Passion Hymn of Fortunatus, Bp. of Poitiers in Cent. vi, which commences, 'Vexilla regis prodeunt, Fulget crucis mysterium.'

7. **un tal 'dificio:** here, as in the case of the Giants (see note on Inf. xxxi. 31), an unusually surprising object is introduced by the aid of an intermediate stage in description.

9. **grotta:** 'hiding-place,' 'shelter'; whether this meaning is derived from that of 'cave' or that of 'rock' is not certain.

11. **tutte:** 'altogether'; cp. Inf. xix. 64; xxxi. 15.

13–5. **sono a giacere:** 'are lying.' **Quella . . . quella:** the clauses marked by these words are connected in meaning with **erte;** 'others are in a perpendicular position, one with his head, one with his soles upward.' The meaning of the four positions given in these lines is thus explained. Those who lie flat are such as have betrayed benefactors who were on the same level in society with them. Those who are in a perpendicular position, if they stand head upwards, have been traitors to benefactors inferior to them in station, if head downwards, to such as were superior to them. Those who have betrayed benefactors both inferior and superior to them, have both their head and their feet downward, so that they assume the form of an arc.

18. **ebbe:** i. e. before his fall; cp. l. 34.

19, 20. **Dinanzi,** &c.: 'he moved from before me'; Dante had sheltered himself behind Virgil, l. 8. **Dite:** this name is the classical equivalent of Lucifer, inasmuch as he is 'Lo imperador del doloroso regno,' l. 28. Dis, it should be remembered, is the proper Latin name of this divinity, that of Pluto having been borrowed from the Greek.

22. **fioco:** 'weak.'

26. **fior d' ingegno:** 'aught of wit.' The origin of this meaning of **fior** is, that in early Italian *fiore*, 'a flower,' is used for 'a slight thing.' *Fior* is sometimes a substantive, as here and in Purg. iii. 135, 'fior del verde'; sometimes an adverb, as in Inf. xxv. 144, 'se fior la penna abborra.'

27. **d' uno e d' altro:** 'both of life and death.'

30, 31. **io mi convegno:** 'I correspond to,' 'reach the measure of'; 'I approach nearer to the stature of a giant, than the giants reach the measure of his arms.'

33. **parte:** the arms.

34–6. **S' ei fu,** &c.: the meaning is—'If he was once exceeding fair, and then defied his Maker, well may he be the primary source of woe to men.' *Corruptio optimi pessima*: the same gifts which were resplendent in him before his fall, would produce intense malice and injuriousness after it.

38. **tre facce:** the three faces form a sort of antitype to the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. The most probable view of their allegorical meaning is, that the pale sallow face denotes *impotence*, the black face *ignorance*, the red face *wrathful hatred*, these three qualities being the antithesis of those represented by the Persons of the Trinity, viz. *power*, *wisdom*, and *love*, as set forth by Dante in Inf. iii. 5, 6, where see note.

41. **Sopr' esso il mezzo:** 'just over the middle.' **Esso,** Lat. *ipse*, when it is used indeclinable, as here, and placed between the prep. and its case, adds precision to the statement; cp. Inf. xxiii. 54, 'Sopresso noi'; Purg. xxxi. 96, 'Sopr' esso l' acqua'; Purg. ii. 10, 'lunghesso il mare.'

42. **si giungieno,** &c.: 'the three faces met at the crown,' lit. 'the place where the crest is' in birds.

45. **là:** Ethiopia. The Ethiopians are the typical black race. **s' avvalla:** 'flows down,' der. from Lat. *ad*, *vallis*; cp. *avvalliamo*, 'let us descend,' in Purg. viii. 43.

56. **maciulla**: 'a brake,' or instrument for breaking hemp or flax.

59, 60. **Verso il graffiar**: 'in comparison of the clawing.' Judas thus had the severest punishment, being torn by Lucifer's claws as well as by his teeth. **brulla**: 'bare'; in Inf. xvi. 30 the form is *brollo*.

66. **non fa motto**: as being defiant of pain, like Capaneus in Inf. xiv. 46.

67. **membruto**: 'large of limb.' It has been suggested that Dante derived this view of C. Cassius, Caesar's murderer, by mistake from what Cicero says (*Cat.* iii. 7. 16) of L. Cassius, 'L. Cassii adipes'; but the expressions do not very closely correspond. Plutarch—with whose writings Dante was not acquainted—implies that he was pale and somewhat weakly; *Caes.*, § 62; *Brut.*, § 29.

68. **la notte risurge**: in like manner when the Poets entered the Inferno we are told, 'Lo giorno se n' andava,' Inf. ii. 1; consequently twenty-four hours had now been spent there. The present time is nightfall of Easter Eve, whereas they entered at nightfall on Good Friday.

70–85. The process which is now described is this. Dante puts his arms round Virgil's neck, and Virgil lets himself down by the shocks of hair on Lucifer's body until he reaches his waist, where is the centre of gravity of the earth; there he turns round, so that his head is where his feet had been, and then he climbs up in the opposite direction, holding on to Lucifer as before, until he reaches a passage through the rocks which here close in.

71. **poste**: 'points of vantage,' i. e. the right moment and the right part of Lucifer's body, as is explained in the two following lines.

74. **Di vello in vello**: 'from one shock of hair to another.'

76, 77. **là dove**, &c.: 'by the thigh-joint (**dove la coscia Si volge**) just where the haunch is thickest.'

81. **anche**: 'once more.' Having passed the centre of gravity, and having turned round, they were now ascending in the opposite direction: of this Dante was not yet aware.

82. **Attienti ben**: 'hold fast by me.'

87. **Appresso**, &c.: 'thereupon he advanced towards me his wary step.' After first depositing Dante, Virgil lets go of Lucifer's hair, and reaches a safe foothold on the rock.

90. **vidili**: **li** is here used for *lo*.

91–3. **s' io divenni**, &c.: the meaning is—'those will best understand my perplexity, who, like the uneducated masses, are ignorant of the centre of gravity'; lit. 'let the dull folk, who know nothing of the point which I had passed, conceive whether I now became perplexed.' **travagliato**: this word is derived from Lat. *trabs*, 'a beam,' through the (hypothetical) Low Lat. *travare*, 'to build with beams,' 'pen in,' 'embarrass'; Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s. v. 'travail.'

96. **il sole**: the sun, whose name has been avoided during their passage through Hell, is now once more mentioned, since they have escaped from that place. **a mezza terza riede**: 'returns halfway to the third hour'; **terza** was the name of the first of the four divisions of the twelve hours of the day, computed from sunrise; consequently, if we reckon sunrise as 6. a.m., **mezza terza** will be 7.30 a.m. There is no contradiction between this and l. 68, where the time is given as nightfall, because here we are supposed to be in the southern hemisphere, where consequently it is morning, ll. 105, 118. The time has gone back (cp. **riede**) twelve hours, and Easter Eve is now beginning for the southern hemisphere; see Moore, *Time-References*, p. 55.

97–9. **camminata**: 'chamber'; strictly the word means 'a room with a hearth in it (*camera caminata*)'; cp. the *Consulte Fiorentine* for Feb. 22, 1279, 'congregatis dominis xii^{cim} . . . . in pallatio Comunis in *caminata* Potestatis.' In the present passage the antithesis is between a palace-chamber and a dungeon (**burella**). **disagio**: 'deficiency.'

104. **poc' ora**: 'short time'; cp. Purg. ii. 93, *tanta ora*, 'so long time.'

108. **vermo**: 'worm,' i. e. loathsome reptile; cp. Inf. vi. 22, of Cerberus. **fora**: 'pierces,' i. e. passes from one part to the other, being partly in both hemispheres.

109. **cotanto quant' io scesi**: 'for so long as I was descending.'

110, 111. **il punto**, &c.: the centre of gravity; cp. *Conv.* iii. 3. ll. 10, 11, 'la terra sempre discende al centro.' The authority for this doctrine was Aristotle, *De Caelo*, iv. 1. 7.

112–5. **l' emisperio**: by this is meant the southern hemisphere, while that to which it is **contrapposto** is the northern hemisphere.

'The great continent' (**la gran secca**) which covers the latter of these is the dry land on its surface; and in Dante's time all the dry land on the face of the globe was supposed to be confined to that hemisphere. The **colmo** or 'culminating point' of the northern hemisphere is the zenith of Jerusalem, the scene of our Lord's death, for that place was regarded as the centre of the habitable world. This last idea seems to have been derived from Ezek. v. 5, 'This is Jerusalem: I have set her in the midst of the nations, and countries are round about her.'

116–21. Virgil here answers more specifically Dante's three questions (ll. 103–5) about (1) the position of the ice, (2) the sudden change from evening to morning, (3) the position of Lucifer.

116, 117. **Tu hai,** &c.: the answer to the first question is, that the ice of the ring of the Giudecca forms a small circle on the one side of the centre, and the rock on which Dante now is (ll. 85, 86) forms a small circular space corresponding to this on the other (**Che l' altra faccia fa**).

118. **da man:** see note on Inf. i. 37.

121, 122. **Da questa parte:** on the side of the southern hemisphere. **si sporse:** 'rose out of the sea.' According to the story here given, which appears to have been Dante's own invention, there was originally land in the southern hemisphere, and when Lucifer fell there, this sank through fear of him, and reappeared in the northern hemisphere.

125, 126. **Per fuggir,** &c.: 'to escape from him, the earth which is seen on this side of the globe (i. e. that which forms the Mountain of Purgatory) left its place void, and rushed upwards.' This is suggested to explain the formation of the chasm through which the Poets now ascend to the upper air, and at the same time that of the Mountain of Purgatory, which rises above, and which is supposed to have been formed by the earth thus thrown up.

127, 128. **Loco è,** &c.: these two lines are a description of the cavity by which the ascent is made. 'In the heart of the earth there is a place, which reaches away as far from Lucifer (**Belzebù**) in one direction as Hell extends in the other'; both of them reach from the centre to the circumference of the earth. **laggiù:** 'below'; Dante speaks from the point of view of one on the

earth's surface. **la tomba**: the Inferno generally, which is called *fossa* in Inf. xiv. 136.

129. **non per vista**: it is invisible in the darkness.

130. **un ruscelletto**: this rivulet is generally regarded as being formed by the water of Lethe, which flows from the summit of the mountain of Purgatory; and the idea that the sins that are washed away from the memory by Lethe should pass into Hell is a natural one. But there is no evidence in the poem to show that the two streams are connected with one another; indeed, in Inf. xiv. 136, 137 Virgil clearly intimates that Dante would not see Lethe before he reached the Earthly Paradise.

132. **Col corso ch' egli avvolge**: 'in its tortuous course.' **poco pende**: 'has not a steep fall'; the subject is *che* in l. 130.

137. **Tanto che**: 'until.' **delle cose belle**: 'some of the beauteous objects,' i. e. some of the stars; afterwards they see the whole array of stars.

139. **le stelle**: from Purg. i. 13–21 we learn that these were the stars of early morning, so that the time might be about 5 a. m.; and as it was 7.30 a. m. on the previous morning when they commenced the ascent (*supra*, l. 96), the ascent would have occupied about 21 hours; see Moore, *Time-Ref.*, p. 53. On the force of the word **stelle**, with which each of the three *Cantiche* of the poem ends, see note on Par. xxxiii. 145.

PURGATORIO

PURGATORIO

CANTO I

Prefatory Note on Dante's Conception of the Mountain of Purgatory.

THE Mountain of Purgatory, as conceived by Dante, is a cone-shaped mountain of great elevation, truncated at the summit, and surrounded by the sea, between which and its base a strip of gently sloping ground intervenes. The lower part of its steep declivities forms the Ante-Purgatory, within which at various intervals are stationed different classes of the Negligent, or those whose admission into Purgatory is delayed for a time, because they deferred their repentance until the end of their life. The upper part, which forms Purgatory proper, is encircled by a succession of Cornices, seven in number, rising one above the other, in each of which the souls who are admitted into Purgatory are cleansed by suffering from the effects of one of the seven deadly sins. These Cornices are connected with one another by steep and narrow stairways. On the truncated summit is the Terrestrial Paradise, which was the original Garden of Eden. As regards the position of this mountain on the face of the globe, Dante conceived of it as rising from the sea which covered the whole of the southern hemisphere, and as forming the exact antipodes of Jerusalem, which was the central point of the northern hemisphere. In the whole of this scheme he has departed from the traditional view of the middle ages on this subject, according to which Purgatory was situated beneath the earth in the

neighbourhood of Hell, and the Earthly Paradise was generally supposed to be in the eastern part of Asia. He was probably constrained to do this by the demands of poetic treatment, which required that the scene of his second realm should be in daylight, so as to afford a contrast to the gloom of the Inferno.

The course which Dante followed in ascending the Mountain of Purgatory was from left to right, by which is symbolized a progressive advance in virtue. In passing through the Inferno, as we have already seen, the direction which he pursued was leftward throughout. He starts from the foot of the mountain on its eastern side, and reaches the summit on its western side (Purg. xxvii. 64–6), and his course between these two points is confined to the northern half of the mountain.

The time spent by Dante in Purgatory is four days—one in Ante-Purgatory, two in Purgatory proper, and one in the Earthly Paradise.

ARGUMENT.—Dante and Virgil find themselves about daybreak on the sea-girt slope which surrounds the base of the Mountain of Purgatory. Here their eyes are first attracted by a constellation of four stars, which had never before been seen by inhabitants of the northern hemisphere; and afterwards they meet Cato, the guardian of Purgatory, who questions them about their right to enter his domain. When Virgil has satisfied him on this point, he gives them injunctions as to the preliminaries which they are bound to observe; in accordance with which Virgil conducts Dante to the seashore, where he cleanses his face from the murk of Hell, and girds him with a reed.

LINES 7–9. **la morta**, &c.: 'let my dead poetry awake to life again'; i. e. from singing of the gloom of Hell let it take a brighter tone. **poesì**: arch. for *poesia*. **O sante Muse**: this invocation corresponds to that of the Muses in Inf. ii. 7, and that of Apollo in Par. i. 13. **Calliope**, &c.: 'let Calliope (the Muse of epic poetry) take a somewhat higher strain.'

10–2. **Seguitando**: 'accompanying.' **Di cui**, &c.: 'which smote the ill-fated Magpies with such force that they felt their doom was sealed.' The story here referred to, which is given by Ovid, *Met.* v. 294 foll., is that of the nine daughters of Pierus,

king of Macedonia, who challenged the nine Muses to a contest in singing, on which occasion the latter were represented by Calliope as their champion. The challengers after they were defeated were changed into magpies.

13. **oriental**: 'oriental,' because that gem was brought from the east.

14, 15. **Che s' accoglieva**, &c.: 'which was diffused over (lit. contained in) the tranquil scene (lit. the serene aspect of things) from the mid-point of the clear sky even to the primal circle,' i. e. from the zenith to the horizon. According to this interpretation **il puro** is used as a substantive with **mezzo** agreeing with it; cp. in Latin Hor. *Od.* i. 34. 7, 'per *purum* tonantes Egit equos'; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 364. 'laxis per *purum* immissus habenis.' In Dante *sereno* or *il sereno* is used in this manner; cp. Purg. v. 38, 'fender sereno'; Par. xix. 64, 'dal sereno.' **primo giro** is the first or fundamental circle on the sphere, which at any given place determines the position of the other circles, i. e. the horizon. The majority of the MSS. hitherto examined (so Dr. Moore informs me) are in favour of the reading **Dal mezzo**, and certainly it is *lectio difficilior*; but there is good authority, including three of Witte's test MSS., for *Dell' aer*. With the latter reading the meaning of the passage is, 'in the tranquil aspect of the atmosphere, which was clear (of mists) down to the horizon.'

16. **ricominciò diletto**: 'renewed the (lost) sense of joy.'

19. **conforta**: 'encourages,' 'incites'; the 'planet' is Venus. The morning which is now commencing is that of Easter Day, April 10, 1300, and the time is about an hour before sunrise. Dante had entered Hell on the evening of Good Friday, and the intervening time had been spent in that region and in the ascent from it to Purgatory (see notes on Inf. ii. 1 and xxi. 112). The appropriateness of Easter Eve as the period spent in 'the lower parts of the earth,' and of Easter morning as the time of the return of hope, will at once be perceived.

21. **Velando**, &c.: 'obscuring (by her light) the Fishes which were in her train.' Venus, as the morning star, would be in the constellation of Pisces, because the sun was in the following constellation of Aries; this the sun enters at the vernal equinox, which was approximately the season of the year of Dante's Vision. See note on Inf. i. 38.

22. **a man destra**: i. e. towards the south, because just before he was facing east, l. 20.

23. **quattro stelle**: these four stars signify, allegorically, the four cardinal virtues of Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance; in Purg. xxxi. 106 these virtues are made to say 'nel ciel siamo stelle.' It has often been maintained that, independently of this meaning, Dante intends by them to describe the constellation of the Southern Cross. The stars which compose this are mentioned by Ptolemy in the *Almagest*; not however as a separate constellation, but as forming part of Centaurus, and the name of 'the Cross' does not seem to have been attached to them before 1517 A. D. It is possible that Dante may have heard of them through travellers who went far enough south to see them; but in reality there is little to show that the views of the Poet and his contemporaries were modified by such discoveries. Brunetto Latini, at all events (*Tesoro*, Bk. iii. Ch. 2), says that the only large star visible in India is Canopus. It is strongly against this identification that the three stars which represent the three theological virtues, and thus correspond to this group of four (Purg. viii. 89–93), are confessedly imaginary. Moreover, in the present passage Dante goes out of his way to say that the four stars had not been seen since the Fall of man.

24. **Non viste mai**: allegorically this means that the cardinal virtues had not been openly revealed to the eyes of men since the age of innocence, when Adam and Eve were in the Terrestrial Paradise.

27. **Poichè**, &c.: this explains **vedovo**; 'clime of the North, how great thy loss, for that the sight of these is denied thee!'

30. **Là onde**, &c.: 'on which side the Wain, or Great Bear, was now out of sight.' Being below the horizon, it would be invisible in that part of the southern hemisphere, in which Dante supposed the Mountain of Purgatory to be.

31. **un veglio solo**: this is Cato the Younger, the rigid Stoic moralist, and the determined defender of republican liberty at Rome. Much difficulty has been felt as to Dante's choice of one who was a pagan and a suicide to occupy the position of Guardian of Purgatory, but the explanation of this is to be found in the estimate that was formed of Cato in the middle ages. Like Virgil he was idealized; and in the process of idealization such points in his character and life as might have been prejudicial to him passed

out of view. Dante himself says of him in the *Convito* (iv. 28. ll. 121–3), 'Quale uomo terreno più degno fu di significare Iddio, che Catone? Certo nullo.' But the primary cause of his selection for this particular office is to be found in a line of Virgil (*Aen.* viii. 670), where he is describing Elysium, 'Secretosque pios; his dantem iura Catonem.' The reason why he is spoken of as an old man (**veglio**) and gray-haired (ll. 34, 35), notwithstanding that he was only 49 years of age at the time of his death, is, that Lucan says of him, 'Ut primum tolli feralia viderat arma, Intonsos rigidam in frontem descendere canos Passus erat, maestamque genis increscere barbam,' *Phars.* ii. 374–6.

35. **simigliante**: here an adverb, 'in like manner.' If *ai* is read in place of **e i**, it is an adj. agreeing with **barba.**

37–9. **Li raggi**, &c.: the four stars being the four cardinal virtues, this means that the highest moral virtue was conspicuously seen in Cato's character. **fosse davante**: 'were before me.'

40–2. **contro al cieco fiume**: 'against the course of the darkling stream,' i. e. the *ruscelletto*, which the Poets had followed upward from the centre of the earth, Inf. xxxiv. 130. **piume**: his beard; cp. the use of *penne* for the beard in Inf. xx. 45.

46–8. **abisso**: for the omission of the article with this word where Hell is specially referred to cp. Inf. iv. 8, *valle d' abisso*: similarly *orizzonte* in Purg. xxvii. 71. **mutato**: 'initiated'; but the word has a pregnant force, implying 'to the subversion of former counsels.' **grotte**: the 'rocks' of the Mountain of Purgatory; cp. Purg. iii. 90.

51. **Riverenti**, &c.: 'caused me to bend my knees and incline my brow.'

53. **Donna**: Beatrice; cp. Inf. ii. 52 foll.

56. **Di nostra . . . vera**: 'of the real nature of our condition,' i. e. whether we are lost souls (*dannati*), and, if not, what we are.

59, 60. **le**: to death; but here spiritual death is meant, not the death of the body, in which sense *l' ultima sera* is used in the previous line. **a volger**: 'for retracing his steps.'

62, 63. **Per lui campare**: 'to save him'; **campare** is trans., and **lui** accus. **Che questa**, &c.: i. e. than to teach him the lessons to be learnt from Hell and Purgatory; cp. Inf. i. 112–20; Purg. xxx. 136–8.

71, 72. **Libertà**: in Dante's case this was spiritual liberty, in

Cato's political liberty. **che è sì cara,** &c.: 'the value of which he knows, who for its sake forfeits life'; here the case is put generally, in l. 73 Cato is appealed to as the typical instance—'Thou dost know it.'

74, 75. **In Utica:** Cato committed suicide at Utica in Africa rather than live under Caesar's despotism. **La vesta,** &c.: 'the robe of flesh, which at the resurrection will shine so bright.'

77. **Minos,** &c.: Virgil's place in the Inferno was in the first Circle, or Limbo: the realm of Minos commenced with the second Circle; Inf. v. 1–4.

79. **in vista:** 'in her looks,' i. e. to judge from her looks; cp. Purg. vii. 97. Marcia is mentioned as being in Limbo in Inf. iv. 128. **ancor:** 'still,' as she had already done in life. Cato's wife, Marcia, after bearing him children, was ceded by him to Hortensius, and after the death of the latter requested Cato to take her back again. Lucan in his account of this represents Marcia as saying, 'da tantum nomen inane Connubii; liceat tumulo scripsisse, Catonis Marcia'; *Phars.* ii. 342–4. Dante refers to this passage in *Conv.* iv. 28. ll. 97 foll.

82, 83. **sette regni:** the seven Cornices of Purgatory. **Grazie,** &c.: perhaps, 'I shall return her thanks for thy favours'; but the meaning is uncertain.

88–90. **mal fiume:** the Acheron, the stream of which encircled the whole of the Inferno, including the first Circle. **quella legge:** the law which forbade community of feeling between the saved and the lost. **quando,** &c.: this was at the time of our Lord's descent into Hell, when He delivered the souls of the Patriarchs and certain others; Inf. iv. 55–61.

92, 93. **lusinghe:** 'persuasive words.' **Bastiti,** &c.: 'suffice it that thou askest me for her sake.' **richegge:** arch. for *richeggi.*

96. **Sì che,** &c.: 'so that thou mayest cause all grime to disappear from it.' **sucidume** is the deposit formed on the face by the murk of Hell.

97–9. **l' occhio sorpriso,** &c.: absolute construction; 'with his eye dimmed (lit. overpowered) by any mist.' **primo Ministro:** the angel who guards the entrance of Purgatory proper.

100–2. **ad imo ad imo:** 'at its lowest verge.' The repetition of the expression increases its force; cp. Inf. xiv. 12, *a randa a randa,* 'on the very edge.' **giunchi:** just as in Scripture

'a bruised reed' is used to signify repentant humility (Is. xlii. 3), so here the rush, which bends before the beating of the waves, suitably represents the attitude of the soul entering Purgatory, where it submits itself to correction.

103–5. In these three lines the emblematical character of the rush is still further developed. 'No other growths, such as put forth leaves or harden into stems, can exist there, because they do not yield to the smiting of the waves.' The words **facesse fronda** refer to the proud display of foliage on the part of such shrubs as have a stem and branches, as compared with the simplicity of the undeveloped rush. The verbs **facesse, indurasse** are in the subj. mood because **che** is indef., and signifies the nature of the plants or trees spoken of. **seconda**: from the idea of 'following the movement of' the word here gets the meaning of 'yield,' 'bend.'

107. **Lo sol**, &c.: 'the rising sun will indicate to you the easiest point of ascent,' i. e. the easiest ascent is on the eastern side.

109. **su mi levai**: Dante had been kneeling, l. 51.

115–7. **L' alba**, &c.: 'the dawn was chasing (lit. conquering) the breeze of morn, which was flying before it,' i. e. as the dawn came on the breeze rose; by this the surface of the sea was ruffled **(il tremolar della marina)**. **ôra**, 'breeze' (= *aura*), is found again in *Conv.* ii. 1. ll. 5–7, 'dirizzato l' artimone della ragione all' ôra del mio desiderio.' Others read *ora*, and translate, 'the dawn was mastering the morning hour,' i. e. the twilight; in this case **conobbi** implies that the tremulous surface of the sea was thus revealed to view.

119, 120. This is one of many passages in which Dante's experiences as a traveller appear. It expresses the weary sense of wasted trouble in searching for a lost track.

121–3. **Quando**, &c.: 'when we reached a place where the dew holds its own against the sun, and from being in a chilly region, evaporates slowly.' By 'the sun' here is meant the warmth of the approaching sun, for, as we see from the commencement of the next Canto, the sun itself had not yet risen. The 'place where the dew holds its own against the sun' is the lower slopes towards the coast, for there the sun's warmth would be less soon felt than on the higher ground. **adorezza** is from a verb *adorezzare*, which does not occur elsewhere. Like *orezza* (Purg. xxiv. 150) and *rezzo* (Inf. xvii. 87, where see note) it is regarded as being

derived from *aura*; and, as *rezzo* means 'chill' or 'chill air,' *adorezzare* may perhaps mean 'to be chilly.' Scartazzini omits *e* after *sole* in l. 122, and reads *Ove, ad orezza*, in l. 123; he translates, 'When we were in a place where the dew holds its own against the sun owing to its being in a region where it evaporates slowly from being exposed to the breeze' (*ad orezza*). Longfellow however remarks, 'the blowing of the wind would produce an effect exactly opposite to that here described.'

126. **che fui**, &c.: 'who comprehended his design.'

128, 129. **mi fece**, &c.: the meaning is:—'he brought to sight once more my natural hue.'

133. **altrui**: Cato, whom he did not wish to name.

135. **si rinacque**: cp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 143, 'primo avulso non deficit alter,' of the golden branch plucked by Aeneas. The allegorical meaning is, that divine grace, which is the source of humility, is not lessened by being communicated.

CANTO II

Argument.—When the sun has risen, a boat is seen approaching over the sea, on which an angel is standing, while within it are a band of spirits who are in his charge. Having left them on the shore, he starts on his return voyage to the mouth of the Tiber, which is the assembling-place for the souls who are destined for Purgatory. Among those who have newly arrived Dante recognizes his friend the musician Casella. At the Poet's request he sings to them; but while they are absorbed in listening to him, Cato appears among them, and rebukes them for loitering on their way to the Mountain.

Lines 1–9. In these lines Dante intends to signify, though by a long periphrasis, that it was sunrise in Purgatory. In order to understand this it is necessary to get an elementary idea of his views of mathematical geography. According to him the habitable earth extends from E. to W. over half the circuit of the globe; at its eastern extremity is the mouth of the Ganges, at its western extremity Gades; Jerusalem is midway between these two points;

the Mountain of Purgatory is the antipodes of Jerusalem, and consequently midway between Gades and the Ganges on the opposite side of the globe (see Purg. iv. 67–71). Hence—to take the circumstances described in the present passage—when it is sunset at Jerusalem, it will be midday at Gades, midnight at the mouth of the Ganges, and sunrise at the Mountain of Purgatory. The whole passage should be compared with Purg. xxvii. 1–5, which is very similar to it as a description of the time of day.

1–3. **orizzonte**: by this is intended the horizon line on which Gades lay, and which was the common horizon of Jerusalem and the Mountain of Purgatory. **Lo cui**, &c.: i. e. 'the highest point of the meridian circle of which lies over Jerusalem.' In plain English the three lines mean—'The sun had now reached the horizon at the meridian of Jerusalem'; in other words, 'it was sunset at Jerusalem.' The explanation of the expression 'the meridian circle of the horizon' is this. The meridian, or meridian circle, of a place is a great circle of the heavens, which passes through its zenith (**il suo più alto punto**) and through the poles, and is crossed by the sun when it is noonday at that place. And as the meridian circle of a place crosses the horizon of that place at two points, and divides it into two equal parts, it can be spoken of as the meridian circle of that horizon, and this is what Dante does in the present passage.

4. **la notte**, &c.: Night, which is here personified, is identified with its central point, i. e. midnight, and so is spoken of in terms of place as being opposite to the sun.

5. **colle bilance**: the sun being in Aries, the point opposite to it was Libra, the sign of the zodiac opposite to Aries.

6. **Che le caggion**, &c.: 'which fall from the hand of night when she wins the mastery.' Night wins the mastery over the sun when it extends over more than half the 24 hours, i. e. after the autumnal equinox. The Scales (Libra) 'fall from her hand' at that time, because the sun is then in that constellation, so that night has no power over them.

8, 9. **Là dove io era**: at the foot of the Mountain of Purgatory. **Per troppa etate**: 'from advanced age,' i. e. from the near approach of sunrise.

11. **Come gente**, &c.: i. e. in a lingering frame of mind.

13. **sul presso del mattino**: 'at the approach of morn';

presso is a prep., and **sul presso** is formed on the analogy of *all' incirca* and similar phrases. Another reading is *sorpreso dal mattino* ('surprised by the morn'), but the meaning here is far-fetched.

14. **Per li grossi vapor**: 'owing to its dense vapours.' Mars was supposed to generate vapours; cp. Inf. xxiv. 145, 'Tragge Marte vapor di val di Magra'; *Conv.* ii. 14. ll. 164–7, 'esso [i. e. Marte] appare affocato di colore, quando più e quando meno, secondo la spessezza e rarità delli vapori che 'l seguono.'

16. **s' io**, &c.: 'so may I once more behold it!' This is Dante's prayer for his own salvation, the first condition of which would be his own admittance to Purgatory after his death.

22–4. **d' ogni lato**: 'on either side'; for **ogni** cp. Inf. vii. 32; xxii. 56. **Un non**, &c.: 'an indistinct white object'; this was the wings of the angel, while **un altro**, which was **di sotto**, was his garment.

26. **Mentre che**, &c.: 'until the first white objects revealed themselves as wings.'

30. **di sì fatti**, &c.: 'such like ministers of God.'

31–3. **argomenti**: 'means,' 'instruments'; cp. Purg. xxx. 136, where it signifies 'expedients.' **liti sì lontani**: the mouth of the Tiber, where the souls that were destined for Purgatory assembled (see ll. 100–5), and the Mountain of Purgatory.

35, 36. **Trattando**: 'moving.' **mortal pelo**: 'the feathers of mortal birds.'

40–2. **sen venne**: 'came on.' **Tanto che**, &c.: 'so light that no part of it was submerged,' lit. 'the water engulfed no part of it.'

44. **Tal che parea beato per iscripto**: 'so glorious that he looked as though he were blessed by a sure title,' lit. 'by a written warrant.' This reading has the authority of 123 MSS., as against 31 for *Tal che faria beato pur descritto* (Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 372), which is also the easier reading. The latter should be translated, 'so glorious that the mere description of him would enchant the mind.'

46. **In exitu**, &c.: the spirits are celebrating their deliverance from the world of sin and sorrow by singing Ps. cxiv, the subject of which, the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, is a familiar type of the redemption of mankind.

52–4. **selvaggia,** &c.: 'strange to the place.' **nuove cose,** &c.: 'makes trial of a new experience.'

55. **Da tutte parti:** 'in every direction'; for **da** cp. Inf. xx. 13; xxii. 146.

56. **colle saette conte:** 'with its clear shafts': *conto* (Lat. *cognitus*) is used of what is 'clearly known' in Inf. iii. 76, and here, according to this interpretation, is applied to 'clear' light; but such a transference of meaning from a mental to a material application is altogether unusual. Possibly *conto* might be derived from Lat. *comptus*, and in that case it might mean 'polished' here.

57. **Di mezzo,** &c.: 'the sun had chased Capricorn beyond the meridian'; the succession of the heavenly bodies is imagined as a pursuit. What is implied here is that the sun was above the horizon. The interval between Aries (in which the sun was) and Capricorn is a quarter of the zodiac; consequently, if Capricorn had cleared the meridian, Aries (and with it the sun) would be above the horizon. The expression *saettava il giorno* in l. 55, however, suggests that the time was only just after sunrise, and this is confirmed by the words *fiammeggiava roggio* in iii. 16, which would hardly be used of the sun if it had risen more than a short time.

70–2. **olivo:** the olive branch, which in ancient times was the token of peace, was used in Dante's time as a sign of good news in general; cp. Villani, xii. 105, 'E mandonne lettere e messi con olivo al nostro comune significando la sua gran vittoria.' **calcar:** 'treading on others.' The meaning of 'to throng,' which *calcare* bears (Purg. x. 79), is derived from this.

75. **d' ire,** &c.: i. e. to go on their way to Purgatory proper, where they would be purified from sin. In saying **a farsi belle** Dante refers to the consolatory view of Purgatory, as he usually does elsewhere; cp. Purg. iii. 73, 'già spiriti eletti.'

80, 81. **Tre volte,** &c.: cp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 700, 701, 'Ter conatus ibi collo dare brachia circum; Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago.'

82. **Di maraviglia,** &c.: i. e. I expressed my surprise in my countenance.

89, 90. **sciolta:** the fem. is used because he is speaking of himself as a spirit (*anima*); in l. 100, where there is no such special reference, he uses the masc. **tu:** 'you,' who are still alive.

91. **Casella**: a musician and friend of Dante; in l. 93 it is implied that he had been dead some time. **per tornare**, &c.: 'the object of my present journey is, that I may return to this place at a future time.' The lessons of Hell and Purgatory were necessary, in order to recall Dante to the way of salvation, and so to enable him after death to reach Purgatory, and through it Paradise.

93. **a te**, &c.: 'how comes it that so long a time has been lost to you?' i. e. 'Why this long delay' between the time of your death and your arrival here? For **tanta ora** (= 'so long time') cp. *poc' ora*, 'short time,' in Inf. xxxiv. 104. There is considerable authority here for *tanta terra* (meaning 'this great realm of Purgatory') in place of **tanta ora**; but the words can hardly bear this sense.

95. **leva**: 'takes on board'; like Engl. 'takes *up* passengers,' cp. *tolto* in l. 98. The idea expressed in this passage was suggested by Virg. *Aen.* vi. 315, 316.

97. **di giusto voler**, &c.: the angel's will is determined by the will of God.

98, 99. **Veramente**: 'nevertheless'; cp. Purg. vi. 43. **da tre mesi**: as the date of the present action of the poem is April 10, 1300, the three months here spoken of are the first three months of that year: and as this was the great year of Jubilee, in which pardons and indulgences were freely dispensed, it is here implied that during this period a corresponding freedom had been allowed to the souls of the dead in respect of the transit to Purgatory. **con tutta pace**: take with **tolto**, 'has taken on board with full acquiescence'; for **pace** in this sense cp. *con tua pace*, 'with your permission,' and similar uses.

100, 101. **era ora . . . volto**: 'had just at that time betaken myself to.' **s' insala**: 'becomes salt'; or, 'enters the sea.' According to Dante, the souls who die in peace with God assemble at the mouth of the Tiber, and are transported thence by the angel. The idea of the shore as the starting-point, like that of the ferry-boat, is of classical origin; but the selection of this place in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome can hardly fail to mean that they are under the protection of the Church.

103. **A quella foce**: 'to that river-mouth.' The angel who had just left them had betaken himself thither to fetch a fresh band of souls.

104, 105. **si ricoglie:** both this point and the souls being ferried across form a counterpart to the assembling of the condemned souls on the shore of Acheron and their passage in Charon's boat in Inf. iii. 82 foll. **Qual,** &c.: i. e. all who are not doomed to descend to Hell.

106. **nuova legge:** the idea that laws unknown on earth may prevail in Purgatory seems to have been suggested by *quella legge* of Purg. i. 89, by which Cato was forbidden to retain his love for Marcia.

110. **la sua persona:** the corruptible body which presseth down the soul, Wisdom ix. 15.

112. **Amor,** &c.: 'Love that within my mind doth hold discourse'; this is the first line of the Canzone with which Bk. III of the *Convito* commences.

117. **Come:** for *come se*; 'as if they were all absorbed by this alone.'

119. **il veglio:** Cato.

122. **scoglio:** 'slough,' 'husk,' 'skin,' in which senses *scoglia* is more commonly used. Here it means a 'film' over the eyes which dims the sight.

130–2. **fresca:** 'newly arrived.' **la costa:** 'the mountain-side.' **nè sa,** &c.: this describes the headlong flight of the spirits.

CANTO III

Prefatory Note on the Spirits in Ante-Purgatory.

The spirits who are detained for a time in Ante-Purgatory are the Negligent, or those who deferred their repentance until the end of their lives. They are divided into four classes. (1) Those who, while they repented at the last moment, died under the ban of the Church; example Manfred (Canto III). (2) Those who delayed their repentance through indolence; example Belacqua (Canto IV). (3) Those who repented at the moment of a violent death; examples Buonconte da Montefeltro, Sordello, &c. (Cantos V, VI). (4) Kings and Princes, who deferred their repentance owing to the cares of state; numerous examples (Canto VII). The first of these classes is precluded from entering Purgatory

for a period thirty times the length of the duration of their contumacy (Purg. iii. 136–9). The other three classes are detained for a period equal to that of their life on earth (Purg. iv. 130–2; xi. 127–31). But in every case the term of waiting may be shortened by means of the intercessions of friends on earth.

Dante meets with the groups of spirits who represent these four classes at different stages in the ascent of the mountain. Group I is found at the foot of the precipice which runs round the base of the mountain (Purg. iii. 46 foll.). Group II is at some distance above the precipice on the open mountain side (Purg. iv. 46 foll. and 97 foll.). Group III is higher up again in the same direction (Purg. iv. 136 and v. 22, 23). Group IV occupies a flowery valley, which forms a recess in the slope of the hill nearer to the gate of Purgatory (Purg. vii. 64 foll.).

Argument.—As they proceed, Dante, perceiving no other shadow than that thrown by his own body, supposes that Virgil has left him, until the reason of this is explained to him. When they reach the foot of the mountain they find it precipitous; and seeing a troop of spirits approaching, they inquire of them at what point the ascent is easiest. The spirits are amazed at the sight of Dante's shadow, until they learn that he is a living man. Manfred, king of Naples, who is one of them, informs Dante that he repented of his sins before he died; but that, in consequence of his delay in doing so, and of his dying excommunicate, he is precluded for a period from entering Purgatory.

1–3. **Avvegnachè**: 'although'; Dante here contrasts the conduct of the spirits with his own. **ove ragion ne fruga**: 'towards which reason impels (lit. goads) us.' The meaning is, that our human judgement—i. e. our sense of right and wrong, and our feeling of God's justice—impels us towards Purgatory, in order to satisfy the demands of justice and to obtain purification.

4. **compagna**: for *compagnia*, the abstract 'company' being here used for the concrete 'companion'; cp. the use of *guida* (fem.) for 'guide,' and *scorta* for 'escort.'

7. **da sè stesso rimorso**: 'self-reproached,' i. e. on account of his delay.

10, 11. **la fretta**: Virgil had hurried after the other spirits. **l' onestade**, &c.: 'deprives every movement of dignity'; for the

sentiment cp. Purg. vi. 63, 'onesta e tarda.' **dismaga**: lit. 'takes away'; on *dismagare* or *smagare*, which is used in different senses in the *Div. Com.*, see note on Purg. x. 106.

12, 13. **ristretta**: 'circumscribed'; his attention was confined, first to Casella's music, and afterwards to Cato's reproofs. **Lo intento**, &c.: 'widened its field of vision.' **vaga**: 'eager to inquire.'

15. **più alto si dislaga**: 'rises highest above the waters'; *dislagarsi* is derived from Lat. *lacus*, and here means 'to withdraw itself from the waters.' This interpretation is confirmed by Par. xxvi. 139, where the Mountain of Purgatory is called 'il monte, che si leva più dall' onda.'

16–8. **Lo sol**: i. e. the sun's rays. **alla figura**, &c.: 'tracing the shape formed by his rays falling upon me,' lit. 'to the figure which the resting-place of his rays on me had.' **appoggio** is here used of that which intercepts the light.

21. **Solo**, &c.: in the darkness of the Inferno Dante had no opportunity of observing that Virgil cast no shadow; he now discovers it for the first time.

22, 23. **pur**: take with **diffidi**; 'why do you still mistrust me after all that I have done for you?' **tutto rivolto**: 'turning full towards me,' to dispel my doubts.

25, 26. **Vespero**, &c.: the meaning is:—'My body is in Italy, where it is now evening.' It was at this time about 6.30 a. m. in Purgatory, and consequently 6.30 p.m. at Jerusalem, which was its antipodes; and as Italy was reckoned as being halfway between Jerusalem and Gades, and therefore 45° to the westward of the former place, the equivalent of which in time is three hours, the time of day here intended by **Vespero** is about 3.30 p.m. *Vespero* is used by Dante to signify the part of the day from 3 to 6 p.m. Cp. note on Purg. xv. 6.

27. **Napoli**: Virgil died at Brundisium in 19 B.C., and his remains were transferred to Naples and buried there. **Brandizio**: Branditz is the Provençal form of Brindisi.

28–30. **nulla s' adombra**: 'nothing is cast in shade,' i. e. no shadow falls. **Che l' uno**, &c.: the point of the comparison is the diaphanous nature of the spheres; 'which (heavens) do not obstruct the passage of a ray from one to another.' **Che** means 'of which,' and **l' uno** is subject of **ingombra**; lit. 'of which heavens the one does not impede the passage of a ray to the other.' The

heavens, according to Dante, formed a system of concentric spheres of which the earth was the centre, and these spheres were material, but permeable to light.

31–3. **A sofferir,** &c.: the question naturally arises—'If spiritual bodies, like Virgil's, are permeable to light, how can they suffer pain?' Virgil answers—'They do so, but how this comes to pass is a mystery, of which God has not vouchsafed the explanation.' Translate:—'The Supreme Goodness (**la virtù**) disposes bodies of the same substance as mine (**simili corpi**) to suffer torments arising from heat and cold, but he wills not that his mode of working (**come fa**) should be revealed to us.' **tormenti caldi e gieli:** the torments of Hell are spoken of in these terms in Inf. iii. 87.

35, 36. **Possa trascorrer,** &c.: 'Can traverse the illimitable way, Which the one Substance in three Persons follows' (Longf.). The doctrine of the Trinity is here introduced as being the highest mystery of the Godhead; the mysterious God moves in a mysterious way. The 'way' is the path of God's counsels.

37. **al quia:** 'with the fact'; 'be contented with knowing the fact, without inquiring the reason.' **quia** is used for 'that' in mediaeval Latin.

38, 39. **se potuto,** &c.: if human reason had been able to comprehend the whole scheme of God's counsels, Adam would not have sinned, because he would have understood the reason of God's prohibition; and so the Incarnation would not have been necessary. **era:** for *sarebbe stato*; see note on Inf. xxix. 38.

40–2. **E disiar,** &c.: a further proof is here given of the inability of the human intellect to fathom God's counsels; had this been possible, the great philosophers of old would have accomplished it, whereas they have failed to do so, and thus have lost everything. 'And ye (mankind) have been cognizant of the fruitless longings of men of such force of intellect (**Tai**) that (had they possessed the knowledge of divine things) those desires on their part would have been fulfilled, which now are assigned to them as their eternal bane.' **vedeste,** like *State* and *aveste* above, refers to *umana gente*. **lutto:** cp. Inf. iv. 42, 'senza speme vivemo in disio.'

44. **molti altri:** the eminent and virtuous heathens who were in Limbo, among whom was Virgil himself. This is the source of his distress.

48. **indarno**, &c.: i. e. legs, however active, could not scale it.

49. **Tra Lerici e Turbìa**: as Lerici is on the gulf of Spezia, and Turbia stands on the heights above Monaco, the district here intended is the mountainous coast of the Riviera, the eastern and western extremities of which are marked by those two places. Under the Roman empire this region was traversed by good roads, as it is at the present day, but during the middle ages difficult tracks afforded the only means of communication. This is referred to again in Purg. iv. 25, where the descent to the town of Noli on the western Riviera is mentioned as a specimen of a bad road.

52. **cala**: 'has a gradual descent,' lit. 'slopes.'

56. **del cammin la mente**: 'the character of the path.'

58–60. **una gente**: these were the spirits who formed the first class of the Negligent, i. e. those who died excommunicate, though they had made their peace with God at the last (see Prefatory Note to this Canto). **lente**: the slowness of their movements corresponds to the tardiness of their repentance.

64. **libero piglio**: 'cheerful look'; for **piglio** cp. Inf. xxiv. 20.

67–9. **Ancora**, &c.: 'that band of souls was still distant a good stone's cast from us (still distant, I mean, after we had advanced a thousand paces towards them).' **Dico** explains **ancora di lontano**.

72. **Come**, &c.: 'as one pauses to look who advances hesitatingly.' The cause of their perplexity and fear was that Dante and Virgil were walking towards the left, whereas the rule in Purgatory was that a right hand course should be followed. Hence the spirits are seen approaching from the left (l. 58), and they cause the Poets to turn with them (l. 101). It was not Dante's being in the body that surprised them, for that they had not yet discovered (see l. 88).

73–5. **ben finiti**: 'happy in your death.' **si aspetti**: 'is waited for by you,' meaning 'is in waiting for you.'

76–8. **giace**: 'slopes'; cp. Inf. xxiii. 31. **perder tempo**, &c.: a sort of proverbial expression; 'the man of experience especially dreads waste of time.'

83. **Addossandosi a lei**: 'crowding on to her.'

85. **la testa**: 'the foremost.'

88–90. **color dinanzi**: 'those in front.' **Sì che**, &c.: 'so that my shadow was thrown towards the rock.' The Poets now

had the mountain on their right hand and the sun on their left; consequently Dante's shadow was thrown towards his right in the direction of the precipice.

101. **Tornate,** &c.: 'turn round and pass on in front of us.' **intrate:** lit. 'enter on the road,' 'advance.'

104, 105. **così andando:** 'as you proceed,' without stopping. **di là:** 'in the other world.' **vedesti:** as Manfred, who is here speaking, died in 1266, it was impossible that Dante, who was born in 1265, should have seen him.

107. **Biondo,** &c.: one of the old chroniclers describes Manfred as 'homo flavus, amoena facie'; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 359.

112, 113. **Manfredi:** Manfred, illegitimate son of the emperor Frederic II, was crowned king of Sicily in 1258, but was excommunicated by successive Popes, and by them Charles of Anjou was summoned to oppose him. Their armies met in 1266 at Benevento, where Manfred was defeated and slain. There is no historical evidence of his penitence, which Dante implies in this passage; see ll. 121–3. **Nepote:** he avoids mentioning his father, because he was illegitimate. **Costanza:** wife of the emperor Henry VI, and mother of Frederic II. She is introduced in the Paradiso in the Heaven of the Moon.

115, 116. **figlia:** Constance, who married Peter III of Aragon, and was mother of Frederic king of Sicily and James king of Aragon. **Dell' onor,** &c.: i. e. the two princes just mentioned. As Dante speaks of them elsewhere in unfavourable terms (Par. xix. 130–8; *Conv.* iv. 6. ll. 180–3; *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 12. ll. 36, 37), it is necessary to regard this favourable estimate as that of their grandfather who is speaking.

117. **il vero:** i. e. that he is in the number of the saved. His object in saying this is to intimate that her prayers can avail for him; see ll. 142–5. He does not desire to rehabilitate his character, for the spirits in Purgatory, unlike those in Hell, do not desire to be favourably remembered by the living; see note on Purg. xiii. 150.

119. **due:** those mentioned in ll. 108 and 111.

121. **peccati:** Villani (vi. 46) describes him as dissolute and irreligious.

124 foll. Villani (vii. 9) says that Manfred's body was buried under a heap of stones at the foot of the bridge of Benevento;

and that by some it was reported (though he would not himself affirm it), that by the orders of Clement IV the bishop of Cosenza removed it from that spot, because it was ground belonging to the Church, after which it was buried on the banks of the Verde.

126. **Avesse**, &c.: 'had read aright this page in God's word,' i. e. the passages which speak of God's infinite mercy to the penitent sinner. **questa** refers to ll. 122, 123. **faccia**: for *facciata*, 'page.'

128, 129. **co**: for *capo*; cp. Inf. xx. 76. **mora**: 'cairn,' the heap of stones piled over him by Charles of Anjou's soldiers: *moriccia* in Ital. is 'a pile of rubbish.' Diez (p. 217) compares *moraine*.

131, 132. **regno**: the kingdom of Naples. **quasi lungo**: 'near the banks of.' **il Verde**: now the Garigliano, on the confines of the kingdom of Naples and the Campagna, which was papal territory. **a lume spento**: lights were extinguished at the funeral of an excommunicate person.

133–5. **Per lor**, &c.: 'souls are not so utterly lost through their malediction (i. e. that of the rulers of the Church), that the eternal love (the mercy of God) cannot be regained, so long as hope has aught of green,' i. e. while there is a particle of hope—in other words, while a man has still time for repentance. On **fior** used in this sense see note on Inf. xxxiv. 26.

138. **da questa ripa in fuore**: 'without this bank,' i. e. outside this steep rock which bounds the precincts of Purgatory.

139, 140. **Per ogni . . . presunzion**: 'thirtyfold the time which he has lived in a state of defiance.'

142. **far lieto**: 'advance my happiness,' by aiding to shorten the time of my exclusion.

145. **Chè qui**, &c.: 'since we who are in Purgatory can be greatly benefited by the prayers of those on earth.'

CANTO IV

ARGUMENT.—The Poets climb by a steep and narrow passage through the cliffs, and then pursue their way upwards, until they find a resting-place on the open mountain side. Here, as they are facing eastwards, Dante is surprised at finding that the sun is on his left hand; but Virgil explains to him that this is only natural, because the Mountain of Purgatory is in the southern hemisphere. They now discover in their neighbourhood a company of spirits in indolent attitudes, one of whom, Belacqua, a former acquaintance of Dante, informs him that his own entry into Purgatory is delayed in consequence of his having deferred his repentance until the close of his life.

LINES 1–12. Dante was so engrossed in Manfred's story and his conversation, that he paid no heed to the lapse of time until he reached the point where the precipice could be ascended. In these lines he introduces his reflexions on the psychical phenomenon, that absorption in one subject excludes all observation of others.

1–4. **Quando**, &c.: 'when through delight, or maybe through pain, which one of our energies conceives, the soul concentrates itself wholly upon that energy, it seems that it pays no heed to any other of its faculties besides this.' The difference which is here intended to be made between **potenza** and **virtù** is more fully drawn out by Dante in *Conv.* iii. 2, where he distinguishes between the three *faculties* of the soul (*potenze*, ll. 85, 86)—viz. Life, Sensation, and Reason—and these same faculties in activity, or *energies* (*virtù*, ll. 122, 123). These terms correspond respectively to the δύναμις and ἐνέργεια of Aristotle.

5, 6. **E questo**, &c.: 'and this confutes the erroneous view, that more than one soul is generated (lit. kindled) within us.' The unity of the soul is proved by its inability to concentrate itself on more than one thing at a time. The erroneous view here referred to is that of Plato in the *Timaeus* (p. 69, C. foll.), who held that there was in man an immortal and a mortal soul, the latter being again subdivided into two parts. Dante was acquainted with the *Timaeus*,

that dialogue of Plato having been translated into Latin. His argument here is that of Aquinas on the same subject—'una operatio animae, cum fuerit intensa, impedit aliam; quod nullo modo contingeret, nisi principium actionum esset per essentiam unum'; *Summa*, I. Q. 76, Art. 3. Cp. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* x. 5. 3, 4.

7–9. **E però**, &c.: the general observation just made is here applied to the particular instance in point: 'and so it comes to pass that, when any thing is heard or seen, which keeps the soul engrossed upon it (**forte a sè volta**), time passes by without one's being aware of it.'

10–2. **Ch' altra**, &c.: 'for the faculty which listens to what is heard (the sense of hearing) is one, and that which dominates the soul as a whole (the reason) is another (they are separate faculties): the latter is as it were bound (i. e. is prevented from working), the former is in free exercise.' Two of the faculties of the soul, viz. sensation and reason, are here mentioned, and when one of these is in active exercise (Dante says) the other is in abeyance.

15. **cinquanta gradi**: the time would be about 9 A.M.

18. **vostro domando**: 'what you inquired for.'

19–21. **aperta**: for *apertura*. **impruna**: lit. 'fills with brambles'; 'wider is oftentimes the gap which the villager hedges up with a small forkful of his thorns.' **imbruna**: 'is gathering colour'; this clause is added, because the object of the husbandman in closing the gap in his hedge is to prevent his grapes from being stolen.

22. **calla**: this word, both here and in Purg. ix. 123, means 'an entrance,' 'an opening'; similarly *callaia* in Purg. xxv. 7. Both these words seem to be other forms of *calle*, with a slight variation of meaning. **onde**: 'by which.' **salìne**: for the use of **ne** here and in *partìne* (l. 24) cp. *vane* for *se ne va* in Purg. xxv. 42.

25–7. **Vassi**, &c.: the difficult ascent here is compared to the staircase paths which lead up to the towns of Sanleo near San Marino, and Bismantova near Reggio in the Modenese, and to that which descends the mountain side to Noli between San Remo and Savona. 'A man may make his way to Sanleo, or descend to Noli, or mount to the summit of Bismantova, by the help of the feet alone.' **su Bismantova in cacume**: lit. 'to the height at the top of

Bismantova.' **con esso i piè**: i. e. without further aid than the feet. When *esso* indecl. is used with *con*, it bears this meaning of 'only'; cp. Inf. xxxii. 62; Purg. xxiv. 98. **uom**: 'one'; see note on Purg. xv. 30.

29. **condotto**: 'guidance,' sc. that of Virgil. **condotto** is used elsewhere in the sense of *condotta*; see *Vocab. Tramater.*

31, 32. **salavam**: a Florentine dialectic form of *salivam*; the MS. authority for it here is very strong. **d' ogni lato**, &c.: 'on either hand the wall of rock hemmed us in.' For **ogni** in the sense of 'either' cp. Purg. ii. 22.

34. **orlo supremo**: 'upper rim'; they had now come out from the passage through the rock on to the open hill side.

37, 38. **Nessun**, &c.: 'see that your footsteps slip not,' i. e. 'look well to your foothold'—sensible advice, when the incline was 45° (l. 42). **acquista**: 'advance,' lit. 'gain ground'; the word is used in a somewhat similar sense in Inf. xxvi. 126, 'Sempre acquistando dal lato mancino.'

41, 42. **superba**: 'steep.' **da mezzo**, &c.: 'a line which marks an angle of 45°.' As the circle consists of 360°, the fourth part of that (**quadrante**) is 90°, and the half of that again (**mezzo quadrante**) is 45°; and an angle of 45° is a steep gradient for walking. From l. 50 we learn that they went up on all fours (*carpando*).

47, 48. **balzo**: 'ridge of rock.' **il poggio**, &c.: 'runs round the entire mountain.'

51. **Tanto che**, &c.: 'until the whole of the encircling ledge was beneath my feet.'

54. **Chè suole**, &c.: 'for a man is wont to find pleasure in looking back,' i. e. over the ground which he has ascended. **altrui**: used in a general sense, for 'a person'; cp. Purg. xiii. 3; xxviii. 128.

57. **da sinistra**: they were on the eastern side of the mountain, facing outwards, and, as is subsequently explained, the sun was in the north at this time of day (towards mid-day, ll. 137, 138), since they were in the southern hemisphere.

60. **tra noi . . . intrava**: 'was passing (lit. entering on its way) between,' &c.; cp. *intrate*, Purg. iii. 101.

61–75. The speech of Virgil which follows amounts to this:—'You are surprised at seeing the sun in the north; the case is even

stranger than you think: if you were here in the month of June, the path of the sun in the heavens would appear still nearer to the northern horizon (ll. 61–6). The explanation of this phenomenon is, that the Mountain of Purgatory is in the southern hemisphere, and forms the antipodes to Jerusalem in the northern hemisphere (ll. 67–71). In the former the sun is seen in the northern part of the sky, just as in the latter it is seen in the southern part (ll. 71–5).'

61–6. **Se Castore,** &c.: 'If the sun—the luminary which enlightens both hemispheres—were in Gemini (as it is in the month of June), you would see the part of the zodiac which is illuminated by the sun (in other words, the sun's course) revolve still nearer to the north pole than it does now, supposing always that it (the sun) kept to its appointed track.' **Castore e Polluce**: the constellation of Gemini, in which the sun is in part of May and June. **specchio**: the sun is called a 'mirror,' because it reflects the rays which emanate from God. **Che su,** &c.: 'which causes its light to shine (lit. bears the gift of its light) both in the upper and the lower hemisphere.' **rubecchio**: 'blazing,' because of the sun's presence in it. **Se non,** &c.: i. e. unless the impossible were to happen, viz. that the sun should desert his ordinary course. At the same time there is a further reference to Phaëthon's mishap.

67–71. **Come,** &c.: 'If you desire to understand how this can be, concentrate your thoughts (**Dentro raccolto**) and realize to yourself that the relative position of Jerusalem and the Mountain of Purgatory on the face of the globe is such, that they have a common horizon and are in opposite hemispheres.' **Sion**: on this line, and those which rhyme with it, as being ten-syllable lines, see note on Inf. iv. 56.

71–5. **onde,** &c.: 'consequently you will see, if you give good heed (l. 75), that it necessarily follows (**come convien**) that the path from which to his misfortune Phaëthon strayed (i. e. the sun's course through the heavens, or ecliptic) must pass on the one side at this place (**a costui**), when it passes on the other side at that place (**a colui**)'; in other words—'at the Mountain of Purgatory the sun is seen towards the N., when at Jerusalem it is seen towards the S.' **mal**: unfortunately for himself, because it caused his death; for **mal** in this sense cp. Inf. ix. 54; xii. 66. **Feton**: see note on Inf. xvii. 107. **ben chiaro bada**: 'is clear and gives good heed.'

77, 78. **Non vidi,** &c.: 'never did I see any matter as clearly as now I understand—with regard to the point which my intellect seemed not to grasp—that,' &c.

79. 'The highest heaven that moves' (**il moto superno**) is the *Primum Mobile*, or Crystalline Heaven; and its 'middle circle' is its equator; cp. *Conv.* ii. 4. ll. 48–58.

80. **alcun' arte:** 'a certain science,' viz. astronomy; **alcuna** is used of something referred to but not named; cp. Inf. xx. 113, *alcun loco*.

81. **che sempre,** &c.: this means, that when it is winter with us, the sun is on the further side of the equator, and when it is winter in the southern hemisphere, the sun is on the hither side of the equator.

82–4. **quinci,** &c.: 'at the Mountain of Purgatory the equator lies away as far towards the north as it appeared to the Jews to lie towards the south' (or what we call 'the hot region'). The Mountain of Purgatory and Jerusalem are the centres of two hemispheres, of which the equator is the common horizon. **Vedevan** is in the past tense, because the time at which the Jews possessed Jerusalem is spoken of.

88–90. **Questa montagna,** &c.: this is an allegorical description of the progress of repentance, which in its earlier stages is hard, but in time becomes more and more easy. **e men fa male:** 'it is less distressing for all that'; for this use of **e,** expressing contrast, cp. Inf. xix. 3 (where see note); xxx. 115.

93. **a seconda,** &c.: 'sailing downward with the stream.'

95. **di riposar l' affanno:** 'to rest your weariness.'

98, 99. **Una voce:** the spirits whom we here meet with form the second class of those in Ante-Purgatory, viz. those who delayed their repentance until the last through indolence. **forse Che:** 'may be that'; cp. Inf. xxiii. 79. **distretta:** 'need'; 'before arriving at the summit you will need to sit down.'

105. **Com' uom . . . a star si pone:** 'in the position a person assumes'; both **star** here and *si stavano* in l. 104 signify simply position.

106. **un di lor:** this person, as we learn from l. 123, was Belacqua, who is said to have been a maker of musical instruments in Florence, and an acquaintance of Dante, whose chief characteristic was his indolence.

113. **Movendo,** &c.: 'just moving his face along his thigh'; he does not raise it until l. 118. His overpowering indolence prevents him from exerting himself further.

116. **avacciava:** 'quickened.' Both this word and the adv. *avaccio* (Inf. x. 116) are obsolete. Diez (p. 353) derives them from Lat. *abigere*, *abactus*, *abactiare*.

119, 120. **Hai ben,** &c.: 'are you quite satisfied about the sun driving his chariot on your left hand?' This implies a mild contempt on the lazy man's part for one who troubles himself about superfluous questions, as Dante had done in ll. 56 foll.

123. **a me non duole,** &c.: 'I am no longer distressed on your account,' seeing that you are not among the lost.

125, 126. **Quiritta:** 'just here,' 'in this particular spot'; *ritta* or *ritto*, when attached to *qui*, gives additional definiteness; cp. Purg. xvii. 86, 'quiritta si ristora.' **O pur,** &c.: 'or is it merely that your wonted habit of indolence has once more mastered you?'

127–9. **che porta:** 'what avails?' **L' uccel di Dio:** the angel, who sits at the gate at the entrance of Purgatory proper, Purg. ix. 80.

130–2. **m' aggiri:** 'should revolve round me'; cp. Inf. vi. 112, 'Noi aggirammo a tondo quella strada.' The meaning is 'that so long time should pass for me.' The class of the Negligent to which Belacqua belonged was detained in Ante-Purgatory for a period equal to that of their life on earth; see Pref. Note to Canto III. **Di fuor da essa:** 'while I am still outside the gate.' **fece:** 'it did so.' **buon sospiri:** 'pious sighs of repentance.'

135. **L' altra:** the prayers of ungodly persons.

137. **tocco:** for *toccato*.

138. **dalla riva:** 'from the bank of the Ganges'; see note on Purg. ii. 1–9. 'Night, starting from the bank of the Ganges, is now falling on Morocco with her advancing foot.' As it was midday in Purgatory, it would be midnight in Jerusalem, which was its antipodes; and the hemisphere of which Jerusalem was the centre, extending from the mouth of the Ganges towards the E. to Morocco in the W., would be in darkness. The name Morocco—like Spain, Gades, and the Pillars of Hercules—is used by Dante to denote the western limit of the habitable globe, which extended over 180° of longitude.

CANTO V

Argument.—As they advance up the mountain side, they meet with other spirits, who had suffered a violent death, but had been allowed time for repentance. Dante is accosted by three of them: by Jacopo del Cassero, who describes the circumstances of his murder; by Buonconte da Montefeltro, who tells him of his death after the battle of Campaldino, and of what subsequently befell his soul and body; and by La Pia, a lady of Siena.

Lines 4, 5. **Non par,** &c.: 'the sun's rays do not seem to shine on the left-hand side of the lower of the two figures.' Dante was following Virgil up the steep ascent, and therefore was below him. As they were on the east side of the mountain (Purg. iv. 53), and were facing towards the mountain in ascending, and it was midday (Purg. iv. 137, 138), the sun was on their right hand, and Dante's shadow fell towards the left.

6. **come vivo,** &c.: 'his demeanour resembles that of a living person'; **si conduca,** lit. 'bears himself.'

10. **Perchè,** &c.: 'why is thy mind so occupied?'

16–8. **Chè sempre,** &c.: Virgil gives this as the reason, why Dante should not pay attention to the comments which others make upon him, viz. that they are liable to make him change his views, and so divert him from his purpose. 'The man in whose mind one view springs up in succession to a former view puts out of sight his aim, because the one weakens the force of the other.'

20. **color:** the blush of shame.

23, 24. **genti:** these were the spirits of those who had deferred their repentance until late, and had met a violent death; see ll. 52, 53. **Miserere:** Ps. li., the specially penitential Psalm, 'Have mercy upon me, O God,' &c. **a verso a verso:** 'in alternate verses'; this implies that they were divided into two companies.

26. **Per lo mio corpo:** 'owing to my body'; because it was interposed.

34–6. **per veder,** &c.: 'owing to the sight of his shadow.' **esser può lor caro:** 'that may be to their advantage'; because he can urge their friends on earth to pray for them, and thus shorten their time of waiting. For **caro** in this sense cp. Inf. xxxii. 91.

37–9. **Vapori accesi,** &c.: the rapid return of the two spirits is compared to the movement of shooting stars and summer lightning. Both these phenomena are included by Dante under 'ignited vapours,' that being Aristotle's view of their origin, *Meteorol.* ii. 9. 1. The shooting stars are those which 'cleave the clear sky,' l. 38; the summer lightning those which 'cleave the clouds,' l. 39. **Di prima notte:** Albertus Magnus—who is one of Dante's authorities—in his *Meteora*, i. 3. 5, quotes Alfraganus as saying that falling stars occur especially 'in crepusculo vespertino'; see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 132. **nuvole d' agosto:** the construction is, **nè vidi vapori accesi sì tosto fender nuvole d' agosto.**

42. **schiera,** &c.: 'a troop of horse that comes on at full gallop.'

44, 45. **a pregar:** 'to ask a favour of you.' **pur va:** 'go on without stopping.'

46. **per esser lieta:** 'to reach the realm of bliss.'

50. **di là:** to the land of the living. His desire is to obtain intercessory prayer; cp. ll. 70–2.

54. **Quivi:** 'at that moment.' **ne fece accorti:** 'admonished us'; this was their 'call' from God.

57. **Che del disio,** &c.: 'who stirs our hearts with the desire,' &c.

58. **Perchè:** 'however much'; cp. Inf. iv. 64; viii. 121.

60. **ben nati:** 'born in a happy hour,' because destined to salvation; similarly 'anima mal nata' is used of a condemned soul, Inf. v. 7.

61–3. **per quella pace,** &c.: 'I swear to you by the bliss of heaven, which causes me to go in quest of it,' &c. **sì fatta guida:** 'the guide whom you behold,' i. e. Virgil. **Di mondo in mondo:** 'from one realm to another of the world of spirits.'

64. **uno:** this is Jacopo del Cassero of Fano, who had been *podestà* of Bologna, and was appointed *podestà* of Milan by Maffeo Visconti in 1298. When journeying thither, he was secretly attacked and slain at Oriago in the neighbourhood of Padua by assassins in the service of Azzo VIII of Este, who had a grudge of long standing against him.

66. **Pur che,** &c.: 'provided that inability on your part cancels not your goodwill.'

68, 69. **quel paese,** &c.: the March of Ancona, in which

Fano was situated. It lay between the Romagna to the NW. and the kingdom of Naples to the S., the latter of which was ruled at this time by Charles II of Anjou (**quel di Carlo**).

70–2. **Che tu,** &c.: 'that thou wilt graciously make request for me, so that pious prayers may be offered on my behalf, that I may be permitted to cleanse away my grievous sins,' i. e. to enter Purgatory proper. **in Fano:** after his death his body was conveyed to Fano, his birthplace.

74. **in sul qual,** &c.: 'which was the seat of my life,' of me the soul; cp. Gen. ix. 4, 'the life, which is the blood'; Levit. xvii. 11.

75. **in grembo agli Antenori:** 'in the bosom (the very midst) of the sons of Antenor,' i. e. the people of Padua. The spot was traditionally well suited for such a deed, since Padua was said to have been founded by the traitor Antenor: see note on Inf. xxxii. 70. For the use of **in grembo a,** when a place is spoken of, cp. Inf. xii. 119, 'in grembo a Dio,' of a church at Viterbo. The expressions here introduced suggest that Dante believed the Paduans to have been in league with Azzo.

76. **più sicuro:** because it was outside the territory of Este.

78. **più là che,** &c.: 'beyond the limits of what justice demanded.' This implies that Azzo had some just claims against him; in fact, Jacopo, when he was *podestà* of Bologna, had accused Azzo of treachery.

79. **la Mira:** this village was on the high road between Oriago and Venice. Had Jacopo followed this road, instead of diverging into the fen country (*al palude*, l. 82), he would have still been in the land of the living (**di là dove si spira**).

82. **al palude:** cp. Par. ix. 46, where *palude* is again used masc.

85. **un altro:** this is Buonconte da Montefeltro, son of that Guido di Montefeltro who is introduced in Inf. xxvii. among the fraudulent counsellors. He fought on the side of the Ghibellines of Arezzo, and was wounded, at the battle of Campaldino in 1289, in which Dante was engaged on the Guelf side. He here describes the manner of his death and what followed. His body was never found. **se,** &c.: 'so may that desire of thine be fulfilled.'

88. **fui:** the past tense is used, because his title was a thing of the past; his personal name remains to him, and therefore is spoken

of in the present tense (**son**); cp. Par. vi. 10, 'Cesare fui, e son Giustiniano.'

89. **Giovanna**: his wife. Neither she nor any of his friends, he says, prayed for him that he might be allowed to enter Purgatory sooner. Here and in what follows Dante lays stress on every point which enhances the feeling of desolation in Buonconte's story.

92. **Campaldino**: the battlefield of Campaldino is a small plain on the left bank of the Arno, in the district of the Casentino, which forms part of the upper valley of that river above Arezzo.

95, 96. **l' Archiano**: this stream descends from the main chain of the Apennines, and joins the Arno on its left bank, forming the limit of the Casentino in that direction. **Ermo**: i. e. Eremo or Hermitage, the name of the upper monastery of Camaldoli.

97. **Dove**, &c. 'where its name of Archiano is lost in that of Arno,' i. e. where it joins that stream. The distance of this point from Campaldino is two miles and a half.

100. **parola**: lit. 'power of speech'; 'the last word I uttered was an invocation of Mary.'

103. **tu il ridi'**: his object in making this request was, that it might be known that he was saved, and that thus he might obtain the prayers of his friends; cp. ll. 87, 89.

104. **L' Angel**, &c.: the rival claims of the angel and the devil for Buonconte's soul, as described in this passage, are the counterpart of, but in strong contrast with, the contest between St. Francis and the devil for the soul of his father Guido, as related in Inf. xxvii. 112 foll.

106–8. **l' eterno**: 'the immortal part.' **io farò**, &c.: 'with the other (the mortal part) I will deal in other wise'; for **governo** meaning 'treatment' cp. Inf. xxvii. 47.

109–11. **Ben sai**, &c.: as Dante was on the spot during the battle, he experienced this rain-storm and its effects, which he here so elaborately describes. The account of the formation of rain is from Aristotle, *Meteorol.* i. 9. 3, *συνίσταται πάλιν ἡ ἀτμὶς ψυχομένη διά τε τὴν ἀπόλειψιν τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τὸν τόπον* (the region of the air), *καὶ γίνεται ὕδωρ ἐξ ἀέρος, γενόμενον δὲ φέρεται πάλιν πρὸς τὴν γῆν.*

112–4. **Giunse**, &c.: 'the devil (*quel d' inferno*, l. 104) combined the malign will, which desires naught but evil, with intelligence.' This combination of malice and cunning is the most fruitful source

of mischief, as Dante says—'Chè dove l' argomento della mente Si giunge al mal volere ed alla possa, Nessun riparo vi può far la gente,' Inf. xxxi. 55–7.

113, 114. **fummo**: 'vapour.' **Per la virtù**, &c.: 'by the power (= *la possa* of Inf. xxxi. 56) which his nature furnished.'

115, 116. **la valle**, &c.: the upper valley of the Arno is bounded on the NE. by the main chain of the Apennines (**al gran giogo**), and on the SW. by the parallel range of Prato Magno.

117, 118. **e il ciel**, &c.: 'and caused the sky above to be so compressed, that the charged air turned to water.' Aristotle explains in *Meteorol.* ii. 4. 14, that it was the compression exercised by cold on the contents of the clouds which caused them to be too dense for the clouds to hold them, so that they burst in torrents of rain; see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 301.

119, 120. **fossati**: 'watercourses.' **non sofferse**: 'did not absorb.'

121, 122. **E come**, &c.: 'and when it met the great streams': by 'it' is meant the surplus water (**ciò che la terra non sofferse**), and the 'great streams' are the Archiano and other tributaries of the Arno, which are great in comparison of the 'watercourses.' **lo fiume real**: the Arno; so Villani says, when speaking of the rivers of Tuscany (i. 43)—'intra gli altri reale e maggiore si è il nostro fiume d' Arno.'

124. **in sulla foce**: 'at its mouth,' i. e. where it joined the Arno; cp. ll. 97, 98.

127–9. **Ch' io fei di me**: i. e. by crossing his arms. **il dolor**: the agony of death. **sua preda**: 'its spoil,' i. e. the *débris* which its stream was hurrying along.

132. **Seguitò**, &c.: 'so spake the third after the second spirit.'

133. **la Pia**: La Pia was a lady of Siena, and a member of the Tolomei family. She was married to Nello dei Pannocchieschi, and was put to death by him in 1295, but of the manner of her death nothing is certainly known.

134. **disfecemi Maremma**: 'Maremma unmade me,' i. e. was the scene of my death. The Maremma is the district which borders the coast of Tuscany.

135, 136. **Salsi**: for *se lo sa*, 'he is privy to it,' i. e. to my death. **che innanellata pria**, &c.: 'who previously (i. e. before putting me to death) had placed his ring on my finger in matrimony

(**disposando**),' i. e. her husband Nello. There is good MS. authority for the reading *disposata* (or *disposato*) in place of **disposando**; and the passage has then been translated—'He knows it who had wedded me with his ring after I had been previously married (**innanellata pria**).' In support of this interpretation, and of the reading which renders it necessary, it has been maintained that La Pia's maiden name was Pia Guastelloni, and that she was first married to Baldo dei Tolomei, and after his death became the wife of Nello: but this account has been proved false by the recent discovery in the Sienese archives of documents which show that Pia Guastelloni was still alive, as the widow of Baldo, in 1318; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 428.

CANTO VI

ARGUMENT.—Dante is importuned by other spirits to request their friends on earth to pray for them, that their time of waiting in Ante-Purgatory may be shortened. Virgil now solves a doubt which had arisen in Dante's mind concerning the efficacy of intercessory prayer, but refers him to Beatrice for further instruction on that subject. They next meet Sordello the troubadour, who, like Virgil, was a native of Mantua; and when the two spirits discover that they are fellow-countrymen, they embrace affectionately. This display of sympathy furnishes Dante with an opportunity of inveighing against the want of patriotism in the Italian cities, and of dwelling on the need of the exercise of the Imperial power to remedy their disorders.

LINES 1–12. Dante compares his position in the midst of the spirits, who throng about him to solicit his good offices in obtaining for them the intercession of their friends on earth, to that of the winner in a game of dice, who is the object of the importunity of the bystanders.

1–3. **Quando**, &c.: 'when the game of "hazard" breaks up,' i. e. when the players disperse. **zara**: a game of chance, played with three dice. The word is connected with Span. *azar*, Fr. *hasard*, Engl. *hazard*, which signify 'chance' or 'risk,' and originally meant 'a die.' They are all derived from *zār* or *al zār*, which in Persian,

Turkish, and vulgar Arabic means 'a die.' **Ripetendo**, &c.: 'going over the throws again, and moodily learns to profit by his experience.'

5. **il prende**: 'plucks at his robe.'

7–9. **questo**, &c.: 'gives heed first to one and then to another,' so as to put them off. **A cui**, &c.: 'those to whom he proffers a gift cease to crowd round him.' **calca**: 'throng'; cp. Purg. xviii. 92.

13–5. All the persons who are now mentioned met violent or sudden deaths, but repented of their sins at the last moment. **l' Aretin**: Benincasa of Arezzo, who in the capacity of judge passed sentence of death on one or more relations of Ghino di Tacco, a famous highwayman of that time. In revenge for this, Ghino attacked and murdered Benincasa in open court at Rome, where he was acting as Papal assessor. **l' altro**: Guccio dei Tarlati of Arezzo, a young man who was drowned in the Arno, when in pursuit of some adherents of another Aretine family, the Bostoli, with whom the Tarlati were at feud.

17. **Federico Novello**: he belonged to the family of the Conti Guidi of Romena, and was killed by one of the Bostoli. **quel da Pisa**: Farinata, son of Marzucco degli Scornigiani, a gentleman of Pisa who was murdered. According to the most probable version of the story here referred to, the courage of Marzucco consisted in his self-control. He had before this joined the Franciscan Order, and on the occasion of his son's death, instead of calling for vengeance on his murderer, he expressed his willingness to be reconciled with him. The epithet **buon** agrees with this.

19–21. **Cont' Orso**: his death was due to his relation Count Alberto di Mangona. **astio**: 'hate.' **inveggia**: 'envy,' for *invidia*; the form here is derived from Provençal *enveja*: cp. *invegiare* for *invidiare*, Par. xii. 142. **commisa**: for *commessa*.

22. **Pier dalla Broccia**: Pierre de la Brosse, chamberlain of Philip III of France. He was put to death in 1278 on a charge of treason brought against him by his enemies, one of whom was Philip's queen, Mary of Brabant, whom Pierre had previously accused of having poisoned Philip's son by his first wife. On the strength of Pierre's own statement (**Come dicea**, l. 21) Dante acquits him of the charge of treason (**colpa commisa**), as is shown by his remarks on the queen which follow. **provveggia**: 'take heed,' by repenting in time.

24. **però**: 'because of (i. e. in retribution for) this.' **di peggior greggia**: 'in a worse company,' i. e. among the perjurors in the tenth *bolgia* of Malebolge.

26, 27. **che pregar**, &c.: 'whose only prayer was that another should pray for them.' **s' avacci**: see note on Purg. iv. 116.

28. **Io cominciai**: Dante here begs Virgil to solve for him a question which had arisen in his mind with regard to the efficacy of prayer.

29. **espresso**: 'expressly,' 'in so many words.' **in alcun testo**: 'in a certain passage'; this is one of Dante's methods of quotation, as in Inf. xx. 113, 'L' alta mia Tragedia in alcun loco.' When *alcuno* is thus used, it signifies something referred to but not named. The passage here intended is *Aen.* vi. 376, 'Desine fata deum flecti sperare precando.' It is not clear at first sight how the question of the efficacy of prayer suggested itself to Dante's mind in the present connexion, for there is nothing in what precedes which directly leads up to it. It seems probable, however, that it originated in two points of resemblance between the case of Palinurus, which is about to be noticed, and those of the spirits in this group—viz. (1) that he met a violent death, and (2) that owing to his being unburied he had to wait for a period before crossing the Styx (*Aen.* vi. 329), just as these spirits were delayed in entering Purgatory. The story of Palinurus, which is thus suggested, leads him to reflect on the sentiment, 'Desine fata,' &c., which occurs in the passage of Virgil relating to it.

33. **O non**, &c.: it is noticeable that Dante does not even hint at the possibility of Virgil having been himself in error. In a matter of this sort he would regard him as having been to a certain extent inspired.

37–9. **Chè cima**, &c.: 'for the height of God's judgement is not lowered (i. e. the strictness of God's judgement is not abated), since the fervent love which is expressed by intercessory prayer fulfils in a moment the satisfaction required from those who have their abode here.' The question raised is—'If God's justice is absolute, how can it be tempered by prayer?' The answer is—'The absolute satisfaction which God's justice requires is given; for the love which is involved in the intercessory prayers is an equivalent for the postponement of the soul's purgation which is ordained by God's justice.

40–2. **E là,** &c.: 'and in that instance (i. e. the case of Palinurus) where I laid down that principle (viz. 'Desine fata,' &c.), that which was lacking was not made up for by means of prayer, because the prayer could not reach the ears of God (being made by one who, as a heathen, was not in covenant with God).' Palinurus was helmsman to the ship of Aeneas, and was thrown into the sea by the God of Sleep (Virg. *Aen.* v. 859); and when he had swum to the shore of Italy he was murdered there by the natives, and his body was left unburied (*Aen.* vi. 359–62). When Aeneas visited the infernal regions, he met the shade of Palinurus, who entreated his aid to enable him to cross the Styx.

43–5. **Veramente:** 'nevertheless'; cp. Purg. ii. 98; Par. i. 10. **a così alto,** &c.: 'on so profound a question do not make up your mind.' **lume:** Theology, which is represented in the person of Beatrice, is the science which makes clear the highest truths to the intellect.

47, 48. **in sulla vetta,** &c.: i. e. in the Terrestrial Paradise, which occupied the summit of the Mountain of Purgatory. It was there that Beatrice revealed herself to Dante, Purg. xxx. 32. **ridere e felice:** 'thou wilt see her smile, thou wilt see her blissful'; there is a double construction of the infin. and the adj. after **vedrai.**

49. **a maggior fretta:** the prospect of seeing Beatrice causes Dante to lose his sense of fatigue, just as in Purg. xxvii. 40 foll. it induces him to pass through the fire.

51. **l' ombra:** the time is now afternoon, for in Purg. iv. 138 it was noon, and in vii. 43 evening is approaching; consequently, as they are on the eastern side, and the sun is declining toward the west, the northern part of the mountain begins to be interposed between them and the sun (l. 56), and for the same reason Dante's body casts no shadow (l. 57).

54. **il fatto,** &c.: 'the state of the case is different from what you imagine.' Dante underrated the amount of time required for the ascent.

55–7. **Prima che,** &c.: 'before you reach the summit, the sun will have risen again.' **romper:** here used intrans.

58. **un' anima:** this is Sordello, the troubadour poet of Cent. xiii. Of his life but little is known, except that he was at different times a guest at the courts of many of the potentates of that period. Since we find him in the part of the Ante-Purgatory which is

assigned to those who met a violent death, it seems probable that this happened in his case; and there was a tradition to that effect, though the fact is not mentioned in history.

61–3. **Lombarda:** he is called so, because his birthplace was Goito in the Mantuan territory, so that he was a native of Lombardy. **Come,** &c.: 'how proud and disdainful was thy attitude.' **tarda:** the characteristics here attributed to Sordello are very much those of the Magnanimous man in Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* iv. 3. 34.

72. **tutta in sè romita:** 'breaking its reserve,' lit. 'from being all recluse in itself.' This description of Sordello's attitude is intended to give point by contrast to his eagerness to welcome a countryman.

76. **Ahi serva Italia:** the love of their native place which is displayed by Virgil and Sordello is employed by Dante as an occasion (1) for denouncing the bitter and selfish party spirit which prevailed in the Italian cities, and the insubordination and want of unity which was found throughout the peninsula; and (2) for proclaiming the recognition of the sovereign power of the Empire as the remedy for these.

81. **festa:** 'glad welcome.'

82. **non stanno,** &c.: 'are not free from war.'

86. **seno:** as contrasted with the *prode marine*, this signifies the interior of the country.

88–90. **Che val,** &c.: the meaning is:—'What avails it that Justinian by compiling his Code of law should have recast the principles of right government, if there is no one at the head of affairs to enforce those principles?' The question is further discussed in Purg. xvi. 94 foll. **perchè:** for this word used in the sense of *che*, 'that,' cp. Inf. xiii. 57. **Senz' esso:** i. e. if Justinian had not reformed the legislation.

91–3. **Ahi gente,** &c.: the persons here addressed are the same as in **Guarda** (l. 94) and **ponesti** (l. 96), viz. the ecclesiastics, whereas **esta fiera** (l. 94) means the people of Italy. It was the duty of the ecclesiastics to attend to matters of religion (**esser devota**), and to leave the direction of politics to the emperor (**lasciar seder,** &c.). **ciò che,** &c.: 'the appointment of God,' viz. 'Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's,' Mark xii. 17.

94–6. **com' esta,** &c.: 'how vicious this beast (the people) has become.' **Poi che,** &c.: 'since ye ecclesiastics have put your hand

to the headstall,' i. e. have assumed the temporal power. **predella** is the same word as Engl. 'bridle,' and is here used of the headstall by which a horse is led; Blanc, *Versuch*, ii. p. 18.

97. **Alberto:** son of Rudolf (*il tuo padre*, l. 103), of the Hapsburg family, emperor from 1298 to 1308; in the latter year he was murdered. He paid no attention to the affairs of Italy.

101, 102. **il tuo sangue:** 'thy life'; a prediction of his murder, from the point of view of 1300 A.D., the supposed date of Dante's Vision. **nuovo ed aperto:** 'strange and manifest.' **il tuo successor:** Henry of Luxemburg. The reference to Albert's death shows that these lines were written after 1308, while the warning addressed to Henry VII proves that they were written before his death in 1313; in fact, we might go further, and say that, since l. 102 implies that Henry was still hesitating about coming into Italy, they were earlier than 1310, when he arrived. These inferences are of importance, as determining within certain limits the date of composition of this part of the poem.

103–5. **Chè,** &c.: 'for thou and thy father, diverted by your greed of those transalpine lands (i. e. eagerness to acquire possessions in Germany), have allowed that,' &c.

106, 107. **Vieni:** this word is repeated four times, at the commencement of this and the following tercets, for the sake of emphasis; see note on Inf. v. 100. **Montecchi,** &c.: the Montagues and Capulets (to use the Shakespearian forms of the names) were rival families in Verona; the Monaldi and Filippeschi were rival families, Guelf and Ghibelline respectively, in Orvieto. Dante hoped that the feuds between them might be healed by the coming of the Emperor.

108. **tristi:** 'in low estate,' owing to their feuds. **con sospetti:** 'mistrusting one another.'

109, 110. **pressura:** 'distress'; cp. Luke xxi. 25 (Vulg.), 'pressura gentium,' 'distress of nations.' **gentili:** 'nobility.' **lor magagne:** 'the wrongs which afflict them.'

111. **Santafior:** Santafiora was a district in the territory of Siena. **sicura:** this is ironical. The misfortunes of the Counts of Santafiora are alluded to. *Oscura* is also read here, but has less MS. authority; it would mean 'darkened by calamity.'

115. **quanto s' ama:** iron.; 'how much love is lost between them.'

117. **A vergognar,** &c.: 'come that you may feel ashamed for your reputation,' i. e. by seeing and hearing the real state of the case.

118. **Giove:** Christ is meant; cp. Petrarch, *In Vita*, &c., Son. 188, 'o vivo Giove,' of God.

121–3. **O è,** &c.: 'or is it a design of providence . . . to serve some good end, which is wholly excluded (lit. detached) from our range of vision?'

125, 126. **un Marcel:** i. e. a prominent demagogue in opposition to the Empire. As the question of the Empire is here in Dante's mind, he probably means the 'Marcellus loquax' of Lucan, *Phars.* i. 313, where Caesar mentions him as one of his bitterest opponents. This M. Claudius Marcellus was consul in 51 B. C. **Ogni villan,** &c.: 'each peasant churl who plays the partisan' (Longf.).

127–9. **Fiorenza:** the Poet here turns with bitter irony on his native city, which, he says, was distinguished from the rest of Italy, not by any superiority in practice, but by the loudness of her professions, and by the fickleness with which she was continually making changes in her administration. **sì argomenta:** 'is so very ready with pleas,' never wants an excuse.

130–2. **Molti,** &c.: the meaning is:—'Other peoples have justice at heart, but they do not readily utter its name, lest it should rise to their lips unadvisedly; not so the Florentines.' The metaphor from shooting in **scocca** and **arco** refers to letting fly 'winged words.'

133–5. **lo comune incarco:** 'the burden of the common weal,' i. e. public offices, &c. **Senza chiamare:** 'unbidden.' **Io mi sobbarco:** 'I am girding myself for the task.' Benvenuto says 'subarco idem est quod subcingo'; in Span. *sobaco* means 'armpit,' and *sobarcar* is 'to draw the clothes up to the armpits'; probably all these words are derived from a Low Lat. *subbrachium*, 'armpit.'

138. **S' io dico,** &c.: 'the result proves clearly whether I speak the truth or not': **lo** in **nol** is resumptive of **S' io dico 'l ver.**

140, 141. **leggi:** those of Solon and Lycurgus. **civili:** 'well-governed.' **Fecero,** &c.: 'gave but a feeble hint of good administration.'

142–4. **sottili:** 'fine-spun.' **a mezzo,** &c.: 'the threads you spin (i. e. the laws you establish) in October do not reach to (do not continue in force till) the middle of November.'

145–7. **del tempo che rimembre:** i. e. within the memory of man. **moneta:** Philalethes suggests that this may refer to the depreciation of the silver currency at Florence during Cent. xiii. **rinnovato membre:** this signifies the alternate banishment and recall of the members of different factions. **membre** for *membra*; cp. Inf. xxix. 51.

148. **vedi lume:** 'canst perceive the truth.'

151. **scherma:** lit. 'wards off'; 'tries to rid herself of pain by shifting her position.'

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT.—Sordello discovers that the Mantuan whom he has embraced is Virgil, and accordingly pays him respectful homage. As the evening is drawing in, so that further ascent is impossible, he conducts the Poets to a point overlooking a flowery valley, which is occupied by the spirits of Princes, who owing to the cares of government deferred their repentance until the end of their lives. Among these are seen the emperor Rudolf, Philip III of France, Peter III of Aragon, Charles I of Anjou, and Henry III of England.

LINE 3. **si trasse:** 'withdrew' from the embrace of Virgil.

4, 5. **Prima che,** &c.: 'before Purgatory existed,' i. e. before the death of Christ, by which the way to eternal life was opened; until that happened there was no place for Purgatory, which was preparatory for admission into heaven.

6. **per Ottavian:** 'by order of Octavianus (Augustus).' Dante's authority for this statement seems to be Donatus' 'Life of Virgil,' in which he is said to have been buried at Naples 'iussu Augusti.' There are two versions of Donatus' 'Life,' one interpolated, the other uninterpolated. Dante must have used the former, in which these words occur, whereas they are not found in the uninterpolated version. See Nettleship's *Ancient Lives of Vergil*, pp. 1, 17.

10. **innanzi sè:** the introduction of the ten-syllable line here and in the rhyming verses may possibly be explained as an adaptation of sound to sense, the abrupt termination corresponding to the sudden movement expressed by *Subita*, l. 11. See note on Inf. xxxi. 145.

15. **ove,** &c.: 'where an inferior clasps his superior': the feet are meant; cp. Purg. xxi. 130, where it is said of Statius, 'Già si chinava ad abbracciar li piedi Al mio Dottor.' In Latin 'vestigia prensare' is similarly used; cp. also Matt. xxviii. 9, 'they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him.'

18. **loco:** Mantua.

21. **d' inferno:** this is suggested by Virgil's having said that he had forfeited heaven, ll. 7, 8. **chiostra:** 'circle'; the word is used in like manner of the *bolge* in Malebolge, Inf. xxix. 40.

24. **Virtù del ciel:** 'a heaven-sent influence,' viz. that of Beatrice, the 'donna di virtù' of Inf. ii. 76.

25, 26. **per non far:** i. e. 'per non aver fè,' l. 8; cp. Inf. iv. 37, 38. **L' alto Sol:** the face of God.

28–30. **Loco:** Limbo. **tenebre:** Virgil is describing the character of Limbo generally, not that of the part inhabited by the illustrious spirits, which was bright. **sospiri:** cp. Inf. iv. 26, 'Non avea pianto, ma' che di sospiri.' The description here given corresponds throughout to that passage.

33. **esenti:** freed from original sin by receiving baptism; Inf. iv. 35.

34. **le tre,** &c.: the Christian graces of faith, hope, and charity.

39. **dritto inizio:** 'its proper commencement,' i.e. the entrance to Purgatory proper.

40. **Loco certo,** &c.: Sordello probably means, that he and the rest of the class of spirits who were assigned to this part of Ante-Purgatory might go where they liked within the limits of that part. But there is also an imitation of Virg. *Aen.* vi. 673, 'Nulli certa domus.'

42. **Per quanto,** &c.: 'as far as I am allowed to go,' i. e. as far as the gate of Purgatory, for as he was one of the Negligent he was not allowed to enter.

46, 47. **rimote:** 'withdrawn'; the separate position allotted to them is a tribute to their dignity. **merrò:** for *menerò*.

51. **o non sarria,** &c.: 'or would he not ascend, because he would have no power to do so?' **sarria** is for *saliria*; the forms *sarrò, sarrei* from *salire* are also found, but **sarria** was sufficiently unusual to be misunderstood, and from this arose the reading *o non saria*, which has about equal authority with that in the text; Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 382.

52. **fregò**: 'drew along,' so as to mark a line; it is the Lat. *fricare*. Similarly in Inf. xvi. 33 *fregare* means 'to trail.'

55–7. **briga**: 'impediment.' **col non poter**, &c.: 'hampers the will by want of power.'

58–60. **con lei**: 'during the dark hours.' The allegorical meaning of the passage is, that when the soul of man is not illuminated by heavenly grace it cannot rise, but it may fall back or spend itself in wandering. **Mentre che**, &c.: 'while the horizon excludes the day,' i. e. while the sun is below the horizon: allegorically, 'until the Sun of Righteousness once more arises.'

65, 66. **scemo**: 'hollowed.' **quici**: in the world of the living.

68. **grembo**: lit. 'lap,' 'hollow'; 'where the hillside retires'; cp. *seno*, l. 76, and Lat. *sinus* in the same sense.

70, 71. **Tra erto e piano**: 'between steep and level,' i. e. neither quite steep nor quite level. **sghembo**: 'winding'; perhaps from Lat. *scambus*, 'bow-legged.' **in fianco della lacca**: 'to the side of the dell.' For **lacca** = 'hollow' see note on Inf. vii. 16.

72. **Là dove**, &c.: 'where the rim (of the valley) is diminished to less than half its (average) depth.' The **lembo** is the slope between the path and the place where the princes were seated; and this, as we learn from Purg. viii. 46, was here only three paces downwards. This was the reason why they stopped at this point. From the expression 'la picciola vallea' in Purg. viii. 98 we may infer that the place was a mere nook in the hillside.

73 foll. The Flowery Valley or *Valletta dei Principi* is occupied by the fourth class of spirits in Ante-Purgatory, viz. those of Princes who had been negligent during their lifetime owing to the pressure of public cares in governing their kingdoms. The description of the Valley, together with the approach to it, and the mighty shades who occupy it, was probably suggested by Virg. *Aen.* vi. 675–81; but as the flowers and other agreeable surroundings are nowhere spoken of by Dante as being a source of present enjoyment to the Princes, we may infer that they are intended to have an allegorical significance—which is, to symbolize the splendour and worldly enjoyments of the life of monarchs. See further on this subject in note on Purg. viii. 25.

73. **cocco**: 'cochineal,' the material used for producing a scarlet colour. **biacca**: 'white lead'; the colour here intended is 'pearly-white,' as distinguished from the brilliant white of **argento fino**.

74. **Indico legno**, &c.: 'Indian wood with clear harmonious

tints'; what is meant is probably some brown wood which took a fine polish. No evidence seems to be forthcoming of such a wood having been imported into Italy from India at that time, but this does not necessarily disprove it. There is much, however, to be said for punctuating **Indico, legno lucido e sereno,** in which case **Indico** will mean indigo, and **legno lucido e sereno** a polished brown wood; the introduction of blue through the mention of indigo makes the enumeration of colours more complete.

75. **Fresco:** 'clear,' 'undimmed,' as the emerald is 'at the moment when it is broken or flaked'; it becomes dull in colour from exposure.

76. **Dall' erba:** 'in contrast with (lit. by the side of) the grass.'

79–81. **pur:** take with **dipinto:** 'Nature had not merely used colour, but fragrance also.' **un incognito,** &c.: 'a perfume all unknown and subtly blended.'

82. **Salve Regina:** this is the beginning of the Compline Hymn to the Virgin, which is suitable here, both because of its being sung towards nightfall, and because of the reference made in it to the soul being in exile in the Valley of Tears, as the occupants of the *Valletta* were excluded from Purgatory. In the hymn beginning 'Salve nobilis regina,' which is known as 'Salve Regina' (Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi*, vol. 2. No. 489), are the lines—'In hac valle lacrimarum Nos gementes dirige' (ll. 33, 34).

84. **per la valle:** 'owing to the concavity of the valley.'

86. **volti:** 'directed,' 'conducted'; cp. Purg. xxii. 2.

88–90. **balzo:** 'ridge'; cp. Purg. iv. 47. **Che nella lama,** &c.: 'than if you were received among them in the level below'; for **lama** cp. Inf. xx. 79.

91 foll. It has already been mentioned in note to Purg. vi. 58, that Sordello had been an inmate of numerous European courts; and it is probably for this reason, as Benvenuto suggests, that Dante has assigned to him the office of pointing out and naming the potentates who are here seated in the Flowery Valley. This view is confirmed by the mention in one of Sordello's most famous poems —the lament on the death of Blacatz (No. 5 in De Lollis, *Vita e poesie di Sordello*)—of several of those whom Dante here introduces. As regards the remarks on the looks and attitudes of the Princes, which Dante puts into his mouth, it is noticeable that they are represented as showing regret rather for their faults in administra-

tion, or for the shortcomings of their successors, than for their own neglect of religion. In doing this, Dante was availing himself of an opportunity for criticizing the politics of the time.

91. **più sied' alto**: this was his right in the character of emperor. **fa sembianti**: 'has the look.'

94, 95. **Ridolfo**: the emperor Rudolf, father of the emperor Albert ('il tuo padre,' Purg. vi. 103); they were 'Per cupidigia di costà distretti,' *ibid.* l. 104. **hanno . . . morta**: 'have slain'; cp. Par. xvi. 137.

96. **Sì che tardi**, &c.: 'so that its recovery by another tarries long,' i. e. is late in coming. **altri** is sing., and refers to Henry of Luxemburg, whose possible advent is here anticipated by Dante. That the meaning of **tardi** is that here given—and not 'too late,' with reference to the failure of that Emperor's attempt to establish the imperial power in Italy in consequence of his death—is proved by Purg. vi. 102, in which passage it is implied that this part of the poem was written during Henry's lifetime.

97–9. **nella vista**: i. e. to judge from his look of sympathy, lit. 'as you may see in his looks'; cp. Purg. i. 79. **la terra**: Bohemia. The clauses which follow afford an instance of Dante's fondness for geographical detail, especially in respect of rivers. Instead of naming Bohemia, he mentions the Moldau (**Molta**), which rises in it, and then traces the course of that stream, and that of the Elbe (**Albia**), of which it is a tributary.

100–2. **Ottacchero**: Ottocar II, king of Bohemia. He was killed in battle, when fighting against the emperor Rudolf in 1278. **nelle fasce**: 'he in the swaddling clothes was superior to his son when a grown man (**barbuto**).' **Vincislao**: Wenceslaus IV; he was no warrior, and was at once devout and licentious. Dante attributes the same character to him in Par. xix. 125.

103–5. **quel Nasetto**: 'he of the small nose'; this describes Philip the Bold of France (reigned 1270–1285): Witte (Notes to Germ. Trans., p. 155) remarks on this feature as appearing on his effigy at Narbonne. He invaded Catalonia in a war with Peter III of Aragon, but was forced to retreat, and died at Perpignan. **stretto a consiglio**: 'earnestly conversing.' **colui**: Henry the Fat of Navarre; his character in history seems not to have corresponded to his **benigno aspetto.** **disfiorando il giglio**: 'dishonouring the *fleur-de-lys*' on the banner of France.

109. **mal di Francia:** Philip the Fair, son of Philip the Bold, who married the daughter of Henry of Navarre. In Dante's eyes his greatest offences were the transference of the seat of the Papacy to Avignon (Purg. xxxiii. 45), and his sacrilegious treatment of Boniface VIII (Purg. xx. 86, 91).

112–4. **membruto:** 'large of limb'; this is Peter III of Aragon, who after the Sicilian Vespers won the kingdom of Sicily from Charles I of Anjou (**colui del maschio naso**). **S' accorda,** &c.: 'sings (the "Salve Regina") in harmony with'; this is introduced to show that after death those who before were enemies are perfectly reconciled. The case was the same as regards Rudolf and Ottocar above. **maschio naso:** Villani (vii. 1) describes Charles of Anjou as 'con grande naso.' **D' ogni,** &c.: 'wore round his loins the girdle of all worth'; the metaphor is a common one in Scripture, e. g. Ps. lxv. 6, 'girded about with power.'

116, 117. **Lo giovinetto:** Alfonso, eldest son and successor of Peter III, who died early. **andava:** 'would have passed'; on the irregular sequence of the indic. after *se fosse* see note on Inf. xxix. 38. **valor:** 'worth,' 'good qualities.' **vaso:** 'possessor,' lit. 'vessel,' 'receptacle.'

118. **erede:** in O. Ital. the sing. *ereda* and plur. *erede* are found, and they are fem., the word being regarded as an abstract subst., like *guida*, *scorta*, &c.; cp. Par. xi. 112.

119, 120. **Jacomo e Federico:** James succeeded on his father's death to the throne of Sicily; when he became king of Aragon on the death of Alfonso in 1291, he ceded the government of Sicily to his brother Frederic. **Del retaggio,** &c.: 'neither of them possesses aught of the better heritage,' i. e. of their father's virtues.

121–3. **risurge per li rami:** 'passes from father to son.' **perchè,** &c.: 'in order that it may be regarded as His gift.'

124–6. **Anche,** &c.: 'my remarks on the degeneracy of sons apply also in the case of Charles of Anjou (*colui del maschio naso*, l. 113), as well as to Peter of Aragon, who is singing with him.' **Onde,** &c.: i. e. in consequence of the misgovernment of his son, Charles II of Anjou, who was king of Naples and Count of Provence, those countries suffer.

127–9. **Tant' è,** &c.: 'the plant (Charles II) is as inferior to the seed from which it sprang (i. e. his father, Charles I), as

Constance (wife of Peter of Aragon) more than Beatrice and Margaret (the wives of Charles I of Anjou and his brother Louis IX of France), still prides herself on her husband.' The meaning of the passage is:—Charles II is as inferior to Charles I, as Charles I and his brother Louis are to Peter III. The depreciation of St. Louis which this implies is of a part with Dante's silence with regard to him throughout the whole poem, especially in the Paradiso, where we should certainly have expected him to be mentioned. The Beatrice and Margaret who are here spoken of were sisters, being the daughters of Raymond Berenger. **ancor:** this means, that she still cherished his memory, though he had been dead fifteen years—since 1285. She did not die herself till 1302, and consequently was alive at the time which Dante assigns to his Vision.

130–2. **semplice:** Villani also (v. 4) says of Henry III, 'fu semplice uomo e di buona fè.' **solo:** as being of a remote race and country; the same thing is said of Saladin (Inf. iv. 129) and of Guy of Montfort (Inf. xii. 118). **migliore uscita:** Edward I.

133. **più basso:** 'in a lower place than the others'; this was on account of his inferior dignity, just as the emperor Rudolf occupies the highest position in virtue of his office.

134. **in suso:** probably in devotion. **Guglielmo Marchese:** William, surnamed Spadalunga, marquis of Monferrat and Canavese, districts of what is now Piedmont. In 1290 he marched against Alessandria, the people of which place had risen against him, but he was made prisoner by them and died in captivity.

135. **Per cui:** 'on whose account.' His son Giovanni advanced against Alessandria to avenge his death, but ended by losing part of his dominions. Hence Monferrat and Canavese are here spoken of as lamenting their losses in the war with Alessandria.

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT.—As nightfall approaches, the spirits show signs of suspense and fear, and two angels, who descend from above, station themselves on commanding points on either side of the valley. Sordello conducts the Poets into the company of the Princes, among whom Dante finds his friend Nino Visconti, and converses with

him. A serpent is now seen to enter the valley with the view of assailing its occupants, but is repulsed by the angels, whose office it is to guard them. At the close of this incident Dante is addressed by Conrad Malaspina, who intimates to him in veiled language that ere long he will avail himself of the hospitality for which the Malaspina family is famous.

LINE 1. **l' ora**: the evening hour, just after sunset. It is the evening of Easter Sunday, April 10. **volge**: 'turns homeward.'

4, 5. **lo nuovo peregrin**: the pleasure felt by the traveller in returning homeward, which is the converse feeling to that which is expressed here, is described by Dante in Purg. xxvii. 109–11, and is there assigned to the morning hour. **squilla**: the Angelus bell sounding for the *Ave Maria* at the Compline Office. The word *squilla* was specially applied to the *Ave Maria* bell, both morning and evening; see *Vocab. Tramater.*

7, 8. **a render vano L' udire**: 'to hear no longer'; **render vano** is 'to bring to an end,' as 'diventa vano' (Purg. v. 97) is 'comes to an end.' He ceased to listen to Sordello speaking or to any other sound, all his senses being absorbed in the sight which presented itself.

12. **non calme**: for *non mi cale*: cp. Purg. xxx. 135, 'a lui ne calse.' The feeling implied in these words is that expressed in Ps. lxxiii. 25, 'Whom have I in heaven but thee,' &c.

13–5. **Te lucis ante**: the Compline hymn, 'Te lucis ante terminum, Rerum Creator, poscimus, Ut pro tua clementia Sis praesul et custodia'; this is familiar in English as the evening hymn, 'Before the ending of the day,' &c. **uscir di mente**: the state of feeling here described is that expressed by our word 'rapture.'

18. **superne rote**: 'celestial spheres.'

19. **Aguzza**, &c.: 'look keenly here, Reader, to perceive the truth.' When Dante appeals in this manner to his readers, he intends to intimate that the allegory is one to which he attaches especial importance; cp. Inf. ix. 61–3.

20, 21. **il velo**, &c.: 'verily the veil of allegory in this case is so fine-spun, that it is easy to penetrate the mystery.' Dante intends to say, that this is a typical instance of clear allegorical meaning. 'Know ye not this parable? and how then will ye know all parables?' These lines have often been interpreted to mean,

that attention was required because of the difficulty of the allegory, which rendered it an easy matter to miss the true meaning; but Philalethes well remarks that the words **velo sottile** and **trapassar dentro** are hard to reconcile with such a view.

24. **pallido**: from the expectation of an object of fear. **umile**: pronounced **umíle**. Dante elsewhere admits this pronunciation of the word in rhyme; cp. *Canzoniere*; *Ballata*, No. 8, l. 7, 'Un angiolel d' amore tutto umíle'; No. 10, l. 13, 'Par ch' ella dica: Io non sarò umíle'; *Vita Nuova*, § 21, l. 17; § 22, l. 68.

25 foll. Two angels bearing drawn swords now descend, and take up their position at points overlooking the valley on either side (ll. 25–42). Presently a serpent enters the valley from its outer slope, and approaches the spirits, but is put to flight by the angels (ll. 94–108). Allegorically interpreted, the serpent represents temptation (cp. l. 99, 'the serpent that tempted Eve'), and the angels are the heavenly influences which succour the tempted; the place (the Flowery Valley) signifies the splendour of kingly courts, and the time (nightfall) suggests a special time of temptation, in which way night is regarded in Scripture and in the services of the Church, e. g. in the prayer 'Lighten our darkness,' &c. Thus the whole occurrence becomes a periodical rehearsal before the Princes of their experiences in life—the grandeur of their state, the temptations to which they were exposed, and their deliverances from them. It is an acted parable, resembling a scene in a drama, only much more vivid and real. The fear which the spirits feel while it passes before them does not arise from any actual dread of temptation, but is like the shudder which comes over us at the recollection of a terrible experience. There is no reason for supposing that in Ante-Purgatory, any more than in Purgatory itself, there was any liability to temptation; throughout the whole poem the power to commit sins, and consequently probation, is regarded as coming to an end with death. The ideas introduced—a paradise, a tempter in the form of a serpent, and angels armed with flaming swords—are, no doubt, borrowed and adapted from the history of the Fall.

27. **Tronche**: probably to show that they were not to be used for attack, but only for defence.

28, 29. **Verdi**: the colour of hope. **che**: *percosse* shows that this is plur., and consequently its antecedent **veste** must be plur. from *vesta*.

34–6. **la testa bionda,** &c.: the description of the angels corresponds to that of our Lord in Rev. i. 14, 16, 'His head and his hairs were white like wool . . . and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength.' **Come virtù,** &c.: 'like a faculty overpowered.'

37–9. **del grembo di Maria:** the Blessed Virgin represents God's prevenient grace; cp. Inf. ii. 94; Purg. xxvi. 59. **via via:** 'instantly.'

40–2. **per qual calle:** 'by what route the serpent would come.' **spalle:** of Virgil.

43. **anco:** 'recommencing.'

51. **Non dichiarisse:** 'that the atmosphere failed to reveal what previously (owing to the distance) it concealed.'

53. **Giudice Nin:** Nino Visconti of Pisa, nephew of Count Ugolino (Inf. xxxiii. 13), was governor or judge of Gallura in Sardinia, the north-eastern of the four provinces into which that island was divided when it belonged to the Pisans. His nefarious vice-gerent, Frate Gomita, is mentioned in Inf. xxii. 81.

55. **si tacque:** 'was left unsaid.'

57. **le lontane acque:** i.e. those which intervened between the mouth of the Tiber and the Mountain of Purgatory; cp. Purg. ii. 100–3. Nino supposes Dante to be a spirit.

58–60. **per entro,** &c.: 'by way of the abodes of woe I arrived this morning.' **Ancor che,** &c.: 'though by this journey I am winning the other (the future) life'; cp. Purg. i. 61–3.

62. **Sordello:** as Dante had not been in sunlight since Sordello had joined them (Purg. vi. 57), he had not cast a shadow, which was the evidence by which his mortal body was discovered in Purgatory.

65, 66. **Corrado:** see note on l. 118. **volse:** for *volle*; cp. Inf. ii. 118.

67–9. **Per quel,** &c.: 'I pray thee by that special gratitude which thou owest.' **grado** from Lat. *gratus*. **primo perchè:** 'primary motive,' 'first cause of action.' **non gli è guado:** 'it cannot be forded,' lit. 'there is no ford there'; it is too profound for the human intellect to divine it. **gli** = *vi*; cp. Purg. xiii. 7.

70–2. **larghe onde:** the space of sea between the Mountain of Purgatory and the habitable earth. **Giovanna:** his daughter. She was still a girl; this explains **innocenti.** **chiami:** 'make supplications in that quarter (**Là**),' i.e. to heaven.

73, 74. **la sua madre**: her maiden name was Beatrice d' Este, and after Nino's death she married Galeazzo Visconti of Milan. As her second marriage took place on June 24, 1300, it has been thought that Dante here fails to observe the date which he assigns to his Vision, viz. Easter, 1300, because the event mentioned was subsequent to this, and therefore could only be introduced in the form of a prophecy. But when Dante speaks of her 'putting off her widow's weeds' (**trasmutò le bianche bende**), he is probably referring, not to the time of her marriage, but to that of her betrothal; and this would have taken place some little time before.

75. **misera**: Galeazzo, two years after he married her, was expelled from Milan, and forced to live in Tuscany as a refugee. **ancor**: 'hereafter'; cp. Par. xiv. 107.

79–81. **Non le farà**, &c.: the meaning is:—'The viper on the escutcheon of the Visconti of Milan will not show so well on her tomb (lit. will not make for her so fair a burial-place) as the cock on the escutcheon of the Visconti of Pisa would have done.' **accampa**: 'brings into the field,' 'marshals'; and so, 'under which they serve.' **il gallo di Gallura**: this describes the crest of the Pisan Visconti, because Gallura in Sardinia was said to have derived its name from it.

83, 84. **dritto**: 'righteous,' because not in excess (**misuratamente**).

86, 87. **là dove**, &c.: 'where the stars revolve more slowly,' i. e. near the pole; here the south pole is meant (*il polo di qua*, l. 90). **stelo**: 'the axle.'

89. **tre facelle**: these stars symbolize the three Christian or theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, just as the four stars of l. 91 are the four cardinal virtues; see note on Purg. i. 23. These three stars are not identified with any constellation, and therefore there is the less reason for identifying the four stars with one.

92. **di là**: 'yonder,' i. e. beyond the meridian; in the West. The three stars now become more conspicuous than the four, because we are approaching Purgatory proper, where the theological virtues are more prominent than the cardinal.

94. **e**: 'thereupon'; see note on Inf. xxv. 34.

97. **onde**: 'on which.' **riparo**: 'defence'; it is the Engl. word 'rampart.' The valley was open on the lower side towards

the slope of the hill. The allegorical meaning here is, that temptation assails us on the undefended side; and also, worldly pomp, as symbolized by the flowers (l. 100), is its natural field of operation.

103–5. **Io non vidi,** &c.: allegorically—the first motions of God's helping grace in our souls are not perceived; we only discover its influence when it is working within us.

106. **alle**: **a** is used because the infin. is preceded by a verb of perception; cp. Par. xviii. 108.

109, 110. **L' ombra,** &c.: 'the shade of Conrad, which had approached Nino, when he called to him'; see ll. 64–6.

112–4. **Se la lucerna,** &c.: 'so may the lamp (the illuminative grace of God) which leadeth thee on high find in thy free will so much wax (so much material to feed its flame) as is required for thee to reach the enamelled summit.' **smalto,** 'enamel,' is here used of the flowery meads of the Terrestrial Paradise, which occupied the summit of the Mountain of Purgatory; cp. Inf. iv. 118, where *verde smalto* is used for the verdure of the abode of the heroic souls in Limbo.

116. **Valdimacra**: a district of the Lunigiana (at the foot of the Apennines behind Spezia), which was ruled by the Malaspina family; cp. Inf. xxiv. 145.

118, 119. **Corrado Malaspina**: he was grandson of Conrad I, the founder of the family (**l' antico**).

120. **A' miei,** &c.: 'I expended on my family that love, which here in Purgatory is purified and devoted to God.'

122. **Giammai non fui**: Dante is speaking from the point of view of 1300 A. D. He was in Lunigiana under the patronage of the Malaspina in 1306, and their hospitable treatment of him no doubt prompted the panegyric which follows.

125. **grida**: 'proclaims,' 'celebrates.'

127–9. **s' io,** &c.: 'so may I reach the Terrestrial Paradise'; for **di sopra** in this meaning cp. Purg. vi. 47. **non si sfregia,** &c.: 'forfeits not the meed of honour for generosity and valour'; **si sfregia,** lit. 'deprives itself of ornament.'

130, 131. **privilegia**: both here and in l. 62 above there is a sing. verb with two subjects. **perchè,** &c.: 'notwithstanding that the world is misguided by its guilty head'; the worldly popes and Boniface VIII in particular are here meant; cp. Purg. xvi. 100–5.

133–5. **il sol,** &c.: 'the sun shall not rest seven times on the

bed which the Ram covers and bestrides with all his four feet':—in other words, 'The sun shall not be seven times in Aries, in which it is now' (it being the vernal equinox); i. e. seven years shall not pass from the present time. The reference is to Dante's residence among them in 1306. **letto,** &c.: the space of the heavens covered by the constellation of Aries.

136–8. **Che cotesta,** &c.: 'ere this favourable view will be imprinted on your mind, not as now by the testimony of others, but by the force of your own personal experience.'

139. **Se corso,** &c.: 'if God arrests not the course of his judgements'; i. e. 'if He carries out what in His providence He has decreed.'

CANTO IX

ARGUMENT.—Dante falls asleep, and while he is still unconscious and dreaming, is carried by St. Lucy, his patron saint, to the neighbourhood of the entrance of Purgatory proper. In front of the gate of this are three stone steps of different colours, and above the highest of them an angel is seated, who, when he hears that the Poets have come under heavenly guidance, first inscribes the letter P seven times on Dante's forehead, and then opens the gate with two keys, one golden and the other silver, and gives him and Virgil admittance.

LINE 1. **La concubina,** &c.: 'The concubine of Tithonus old' is the Lunar Aurora, i. e. the lightening of the eastern sky which precedes the rising of the moon. Dante has transferred Tithonus from the period before sunrise, with which he is usually associated in fable, to the period before moonrise; and, while regarding the Solar Aurora as his true wife, he treats the Lunar Aurora, since she occupies an inferior position, as his concubine. The time which is thus described is about 8.45 p.m., for the moon three nights after the full, which it was now supposed to be, would rise about 9. p.m.; see Moore, *Time-Ref.*, p. 86. **Titone:** this form instead of *Titono* is used also by Petrarch, *Trionfo della Morte*, ii. 5; and may be paralleled in Dante by such forms as *pome* for *pomo*, Purg. xxvii. 45.

2. **s' imbiancava:** 'was gathering light'; the Lunar Aurora was beginning to appear. **balco:** 'balcony'; from this she was supposed to be looking forth; cp. Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* ix. 74. 1, 2, 'L' Aurora intanto il bel purpureo volto Già dimostrava dal sovran balcone.' Others read (not so well) *balzo*, giving that word the sense of 'terrace.'

3. **Fuor delle braccia:** 'leaving the embraces' of Tithonus.

4. **Di gemme,** &c.: i. e. a bright constellation was shining just above where the light appeared.

5, 6. **freddo animale:** the constellation of Scorpio. That the animal here intended is the scorpion is shown by the next line, for that reptile strikes with its tail, which cannot be said of any other animal represented among the constellations. Dante was probably thinking of Ovid, *Met.* xv. 371, 'Scorpius exibit caudaque minabitur unca.' The epithet **freddo** is applied elsewhere in Italian poetry to the scorpion; see the instances given by Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 83; it probably refers to the effect of the poison, as Brunetto Latini says (*Tesoro*, Bk. v. Ch. 1), when speaking of serpents, 'Tutti i veneni sono freddi.' The determination of this point is of the first importance for the interpretation of the passage, for the moon would be within the sign of the Scorpion at the time of night given above; and this corroborates the view that *La concubina*, &c., is the Lunar Aurora; Moore, p. 86.

7. **de' passi,** &c.: 'the steps by which night rises' can hardly be anything else than the hours between sunset and midnight; **sale** naturally refers to the first half of the night. If **passi** is taken, as it is by some, of the four *watches* of the night, the force of **sale** is lost, because in that case it must apply to the whole night.

8. **nel loco ov' eravamo:** i. e. in Purgatory; cp. Purg. ii. 8, 'Là dove io era.'

9. **E il terzo,** &c.: i. e. the third hour had passed its middle; it was more than two hours and a half after sunset. This at the equinox would correspond to 8.45 p.m. The view here maintained, that the time which Dante intends in the whole of the above passage is early night, and that ll. 1–3 describe the approach of moonrise, is that which has been generally adopted from the earliest times; Moore, p. 85. The other view, which also finds its advocates, that dawn in the ordinary acceptation of the word is meant, seems to be excluded from consideration by the interpretation of the **freddo**

animale and the **passi** which has just been given. Scartazzini's reading *Titan* for **Titone** has very little in its favour.

10–2. **quel d' Adamo**: the burden of the flesh; cp. Purg. xi. 44. This is said in contrast to the condition of the spirits, who could feel no fatigue. **cinque**: viz. Nino and Conrad, in addition to Dante, Virgil, and Sordello.

15. **primi guai**: 'its early sorrows'; the allusion is to the tragic story of Tereus, Philomela, and Procne. According to the version of the legend which is commonly found in the Latin poets, Philomela was changed into a nightingale and Procne into a swallow, while according to that which prevailed among Greek writers, Philomela became a swallow and Procne a nightingale. Dante follows the latter of these, for the sorrows of the swallow which are here spoken of are the sufferings of Philomela, and in Purg. xvii. 19, 20 he identifies Procne with the nightingale.

17, 18. **e men**, &c.: 'and less captive to its (worldly) imaginations.' **Alle sue**, &c.: lit. 'is almost gifted with the power of divination (i. e. is almost prophetic) in respect of its visions.' The idea that morning dreams are true is a familiar one; cp. Inf. xxvi. 7, 'presso al mattin il ver si sogna.'

19. **In sogno**: Dante has a dream on each of the three nights which he spent on the Mountain of Purgatory; the second is that of the Siren in xix. 1–33, the third that of Leah in xxvii. 94–108. Each takes place immediately before dawn; and each begins with the words 'Nell' ora,' and in connexion with this some feature of the morning hour is noticed. In every case, also, the dream is symbolical of something that follows in the narrative: the present dream symbolizes Dante's being transported to the gate of Purgatory by the aid of Lucia.

22–4. **Ed esser**, &c.: 'and methought I was at the place where,' &c., i. e. on the summit of the Trojan Ida, where Ganymede, son of one of the kings of Troy, was carried off by the eagle of Zeus, when he was hunting there: see Virg. *Aen.* v. 252–7; Ov. *Met.* x. 155–61. **sommo consistoro**: the 'supreme consistory' was the conclave of the Gods, where Ganymede became cupbearer.

25–7. **Forse**, &c.: Dante thus explains to himself in his dream how it came to pass that Ida was the scene of what happened to him. 'Maybe the eagle strikes its prey only in this place from

habit (or association),' because it had done so before in the case of Ganymede. **in piede**: 'in its claws.'

28–30. **roteata**: 'after wheeling.' **foco**: the region of fire, which according to Dante's system intervened between our atmosphere and the moon; Par. i. 79 foll.

33. **convenne che**, &c.: 'my slumber of necessity was broken.'

34. **Achille**: the story of Achilles awaking in the island of Scyros, whither his mother Thetis had carried him from his tutor Chiron on Mount Pelion, is taken from Statius, *Achill.* i. 247 foll.

39. **li Greci**: Ulysses and Diomede, who on behalf of the Greeks—since it was fated that Troy could not be taken without the help of Achilles—went to Scyros, and persuaded him to leave the island; cp. Inf. xxvi. 61, 62.

40–2. **sì come**: 'just as,' 'at the moment when.' **spaventato**: the cause of Dante's fear was the changed circumstances in the midst of which he woke. These changes were (1) the absence of three of his escort (l. 43); (2) the time that had elapsed (l. 44); (3) the place in which he was (l. 45).

43, 44. **solo**: the three other spirits, since they could not yet enter Purgatory, had remained behind. **il sole**, &c.: the time is now about 8 a.m.

48. **Non stringer**, &c.: 'do not draw in, but put out, all your force.'

50, 51. **balzo**: 'rampart of rocks.' **là**, &c.: 'at the point where there seems to be a break in the encircling rocks.'

52–4. **Dianzi**: 'just now.' **dentro**: 'within thee.' **è adorno**: 'the place is adorned'; for the omission of the subst. cp. Purg. x. 79; xiv. 94.

55. **Lucìa**: his patron saint, who comes to his aid here, as she had done at the former great crisis of his life; see notes on Inf. ii. 97, 98. The illuminative grace of God, which she represents, enables Dante to approach Purgatory and read its lessons aright.

58, 59. **l' altre**: Nino and Conrad. **forme**: 'spirits'; this is the Scholastic use of the word, the spirit being the 'form' or essential part of man; cp. Par. iv. 54. **come**: 'as soon as.' **chiaro**: even Lucia is bound by the rule of Purgatory, that nothing can be done during the night.

62. **Gli occhi suoi belli**: the story of St. Lucy having plucked out her eyes lest they should cause the ruin of a young man who was

enamoured of them, and of their being miraculously restored to her, is given in Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. 2, pp. 615–7. **entrata**: the passage through the cliff leading to the gate; cp. l. 51.

68. **lo balzo**: cp. l. 50.

70–2. **innalzo**, &c.: the description of the steps which lead to the gate of Purgatory, and of everything connected with Dante's reception there, is highly symbolical, and is expressed in correspondingly elaborate ideas and language. **rincalzo**: 'fortify,' lit. 'prop.'

73–6. **eravamo**, &c.: 'our position (point of view) was such that I saw.' **fesso**, &c.: 'a rift broken through a wall'; the confined passage corresponds to the 'strait gate' and 'narrow way which leadeth unto life.'

78. **un portier**: the angel who is thus described is the Guardian of the gate of Purgatory. He symbolizes the power of absolution possessed by the Church (l. 117), and by implication the office of the priest-confessor, whose functions are dwelt on in ll. 121–9.

86. **la scorta**: 'your escort'; the angel implies, by asking this question, that he knew that Dante and Virgil were not spirits destined for Purgatory, and that therefore he expected them to be under some special guidance.

88. **Donna**: Lucia, ll. 61, 62.

94–102. The three steps in front of the gate of Purgatory represent the three stages of penitence. The interpretation of their symbolism which best corresponds to the features that Dante assigns to them is, that the first, with its white colour and mirror-like surface, signifies candour and sincerity of spirit in confession; the second, with its dark rough surface broken across, is the hard heart, darkened by grief and contrite; while the third, with its bright red colour, symbolizes ardent love. The characters in the Gospel history which have been regarded by Christian writers as representative of these three stages are—of the first (candid confession) the penitent thief on the cross; of the second (contrition) Peter in the judgement hall; of the third (ardent love) Mary Magdalene at the banquet.

96. **quale io paio**: i. e. 'my very image'; 'I saw my image reflected in it.'

97–9. **perso**: 'purple-black'; see note on Inf. v. 89. **crepata**, &c.: it is tempting to adopt Miss Rossetti's suggestion

(see Butler, p. 107), that what is here intended is two transverse cracks in the stone, figuring the cross, at the thought of which the heart is contrite. Perhaps, however, the meaning rather is, that the stone was cracked throughout its whole length and breadth.

100. **s' ammassiccia**: 'rests ponderously.'

105. **diamante**: it is hard to say whether 'adamant' or 'diamond' is meant here, for the word was used in both senses. Perhaps the former is preferable, in which case the allegorical meaning will be the firm foundation on which the Church, which has the power of binding and loosing, is established—'on this *rock* I will build my Church.'

106. **di buona voglia**: 'with my good will,' i. e. I willingly followed his drawing.

110, 111. **Misericordia**, &c.: 'I besought his mercy that he should open to me.' **nel petto**, &c.: 'I smote myself thrice on the breast,' in token of contrition.

112, 113. **Sette P**: the seven P's, which the angel inscribes on Dante's forehead, signify the seven deadly sins, P being the initial letter of *Peccato*. The sword is the emblem of the divine justice. **lavi**: 'cleanse away by passing through Purgatory.' In Dante's case both the inscription of the letters and their removal are only symbolical, and do not imply that he was at this time suffering any Purgatorial penance; this is shown by his recognizing that he will have to undergo the pains of Purgatory after death, Purg. xiii. 133–8.

115. **che secca si cavi**: 'which is dug dry from the ground.' Ashes and dust (dry earth) are the familiar emblems of penitence.

117. **due chiavi**: these are the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The golden key is the power of absolution, the silver key the knowledge possessed by the confessor, which enables him to judge of the condition of the penitent. Hence in opening the gate the silver key is used first, the golden afterwards. On this subject Aquinas says—'distinguuntur duae claves, quarum una pertinet ad iudicium de idoneitate eius qui absolvendus est, et alia ad ipsam absolutionem'; *Summa*, P. 3. Suppl. Q. 17. Art. 3.

120. **Fece**, &c.: 'he plied (lit. dealt with) the gate in such a manner as to satisfy me,' i. e. he opened it.

121–3. **l' una**: 'one,' i. e. either; if either of the confessor's functions is exercised amiss, the absolution is not valid. **calla**: 'opening,' 'entrance'; see note on Purg. iv. 22.

124–6. **Più cara,** &c.: the golden key is the more precious, because its power is derived from the precious blood of Christ; but the silver key demands exceedingly great skill in him who uses it. **troppa**: for *troppo*; Dante has allowed himself, for the sake of the rhyme, to introduce an irregular grammatical construction in making **troppa** agree with **arte.** **il nodo disgroppa**: 'disentangles the knot,' i. e. clears the conscience and enlightens the mind.

127–9. **Pier**: St. Peter, to whom Christ committed them. **Pur che,** &c.: a humble request for pardon is the indispensable condition of obtaining it.

130–2. **l' uscio,** &c.: 'the door of entrance to the sacred gateway.' **di fuor torna**: i. e. will have to return and quit Purgatory. The spiritual sense is—'The man who after repentance returns to his former sins forfeits God's favour.'

133, 134. **quando,** &c.: 'when the pivots of that sacred gate turned in their sockets.' **regge** is regularly used of church doors; see *Vocab. Tramater.*

136–8. **Non rugghiò,** &c.: 'Tarpeia roared not so loudly, nor showed itself so discordant'; the grating of the pivots, which is compared to this, is intended to imply the infrequency of the opening of the gate of Purgatory; cp. Purg. x. 2, *disusa.* This view is in accordance with Dante's own sternness, notwithstanding his mention of the merciful commission given by St. Peter to the angel in ll. 127, 128. The classical story here alluded to, which is taken from Lucan, iii. 114–68, describes how Julius Caesar, when he reached Rome after passing the Rubicon, proceeded to the temple of Saturn, which served as an *aerarium* or state treasury, in order to make himself master of its contents, but was opposed by the tribune L. Caecilius Metellus, who was ultimately removed by force. The lines in Lucan referring to this are—'Protenus abducto patuerunt templa Metello. Tunc rupes Tarpeia sonat, magnoque reclusas Testatur stridore fores,' ll. 153–5. 'The Tarpeian rock' is here taken for the Capitoline Hill, on one side of which it was situated, and which is described as echoing the grating of the hinges of the temple of Saturn, which lay at its foot. Dante has rendered an elaborate allusion still more intricate by using **Tarpeia** to signify the temple also, for **le** and **macra** (ll. 137, 138), which refer to the temple, agree with **Tarpeia.** **come,** &c.: 'when the good Mar-

cellus was removed from it, from which cause it thereafter remained impoverished.' **tolto**: 'was removed from the temple which he was defending.' **per che**, &c.: cp. Lucan, *loc. cit.*, ll. 167, 168, 'Tristi spoliantur templa rapina, Pauperiorque fuit tunc primum Caesare Roma.'

139. **mi rivolsi**: 'I turned aside,' i. e. away from the gate towards the sound within. **primo tuono**: 'the commencement of a burst of sound,' i. e. the first words of the *Te Deum*. With this the spirits within were wont to celebrate the admission of those newly arrived. In like manner, when a soul is freed from Purgatory the *Gloria in excelsis* is sung; cp. Purg. xx. 133–8, where it is noticeable, as illustrating **primo tuono** here, that Dante is at first overpowered by the sound.

141. **dolce suono**: this is the same as the *tuono*; at first there is a deafening, though harmonious (**dolce**), burst of sound; from this the words seem gradually to emerge.

142–5. **Tale imagine appunto**: 'just such an impression.' The effect thus produced on the listener is compared to that of a musical performance, in which the words are only intermittently heard owing to the loudness of the accompaniment. **organi**: 'musical instruments.'

CANTO X

Prefatory Note on the Method employed by Dante in describing Purgatory proper.

This is the most elaborately symmetrical part of the whole poem, a corresponding mode of treatment being introduced in each Cornice. (These Cornices, seven in number, in which the seven deadly sins are punished, rise one above another on the mountain side, which they encircle, and every Cornice is presided over by an angel.) As Dante enters a Cornice, examples of the virtue opposed to the vice which is punished there are presented to him for admiration; and before he leaves the same Cornice examples of the vice are presented to him

for avoidance. The two sets of examples are presented either in the same, or at least in a similar manner; and the examples of the vice that are given, as a rule, correspond in number to those of the virtue. Usually, also, the examples are drawn alternately from Scripture and from classical sources; and the first example of the virtue is in every case an incident in the life of the Blessed Virgin. Further, at one period of Dante's passage through a Cornice a portion of one of the Offices of the Church is recited by the spirits who are undergoing purgation there; and as he leaves the Cornice he is sped on his way by the utterance of one of the Beatitudes from the Sermon on the Mount, the voice which pronounces it being in most cases—probably in every case—that of the presiding angel. In the notes these points will be mentioned for each Cornice at the place where that Cornice is entered.

It should further be noticed that in Purgatory the most heinous sins are found in the lower Cornices, and they decrease in criminality as they ascend. But the punishments are not arranged in a fixed order of severity; thus in Purg. xix. 117 we are told that no punishment is more severe than that of avarice, which vice is expiated in the fifth Cornice.

ARGUMENT.—Having entered Purgatory, they ascend by a winding passage through the rocks, until a narrow level Cornice is reached, which runs round the entire circuit of the mountain. The white marble cliff, which flanks the inner side of this Cornice, is ornamented with exquisite sculptures, representing typical examples of the virtue of humility. While they are contemplating these, they are approached by a company of souls, who are expiating the sin of pride by being bowed down under the weight of heavy stones.

LINES 1–3. **Poi**: for *Poichè*, 'after that.' **Che**, &c.: 'which (gate) the perverted affection of men's souls, by making them mistake wrong for right, causes to be disused'; i. e. few souls reach Purgatory, the preparatory stage for heaven, because they are led astray by the idea that the satisfaction of their sinful desires is true happiness.

4. **Sonando**: 'by the sound,' i. e. not by the sight; the two following lines are a comment on this.

7–9. **salavam**: a Florentine dialectic form for *salivam*; cp. Purg. iv. 31. **si moveva**: 'undulated'; no real movement is intended, but only the relative position of the rocks on either hand

as the passage wound through them. Similarly in Inf. xviii. 17; xxiii. 135 *mover*, *moversi* are used of rocks starting forward or projecting, without the sense of motion. **che fugge**, &c.: 'which now retires and now approaches.'

11, 12. **in accostarsi**, &c.: 'in keeping close, now in this direction, now in that, to the side of the rock which retires'; in other words, 'in following the zigzags.'

13–6. **E ciò fece**, &c.; 'and this caused our footsteps to be so infrequent.' **lo scemo della luna**: 'the moon's decreasing disk.' The moon was full on Maunday Thursday, April 7; it was now Easter Monday, April 11. The time of day intended is from 9 to 9.30 a.m. **cruna**: 'needle's eye,' 'narrow passage.'

18. **indietro si rauna**: 'shrinks inward' (Shadwell), lit. 'gathers itself backward,' so as to leave space for the Cornice. Some such meaning as those here given for *raunare* is required, in order to connect it with that of 'to assemble' in the corresponding words *ragunare*, *radunare*.

20. **un piano**: this is the first Cornice. Here (1) the sin punished is pride; (2) the mode of punishment is being depressed by a heavy weight; (3) the examples of the opposite virtue are the Blessed Virgin, David and Trajan; (4) the examples of the vice are Lucifer and Briareus; the Giants and Nimrod; Niobe and Saul; Arachne and Rehoboam; Eriphyle and Sennacherib; Cyrus and Holophernes; (5) the mode of presentation is by sculptured figures; (6) the passage of a Church Office recited is the Lord's Prayer; (7) the Beatitude pronounced is *Beati pauperes spiritu*.

22–4. **confina il vano**: 'borders on the void,' at the edge of the precipice. **ripa**: 'the wall of rock,' on the inner side. **pur sale**: 'rises sheer' (Shadwell), lit. 'merely,' 'absolutely.' **Misurrebbe**: contracted for *misurarebbe*. **in tre volte**, &c.: lit. 'a human body, estimated three times, would measure.' The width of the Cornice would thus be about 17 ft. For the mode of measurement cp. Inf. xxxi. 64, of the Frisians.

25. **quanto**, &c.: only a portion of the Cornice was in view, because it ran round the mountain. **trar d' ale**: 'wing its flight.'

28–30. **Lassù**: upon the Cornice. **Che, dritta, di**, &c.: 'which, being perpendicular, did not admit of being ascended.' If *dritto* is read (it has the greatest weight of MS. authority), the meaning is, 'which interdicted (lit. had lacking) the right of ascent.'

32, 33. **intagli**: 'carvings'; these are instances of humility. **Policreto**: the Greek sculptor Polycletus. The interchange of *l* and *r* is a feature of the Tuscan dialect; see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, pp. 525, 534. Dante was acquainted with the eminence of Polycletus as a sculptor through Aristotle, who mentions him in several passages in his writings. **lì avrebbe scorno**: 'would be put to shame in its presence.'

34–6. **L' angel**: Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation. The first example of humility is the demeanour of the Virgin on that occasion. **lagrimata**: 'longed for with tears.' **Che**, &c.: 'which peace (i.e. reconciliation) opened to mankind heaven which had so long been denied to them,' lit. 'from its long interdict.'

41, 42. **immaginata**: 'imaged.' **quella, Che ad aprir**, &c.: the Blessed Virgin, by whose instrumentality our redemption was initiated.

43–5. **in atto impressa**: 'expressed in (lit. impressed on) her mien.' **propriamente**, &c.: 'as clearly as the figure on a seal is stamped on wax.'

48. **Da quella parte**, &c.: they were advancing along the Cornice towards the right, which is their direction throughout Purgatory: at the present moment they were facing the mountain side with their backs to the precipice, Dante being on Virgil's left, and the next subject in relief was further on, i.e. beyond where Virgil was standing; hence Dante in order to get a nearer view passes Virgil (**varcai**, l. 53). **onde**: 'on which (side).'

49–51. **mi mossi col viso**: 'I turned my eyes'; for the form of expression cp. Purg. xxxi. 100, 'nelle braccia aprissi.' **Diretro**: 'behind,' from the point of view of one advancing along the Cornice; and so, 'on the further side of.' **da quella costa**, &c.: 'on that side of me on which my conductor was standing.'

54. **Acciocchè**, &c.: 'that I might see it (*la storia*) from a good point of view.'

55–7. The second example is David dancing before the ark. **marmo stesso**: 'the very marble.' **si teme**, &c.: the reference is to the death of Uzzah (2 Sam. vi. 7), in consequence of which David left the ark three months at the house of Obed-edom; at the expiration of that time he removed it to Jerusalem and danced before it, as here described. Dante has in one point slightly confused the two occasions, for it was on the former that it was drawn by oxen,

as he describes it in l. 56; when David danced before it, it was carried by Levites; 2 Sam. vi. 13; cp. 1 Chron. xv. 26.

59, 60. **sette cori:** this is from the Vulgate of 2 Sam. vi. 12, 'erant cum David septem chori'; the words are not found in the Engl. version. **a' due,** &c.: the two senses are those of hearing and sight; 'the bands of singers were so naturally represented as chanting, that while my ears told me they were not doing so, my eyes assured me that they were.' As regards the syntax, **l' un** and **l' altro** are in partitive apposition to **sensi**; 'they caused the one of my two senses to say "they are not singing," the other "they are."'

61–3. **al fummo,** &c.: 'at the smoke of the incense (i. e. as regards its reality) the eyes and nose contradicted one another.'

64–6. **vaso:** the Ark. *Vaso* is used by Dante of any receptacle or depository, e. g. of the triumphal car in Purg. xxxiii. 34. **Trescando:** 'bounding in the dance'; 2 Sam vi. 16, 'leaping and dancing before the Lord.' *Trescare* signifies dancing wildly. **Alzato:** 'high-girt'; the *Vocab. Tramater* quotes from Fra Giordano, of the Israelites at the Paschal feast, 'stando alzati,' i. e. with their loins girt. **più e men,** &c.: 'more than king,' because he was performing a priestly function (he was wearing the ephod, 2 Sam. vi. 14); 'less than king,' because he seemed to be debasing himself, as David himself says, 'I will be base in mine own sight,' ib. v. 22.

67. **vista:** 'window,' lit. 'point of view'; 'Michal, Saul's daughter, looked through a window,' ib. v. 16.

72. **mi biancheggiava:** 'beamed white upon me.'

73–5. The third example is that of the emperor Trajan and the widow woman. **l' alta gloria,** &c.: 'the noble deed of renown of the Roman emperor'; **principato** for *principe*, abstract for concrete. Dante probably derived the story, which was widely spread in the middle ages, from the *Fiore di Filosofi*, a work which has been wrongly attributed to Brunetto Latini. **valore:** 'worth.' **vittoria:** 'triumph'; Pope Gregory the Great was believed to have rescued the soul of Trajan from Hell. In Par. xx. 44, 45, he is found in Heaven among the just rulers.

78. **Di lagrime,** &c.: 'in attitude of weeping.'

79–81. **Intorno,** &c.: 'the space around him appeared thronged.' For the absence of a proper subject to **parea** cp. Purg. ix. 54. **calcato:** see note on Purg. ii. 72. **l' aquile,** &c.: 'the eagles on

their golden ground seemed (**in vista**) to be waving in the wind over his head.' The eagles, which are here described as worked on banners, are a mediaeval adaptation of the Roman military eagles.

87. **s' affretta**: 'shows impatience.'

88–90. **Chi fia dov' io**: 'he that takes my place'; my successor. **L' altrui**, &c.: 'what will another's good deeds avail (to exculpate) thee, if thou dost neglect thine own.'

92. **mova**: 'start on my expedition.'

94–6. **Colui**, &c.: God, in the depth of whose counsels everything, whether created or uncreated, exists. **visibile parlare**: 'visible converse,' i. e. language which appeals to the eye, not to the ear. **qui**: on earth.

99. **per lo fabbro**, &c.: 'precious to behold for the sake of God their artificer.'

100–2. **Ecco**: there are now seen approaching along the Cornice a band of spirits, who are expiating the sin of pride by bearing heavy weights, by the burden of which they are depressed. **di qua**: i. e. on the left side, as is shown by l. 105, where Dante, who is on Virgil's right (see note on l. 48), turns towards him in order to see them. **ne invieranno**, &c.: 'will direct us to the upper Cornices.'

103–5. **a mirar**: 'on examining the sculptures.' The clauses which follow run thus—**non furon lenti, volgendosi ver lui per veder**, &c.

106–8. **però**: i. e. notwithstanding what I am about to tell you. **ti smaghi**, &c.: 'fail of good resolution' to repent. *Smagare* is Span. *desmayar*, Engl. 'dismay.' Skeat (s. v. 'Dismay') says it is from O. H. G. *magan* (Mod. Germ. *mögen*), 'to be able,' 'to have power': thus *smagarsi* is literally 'to be deprived of strength.' **il debito**: the expiation of sin.

109, 110. **la forma**: 'the nature,' i. e. the terrible character. **la succession**: the glory which is to follow. **a peggio**: 'at worst.'

113, 114. **sembran**: for a similar attraction of number cp. Inf. viii. 78. **vaneggio**: 'am confused'; cp. Purg. xviii. 143.

116, 117. **li rannicchia**: 'makes them crouch.' **i miei occhi**, &c.: 'my eyes too at first had a hard struggle to distinguish them.'

118–20. **disviticchia**: 'disentangle,' i. e. make out clearly. *Viticchio* is the tendril of a vine or creeping plant; hence *avviticchiarsi* is used of such growths twining themselves round a thing,

and *disviticchiare* of clearing away these growths. **si picchia:** 'beats his breast'; cp. Inf. xviii. 105. This action, as well as the attitude of the spirits, corresponds to the description of the humility of the Publican in the parable, who 'would not lift up so much as his eyes unto heaven, but smote upon his breast'; Luke xviii. 13.

123. **ritrosi:** 'backsliding.' The proud, while they persuade themselves that they are advancing towards the forefront, are really falling into the rear.

124–6. **vermi:** here used for caterpillars. The argument against men being proud in this life is, that here they are imperfect creatures (cp. ll. 128, 129), the only object of whose existence is the development of the immortal soul, which is destined to appear unveiled before its just Judge. **farfalla:** the symbolism here implied in the comparison of the soul to a butterfly is so natural, that ψυχή seems to have been the only word for a butterfly in Greek.

127–9. **in alto galla:** 'exalts itself'; *gallare* is properly used of floating on the surface, as in Inf. xxi. 57. **Poi:** for *Poichè*, 'since.' **entomata in difetto:** 'imperfect insects.' The word **entoma**, from which **entomata** comes, is the Greek ἔντομα (sc. ζῷα), which is common in Aristotle for 'insects.' In Low Lat., however, it seems to have been regarded as neut. sing., for in the example given by Ducange 'nullum entoma' is found. It was natural that from this a plur. *entomata* should be formed on the analogy of *poëma poèmata*, *dogma dogmata*, &c. **in cui,** &c.: 'which **is** undeveloped.'

131. **Per mensola:** 'to serve as a corbel'; such brackets are frequently used to support the roofs of mediaeval churches.

133, 134. **La qual,** &c.: the meaning is:—'the pain expressed in which, though imaginary, causes real distress to arise in the mind of him who sees it.'

138, 139. **E qual,** &c.: 'the most patient in his mien seemed in his lamentation to say, "I can endure it no longer."'

CANTO XI

Prefatory Note on Dante's View of the Purpose of Purgatorial Suffering, and of the Effect of Intercessory Prayer in lessening its Duration.

Dante holds a twofold view of the purpose and operation of Purgatorial suffering, viz. (1) as being a corrective or remedial agency; (2) as being punitive or penal. According to the former of these, the suffering purifies the soul from the stain of sin, so as to render it fit to appear in the presence of God, and brings the will into harmony with the Divine will. Thus the souls in the first Cornice are spoken of as 'Purgando le caligini del mondo' (Purg. xi. 30); this aspect of Purgatory presents itself so constantly in this part of the poem that it hardly needs farther illustration. According to the second view, the suffering is a satisfaction due to God's justice as being the payment of the temporal penalty incurred by sin. This temporal penalty is not to be regarded as forming any part of the eternal penalty of sin, for that is already remitted through the mercy of God, but as the temporal penal consequences of sin working themselves out, in the same way as the violation of any of the laws of Nature produces inevitable results. This view is found in such passages as Purg. xi. 70–2, 'E qui convien ch' io questo peso porti Per lei, tanto che a Dio *si satisfaccia*, Poi ch' io nol fei tra' vivi, qui tra' morti'; xi. 125, 126, 'cotal moneta rende *A satisfar*'; xix. 114, 'Or, come vedi, qui ne son *punita*.' There can, however, be no question that the remedial or purificatory view held by a long way the first place in Dante's mind.

Dante's views of the effect of intercessory prayer offered in behalf of those in Purgatory correspond to these. First, he regards it as quickening the effect of suffering in cleansing the soul; this is clearly stated in Purg. xi. 34–6, 'Ben si dee loro aitar lavar le note, Che portar quinci, sì che mondi e lievi Possano uscire alle stellate rote.' In this way it resembles prayer offered for the living that they may profit by the experience of sorrow and other trials. From this it can result that the time spent in Purgatory may be shortened, because the disposition of the sufferer may be affected by Divine influence in answer to intercessory prayer, and thus its purgation

may be more speedily perfected. Secondly, he attributes to it the power of bringing about the remission of what is due to God's justice in Purgatory, because the love and devotion which prayer involves make up for what is due in expiation of the sin. This latter principle is expressed in Purg. vi. 37, 'cima di giudizio non s' avvalla, Perchè foco d' amor compie in un punto Ciò che dee satisfar chi qui s' astalla'; here the reference is to the shortening of the delay in Ante-Purgatory, but it applies equally well to the duration of Purgatorial suffering. Instances of this view of intercessory prayer are Purg. xxiii. 90, where Forese says that his wife's prayers have freed him from, or shortened the term of his punishment in, the lower circles of Purgatory, and xxvi. 147, where Arnaut Daniel desires that prayer may be offered for his deliverance from pain. Dante indeed nowhere formulates his view of the effect of the prayers of the living on the condition of those in Purgatory in such a way as to exclude either of these two views, and most of the passages in which this subject is referred to are reconcilable with either of them; but that which is connected with the remedial aspect of suffering would naturally be the one on which he would chiefly desire to dwell.

Argument.—The spirits who are undergoing their punishment recite a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. When Virgil inquires from them the nearest ascent toward the higher part of the Mountain, the spirit who replies to him gives his name as Omberto Aldobrandesco. Dante now recognizes Oderisi of Gubbio, the illuminator, who moralizes on the transitoriness of human fame, and points out to him the shade of Provenzano Salvani of Siena.

Line 1. **O Padre**, &c.: in this paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, which is uttered by the spirits, a tercet is assigned to each clause.

2, 3. **Non circonscritto**: 'not as being finite.' **primi effetti di lassù**: God's 'first creations on high' are the angels.

6. **vapore**: 'breath,' 'effluence,' i. e. Wisdom. Cp. Wisdom, vii. 25, 'For she is the breath (Vulg. *vapor*) of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty.'

13, 14. **manna**: the grace of God, which is the support of our spiritual life. **diserto**: the word 'manna' causes the spirits to liken Purgatory to the Wilderness of the Wanderings.

19–21. **virtù**: 'power of will'—not 'virtue,' as is shown by **che sì la sprona**, l. 21. **s' adona**: 'is subdued,' 'gives way'; in Inf. vi. 34 *adona* is 'subdues,' 'beats down.' **avversaro**: the Evil One. Dante follows the same interpretation of the passage which is adopted in our Revised Version. **sprona**: 'incites to evil.'

23. **non bisogna**: because the spirits in Purgatory were beyond the reach of temptation.

25–7. **buona ramogna**: 'good speed.' **talvolta**, &c.: when a nightmare causes a feeling of oppressive weight.

28. **Disparmente**: 'in different degrees'; cp. Purg. x. 136. **a tondo**: 'in a circular course,' because the Cornice was round.

32, 33. **che dire**, &c.: 'what adequate return can be made in word or deed?' **ch' hanno**, &c.: this is added, because the prayers of the wicked are not heard; cp. Purg. iv. 133–5.

36. **rote**: 'spheres'; cp. Purg. viii. 18.

37. **giustizia e pietà**: i. e. God, who is at once just and merciful; hence the verb is sing.

40. **la scala**: the stairway leading upward to the next Cornice.

45. **parco**: 'chary.'

48. **Non fur**, &c.: this was because their heads were low and their faces downwards.

49. **A man destra**: the regular direction through Purgatory. The point of view from which this is estimated is that of one facing towards the mountain-side.

51. **persona**: the prep. *a* is omitted before this word, the rule being that, when a preposition occurs twice in the same clause, it may be understood once; cp. Inf. v. 81, 'Venite a noi parlar.' See Blanc, *Gram.*, p. 554.

58–60. **Latino**: Italian; cp. Inf. xxii. 65. The speaker is Omberto Aldobrandesco; little is known of him beyond what is mentioned here. The form of pride which he is expiating is pride of family. The Aldobrandeschi were counts of Santafiora in the Maremma of Siena, and were frequently at war with the Sienese. **fu vosco**: 'was known to you.'

61–3. **leggiadre**: 'gallant.' **comune madre**: Eve, from whom all are equally descended; cp. *Figliuoli d' Eva* in Purg. xii. 71.

64–6. **tanto avante**: 'to such a degree.' **mori**: he was

murdered in his castle of Campagnatico by emissaries of the Sienese in 1259. **ogni fante**: 'every child'; it is so widely known that every child is acquainted with the story. For **fante** see note on Purg. xxv. 61.

68. **consorti**: 'members of my family.'

72. **nol fei**: 'did not bear the burden,' i. e. show a submissive spirit.

73. **chinai in giù**, &c.: both these words and *tutto chin* (l. 78) signify that Dante was stooping as he walked in order to listen to the words of one of the crouching spirits (**ascoltando**). This is mentioned here in order to explain how it came to pass that he was recognized by another of the crouching spirits (l. 76). There is no reason for thinking that Dante himself in any sense partook of the punishment. This is true also of those cases where he is affected by the Purgatorial pains—as in Cornice III, where he is blinded by the smoke (Purg. xvi. 1–7), and in Cornice VII, where he passes through the fire (Purg. xxvii. 10, 11)—for on both these occasions this is unavoidable. Again, though he says that he expects to have to expiate the sin of envy (Purg. xiii. 133–5), yet in Cornice II, where that offence is purged, there is no sign of his experiencing any anticipatory punishment.

79. **Oderisi**: Oderisi d' Agobbio (or Gubbio) was a famous miniature painter of the latter half of Cent. xiii, who was employed both at Bologna and Rome. The form of pride which he was here expiating is pride of artistic skill.

81. **alluminare**: in modern French *enluminer*; in Italian *miniare*. Paris and the French name of the art are here mentioned, because that city was the great centre for the production of illuminated MSS. at this time.

84. **L' onore**, &c.: 'he enjoys men's admiration in full measure, I only in partial measure.' The explanation of **e mio in parte**, which would make it mean, 'yet still I have some claim to praise,' is inconsistent with the humility which we should expect from one who was expiating the sin of pride. Oderisi's object is to depreciate himself—'Franco holds the first place, I an inferior one.' This agrees with what follows. Franco Bolognese was a contemporary of Oderisi, but survived him. Vasari, when comparing the two artists, gave a decided preference to the former.

87. **eccellenza**, &c.: 'pre-eminence, for which my heart yearned.'

89, 90. **Ed ancor,** &c.: 'and I should not yet be here (i. e. I should be among the Negligent in Ante-Purgatory), were it not that, while still possessing the (full) power to sin, I turned to God'; he means that he repented while still in his full strength, before his end was near. Similarly Guido Guinicelli says—'già mi purgo Per ben dolermi prima ch' all' estremo'; Purg. xxvi. 92, 93.

92, 93. **Com' poco,** &c.: 'how short a time verdure remains on its summit, if it be not succeeded (lit. overtaken) by an age of dulness,' i. e. unless the following generation contrasts unfavourably with it.

94. **Cimabue:** Oderisi here illustrates his own fortune by that of the great painter Cimabue (1240–1302), who adapted the Byzantine style of art, and was the founder of the Italian schools, but in the latter part of his life was surpassed by his pupil Giotto (1266–1337).

97. **Così,** &c.: the same thing is true in poetry. The two Guidi who are here mentioned are most probably Guido Guinicelli (1230–1276) and Guido Cavalcanti (1255–1300); some however would substitute Guittone d' Arezzo (circ. 1230–1294) for Guido Cavalcanti.

99. **caccerà di nido:** 'shall supplant.' Dante probably means himself here, and the addition of the qualifying **forse** favours this supposition. It is to be remembered that in Inf. iv. 102 he places himself among the six great poets of the world.

102. **muta nome,** &c.: i. e. is sometimes called North wind, sometimes East wind, &c., because it changes its direction.

103–6. **Che voce,** &c.: the meaning is:—'Even before the expiration of a thousand years, what difference will it make to thy reputation, if thou put off thy robe of flesh in old age instead of dying in infancy?' **voce:** for *fama*; cp. Inf. xvi. 41; Purg. xxvi. 121. **scindi:** 'separate from thee,' 'put off.' **il pappo e il dindi:** 'childish interests'; **pappo** is a child's word for 'food,' Lat. *papa*; **dindi** for *denari*. For similar infantile words cp. *mamma, babbo*, Inf. xxxii. 9.

106–8. **ch' è più corto,** &c.: 'and a thousand years is a shorter period compared with eternity, than is (the time occupied by) the movement of an eyelid, compared with (that occupied by the movement of) that circle which makes its revolution in heaven most slowly.' (Observe that the comparison of the eyelid and the heavens

is in respect of the time occupied by their movement, not the rapidity of it.) The 'circle' here intended is the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, which, according to Dante (*Conv.* ii. 15. ll. 102–4), progresses one degree in 100 years, and consequently makes its complete revolution of 360 degrees in 36,000 years. The motion which he thus regarded as peculiar to this Heaven was its 'precessional' movement from W. to E., which it had in addition to the diurnal movement from E. to W., of which it partook along with the other Heavens. (*Precessional movement.* When the zodiac was divided into twelve equal parts, with twelve signs or constellations corresponding to them, it was so arranged that the time at which the sun entered Aries should correspond to the vernal equinox. In the course of time, however, it was discovered that the sun was no longer at the first point of Aries at that time, but some way to the westward of it in Pisces; and further, that this change took place at the rate of 1° in 100 years. This is called the 'precession of the equinoxes.')

109–11. **Colui**, &c.: 'the name of him, who progresses so slowly on his way in front of me, all Tuscany proclaimed.' **si poco piglia**: cp. Inf. vii. 17. **sonò**: cp. Inf. iv. 92; Purg. xvi. 59. **sen pispiglia**: 'do men whisper his name.' The person intended here, as we learn from l. 121, is Provenzan Salvani, an eminent Ghibelline leader in Siena at the time when the Florentines were defeated by the Sienese in the battle of Montaperti in 1260; cp. Inf. x. 85, 86. His form of pride was personal ambition, ll. 122, 123.

112–4. **Ond' era sire**: 'of which he was lord.' **putta**: 'base,' 'low.'

115–7. **La vostra**, &c.: 'the fame of men is like the colour of the grass'; the idea here is from Is. xl. 6, 7, 'All flesh is grass,' &c. **e quei**, &c.: 'and he (the sun) doth cause it to fade, by whose agency it springs green from the earth.' **acerba**: first 'unripe' (cp. Par. xi. 103), and thence 'fresh and green.' The meaning of the comparison in these lines is this—'as the sun first gives colour to the grass, and then withers it by its heat, so "the process of the suns" (i. e. the lapse of time which the sun marks) first ripens human fame, and then causes it to fade.'

119. **appiani**: 'thou dost bring low.'

124. **Ito è così**: 'he has gone on his way in this fashion,' i. e.

bowed down by the weight on his neck. **Ito** for *andato*; cp. Inf. xvi. 91; Purg. xiii. 23.

125, 126. **cotal**, &c.: 'such payment has he to make in compensation, who in the other life has been too daring.'

129. **Laggiù**: in the Ante-Purgatory.

131. **quanto visse**: cp. what Belacqua says, Purg. iv. 130–2.

134, 135. **Liberamente**, &c.: 'of his own free will, laying aside all shame (fear of ridicule) he took his place in the great square at Siena.' The story is this. Vinea or Vigna, a personal friend of Salvani, was taken prisoner by Charles of Anjou at the battle of Tagliacozzo, and required by him to pay a large sum of money within a month as the price of his life. In order to obtain this for him, Salvani seated himself in the piazza at Siena, and humbly begged contributions for this purpose from the citizens, by which means the money was obtained and the captive regained his liberty. **campo di Siena**: the great piazza of that city, or Piazza del Campo, now called the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele.

138. **Si condusse**, &c.: 'he brought himself to manifest the agitation arising from the humiliation caused by begging from others.'

139–41. **scuro**, &c.: i. e. such a show of feeling is hardly credible. **poco tempo**, &c.: 'but a short time will pass ere your countrymen (**i tuoi vicini**) will treat you so, that you will be able from your own experience to illustrate (lit. comment on) the feeling of humiliation in begging from others.' The reference is to Dante's experiences as an outcast; his banishment took place in 1302, and therefore less than two years from the supposed date of his Vision.

142. **Quest' opera**, &c.: 'it was this act on Provenzano's part,' Oderisi says, 'that saved him from that place of durance,' viz. the Ante-Purgatory. The plur. **confini** is regularly used of 'a place of confinement.'

CANTO XII

ARGUMENT.—Dante at Virgil's bidding studies the sculptures which adorn the footway of the Cornice, giving examples of the vice of pride and of its fatal results. An angel now appears, who shows them the passage by which to ascend, and then by the movement of his wings obliterates one of the P's on Dante's forehead, after which they hear the Beatitude uttered, *Beati pauperes spiritu.* In mounting the stairway Dante is surprised at finding that his sense of fatigue is lessened, and Virgil explains to him that this is due to the absence of the letter which the angel has removed.

LINES 1–3. **Di pari:** Dante was walking side by side with Oderisi, and bowed down like him; cp. Purg. xi. 78. **pedagogo:** 'preceptor'; probably this, and not 'guide,' is the meaning. The source from which Dante got the word seems to have been Gal. iii. 24, where the Engl. Trans., 'the law was our schoolmaster *to bring us unto* Christ,' would favour the latter signification, but the Vulgate, which Dante used, gives 'lex paedagogus noster fuit *in* Christo,' which supports the former.

4. **varca:** 'proceed.'

7–9. **Dritto,** &c.: 'upright, as one is wont in walking.' **vuolsi:** lit. 'it is natural'; this meaning is derived from that of 'it is fitting,' Inf. xvi. 15. **chinati:** 'depressed,' by the sense of humiliation which remained on the mind after seeing the punishment of pride; cp. Purg. xiii. 138. **scemi:** 'lowly.'

12. **leggieri:** i. e. in contrast to the burdened souls whom they were leaving.

15. **lo letto:** 'the resting-place.' The examples of pride and its punishment are so placed, that the spirits undergoing Purgatory tread them under their feet, and are also compelled to see them.

17. **tombe terragne:** tombs beneath the pavement, as distinguished from those built into the walls of churches, or raised above the ground.

21. **solo ai pii:** 'to the compassionate alone.'

22–4. **Sì vid' io,** &c.: 'with such figures, but of more perfect

aspect corresponding to the craftsmanship, I saw there the whole space covered, which projects from the mountain-side to form a road.' **di miglior . . . artificio** signifies that these sculptures, like those on the walls which are described in Purg. x. 28 foll., were of divine workmanship (*ibid.* ll. 94–6), and consequently surpassed all human works of art.

25–63. These lines, in which the examples of pride are described, are the most striking passage in respect of symmetrical arrangement that occurs in the *Div. Com.* A similar, though less highly wrought, artificial system, is found in Par. xix. 115–41; and in both cases the object aimed at is the same, viz. to draw attention to a number of forcible examples by which something is to be illustrated. The symmetry in the present passage is traceable (1) in the initial words of the tercets; (2) in the arrangement of the examples. As regards the former of these points it will be observed, that each example is described in a single tercet; and that these tercets are marked off into groups of four by the correspondence of their initial words, those of the first group commencing with *Vedea* (ll. 25–36), those of the second with *O* (ll. 37–48), and those of the third with *Mostrava* (ll. 49–60). Finally, in the last tercet—which contains the most comprehensive and typical example of the overthrow of pride, viz. the fall of Troy—these three words are brought together, and form the initial words of the three lines which compose it (ll. 61–3). Mr. Toynbee has further suggested that the initial letters in these groups, viz. V, O, and M, have themselves a significance, because they stand for UOM, i. e. *uomo*, 'Man,' whose root-sin, the special cause of his Fall, was pride. They may thus have been intended to emphasize the lesson which is inculcated by the instances of pride which are here symmetrically arranged. See Moore, *Studies*, ii. p. 268. As regards the second point; the examples throughout are arranged in pairs, one of them being taken in each case from Scripture, the other from heathen sources, as the following enumeration will show—Pair 1. Lucifer and Briareus; 2. The Giants and Nimrod; 3. Niobe and Saul; 4. Arachne and Rehoboam; 5. Eriphyle and Sennacherib; 6. Cyrus and Holofernes. Also, in most, though not in all, of these pairs there is a well-marked point of resemblance between the two examples. Thus, Lucifer and Briareus were cast down by lightning; the Giants and Nimrod attempted to scale heaven; Eriphyle and

Sennacherib were killed by their sons; Cyrus and Holofernes were slain by a woman's hand.

25–7. **colui**: Lucifer. **Folgoreggiando**: Luke x. 18, 'I beheld Satan as lightning (Vulg. *sicut fulgur*) fall from heaven.' **da un lato**: take with **Vedea**, 'I saw on one side of the Cornice'; to this *dall' altra parte* corresponds in l. 29.

28–30. **Vedea**: both here and in l. 61 Witte reads *Vedeva*; and this is probably right, because (1) all Witte's test MSS. give *Vedeva*; (2) if **Vedea** is read, the termination *-éa* in these two lines must be a disyllable; and this is a metrical solecism, for elsewhere it is always used as a monosyllable for purposes of scansion, except at the end of a line. It is objected to *Vedeva* that it breaks the uniformity of the commencement of the corresponding tercets. This is the case; but the same objection applies, though in a lesser degree, to **Vedea**, because with it also the symmetry is marred by its having to be pronounced and scanned in these two lines as a trisyllable, while in ll. 25, 31, and 34 it is a disyllable. **Briareo**: Dante here places Briareus, one of the Giants who assaulted heaven, apart from the other Giants, who are mentioned in the next tercet; in this he is following Statius, *Theb.* ii. 595 foll. **Grave**, &c.: 'an oppressive weight to the earth from being lifeless.'

31–3. **Timbreo**: Apollo, who was called 'Thymbraeus' as being worshipped at Thymbra in the Troad. He bears that name in Virg. *Aen.* iii. 85 and Stat. *Theb.* i. 643. **le membra**, &c.: 'the carnage of the Giants.' The example of pride abased which is here given is the slaughter of the Giants after their attempt to scale heaven, and in the sculpture the triumphant divinities are represented as contemplating their remains. Apollo, Pallas, and Mars are introduced by Statius in connexion with Briareus in *Theb.* ii. 597–9, and they were evidently suggested to Dante by that passage, though he has transferred them to the story of the Giants.

34–6. **Nembrot**: Dante regarded Nimrod as being a giant (Inf. xxxi. 58–66), so that in this point he would correspond to the classical giants. He also believed that Nimrod built the Tower of Babel (**il gran lavoro**); for his authority on these points see note on Inf. xxxi. 77. **smarrito**: 'bewildered'; this word and **riguardar** express the helplessness produced by the Confusion of Tongues; cp. Inf. xxxi. 76 foll. **Sennaar**: the tower of Babel, as we learn from Gen. x. 10, was erected in the land of Shinar

(Vulg. **Sennaar**). **superbi**: Gen. xi. 4; the builders of the tower said one to another, 'Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name (*celebremus nomen nostrum*).'

37–9. **Niobe**: Niobe boasted herself against Latona as having many children, while Latona had only Apollo and Diana; whereupon those deities in revenge slew all her sons and daughters. The story is from Ovid, *Met.* vi. 146 foll., where the numbers of the children are given, 'huc natas adiice septem, Et totidem iuvenes,' ll. 182, 183 (**sette e sette**).

40–2. **Saul**: cp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 1–6. **Gelboè**: on the ten-syllable lines here see note on Inf. iv. 56. **non sentì**, &c.: 2 Sam. i. 21, 'Ye mountains of Gilboa,' David exclaims, 'let there be no dew, neither let there be rain, upon you.'

43–5. **Aragne**: Arachne challenged Minerva to compete with her in weaving, but when she had completed her work Minerva tore it in pieces. Thereupon Arachne hanged herself in despair, but Minerva saved her life, and changed her into a spider. Ovid, *Met.* vi. 5 foll. Both this story and that of Niobe are mentioned by Ovid as a warning against pride. **stracci**: 'shreds'; those of Arachne's web, which Pallas had rent; Ovid, *Met.* vi. 131. **mal per te**: 'in an evil hour for thee.'

46–8. **Roboam**: the story here referred to is that of Rehoboam's defiant answer to the remonstrances of the people, followed by his hurried flight when he heard of his agent Adoram being stoned; 1 Kings xii. 14, 18. **Quivi**: on the Cornice. **il tuo segno**: 'thy sculptured form.'

50, 51. **Almeon**, &c.: 'Alcmaeon caused the luckless ornament to appear to his mother too costly a gift.' Eriphyle for the bribe of a necklace revealed the hiding-place of her husband Amphiaraus, and thus caused his death; but before he died he charged his son Alcmaeon to avenge him, and by him Eriphyle was slain. Her pride arose from the possession of the necklace; Statius, *Theb.* ii. 265 foll.

52–4. **i figli**, &c.: 2 Kings xix. 37. Sennacherib's pride consisted in his defying the God of Israel, v. 22. **quivi il lasciaro**: v. 37, 'they escaped into the land of Armenia.'

55–7. **ruina**: 'overthrow,' 'rout of the army.' **scempio**: 'slaughter'; see note on Inf. x. 85. Cyrus attacked the Massagetae,

and slew the son of their queen Tomyris, but afterwards was defeated with great slaughter, and himself lost his life. Tomyris then ordered his head to be cut off and thrust into a vessel full of blood. Dante obtained the story from Orosius, ii. 7, where the words which he puts into the mouth of Tomyris occur, 'Satia te sanguine quem sitisti.'

58–60. **in rotta,** &c.: Judith xiii–xv. Holofernes, whose head was cut off by Judith, is described as 'the chief captain of Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians,' Judith ii. 4. **le reliquie del martiro**: the headless trunk of Holofernes; cp. Jud. xiv. 18, 'Holofernes lieth upon the ground without a head.'

61. **Troia**: the fall of Troy is the crowning instance of the overthrow of pride. The pride of Troy is referred to in Inf. i. 75; xxx. 14. **caverne**: 'gaping spaces,' i. e. intervals between piles of ruin.

62, 63. **Ilion**: probably the citadel of Troy is meant, for Dante seems to be imitating Virg. *Aen.* iii. 2, 3, 'ceciditque superbum Ilium (**Ilion . . . . . basso e vile**), et omnis humi fumat Neptunia Troia (**Troia in cenere**).' **Segno**: 'portraiture'; cp. l. 47.

64–6. **Qual,** &c.: the meaning is:—'What human artist could have portrayed the shades and outlines of these designs?' For the use of **qual** cp. Inf. xxxii. 87. **stile**: this word properly means a metal pencil for outline drawing. **ogn' ingegno sottile**: i. e. every one who possessed the power of fine appreciation.

68, 69. **il vero**: 'the reality,' the actual objects represented. **Quant' io,** &c.: 'of all that was beneath my feet as far as I advanced in a stooping posture,' i. e. bending to examine them.

72. **Sì che,** &c.: 'so as to see in these instances to what ruin your pride may lead.'

73–5. **volto**: this word implies the circular form of the Cornice. **del cammin,** &c.: 'the day was further advanced than I was aware, being engrossed in the examination of these objects.'

76–8. **atteso**: 'watchful.' **sospeso**: 'preoccupied'; cp. Purg. xiii. 136.

79–81. **un Angel**: this angel is the guardian of the stairway leading to the second Cornice. **torna,** &c.: 'the sixth handmaiden (of the day, i. e. the sixth hour) is returning from the service of the day'; in other words, 'noon has just past'; for the expression **ancella del dì** signifying one of the hours, cp. Purg. xxii. 118.

83. **i**: for *gli*; cp. Inf. xxii. 73: *dilettare* is sometimes, though very rarely, used with the dat.; see *Vocab. Tramater.*

84. **Pensa,** &c.: from l. 86 we learn that this means, 'make the best use of the present time.'

85–7. **uso**: for *usato*, 'familiar with.' **chiuso**: 'darkly,' so that I should fail to understand; cp. Par. xi. 73.

93. **omai**: now that the weight of pride has been removed.

94–6. **A questo,** &c.: some editors regard this and the two following lines, not as the words of the angel, but as the Poet's own remark; and it is true that they correspond to the comments which he makes elsewhere; cp. ll. 70–2; Purg. x. 121–9. **Perchè,** &c.: this continues the metaphor contained in *volar su*: 'why, instead of pursuing your upward flight, do you fall to the earth when assailed by a slight blast of temptation to pride?'

97, 98. **ove,** &c.: 'where there was a rift in the rock.' **battèo,** &c.: it is thus that the first of the P's inscribed on Dante's forehead is removed, as he presently discovers, l. 116.

100. **Come,** &c.: the steep ascent is compared to the steps by which the church of San Miniato at Florence is reached from the city. These ascended the hill to the right hand (**a man destra**) of the ordinary and easier way, which led from the gate of the city to the church.

101, 102. **soggioga**: 'dominates,' rising high above it. **La ben guidata**: iron.; Florence, 'the city of good government.' **Rubaconte**: the easternmost of the bridges of Florence, which lies under the hill of San Miniato; it was so called from Rubaconte da Mandello, who, as Podestà, laid the foundation stone in 1237; Villani, vi. 26. Its modern name is *Ponte alle Grazie.*

103–5. **del montar,** &c.: 'the bold abruptness of the ascent.' **ad etade,** &c.: i. e. in the good old times when honesty prevailed. **il quaderno e la doga**: 'the ledger and the stave'; the reference is to two acts of official dishonesty—the former of which consisted in abstracting a page containing compromising entries from the public ledger (cp. Par. xvi. 56), the latter in the diminution of the standard bushel measure by an officer of customs by means of withdrawing a stave (cp. Par. xvi. 105).

106–8. **così**: i. e. by steps. **la ripa**: 'the steep slope.' **Ma**: in contrast to the openness of the steps leading to San Miniato. **rade**: 'presses close' on the path and those who pass along it.

109–11. **Noi volgendo ivi**: 'as we turned thitherward'; this is probably the meaning, for they are first described as ascending in l. 115. **voci**, &c.: 'was sung in words (lit. words sang), the effect of which language could not express'; for the use of **voci** cp. Purg. xxii. 5. If the word is to be taken in its natural sense as 'voices,' the Beatitude must be supposed to have been uttered by more than one person—perhaps by some of the spirits in the first Cornice. But it is against this, that in five out of the other six Cornices—and probably in the remaining one also, viz. Cornice V (cp. Purg. xxii. 4)—it seems to be the Angel who recites the Beatitudes.

112, 113. **foci**: 'entrances,' 'approaches.' **canti**: 'strains of joy.'

116, 117. **troppo più lieve**: 'ever so much lighter'; for **troppo** in this sense cp. Purg. ix. 124; xiv. 125. **per lo pian**: on the level Cornice below. Dante in ascending feels that a weight has been taken off him, and learns from Virgil that this is due to the removal of the first of the P's from his forehead.

122. **presso ch' estinti**: pride being the original root of sin, when it is removed the other sins tend to disappear.

126. **pinti**: 'impelled' by the force of the will.

127. **Allor**, &c.: Dante puts his hand to his forehead to discover what Virgil is referring to: this is compared to the action of one who perceives from the glances of the passers-by that he has some object on his head of which he is unaware.

130. **ad accertar s' aiuta**: 'applies itself to ascertain the truth'; cp. Purg. xxxiii. 84.

133–5. **scempie**: 'outspread,' lit. 'single,' i. e. not forming, as we say 'a bunch of fives.' **Quel dalle chiavi**: the Angel who had the keys of the gate of Purgatory; Purg. ix. 112.

CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT.—The Poets now reach the second Cornice, where the sin of envy is purged. As they pass along it, they hear the voices of invisible spirits flying through the air, which proclaim conspicuous instances of the virtue of charity. They then perceive the souls of the envious, clothed in sackcloth and seated on the ground, with their eyes sewed up by an iron thread. Dante converses with

Sapia, a Sienese lady, who describes to him the malignant feelings by which she had been possessed during her lifetime.

LINE 1. In the second Cornice (1) the sin which is expiated is envy; (2) the punishment is the sewing up of the eyelids; (3) the examples of the opposite virtue are the Blessed Virgin and Pylades; (4) those of the vice are Cain and Aglauros; (5) the mode of their presentation is by voices in the air; (6) the Church Office is the Litany of Saints; (7) the Beatitude is *Beati misericordes*.

2, 3. **Ove,** &c.: 'where the mountain is cut away for the second time,' i. e. so as to form the second Cornice. **salendo:** 'as it ascends,' i. e. in its successive stages, or Cornices. **altrui:** 'men'; cp. Purg. iv. 54; xxviii. 128. **dismala:** 'frees from sin,' 'shrives.'

6. **l' arco,** &c.: 'its arc curves more quickly,' because it forms an inner circle.

7–9. **Ombra:** this word is used, as in Purg. xii. 65, of the shadows in the intaglios of the preceding Cornice; and **segno** refers, as in Purg. xii. 47, 63, to the sculptured figures in them. In like manner **la ripa** and **la via** in l. 8 correspond to the positions of the two sets of sculptured figures in that Cornice—the one to the wall of rock (*ripa*, x. 23, 29), the other to the level footway (*via*, xii. 24). In contrast to those the wall of rock and the footway in the present Cornice look blank and bare (**schietta,** lit. 'plain') from the livid colour of the rock. **gli** = *vi*, as in Purg. viii. 69. **livido:** the colour of envy (*livore*).

10–2. **Se qui,** &c.: 'if we wait here for persons of whom to inquire our way, I fear our choice of the direction to be followed will haply be long delayed.'

13–5. **al sole:** it was now past midday (Purg. xii. 81), and the Poets were on the northern side of the Mountain; consequently the sun was on their right hand. Virgil first looks towards the sun, and then 'faces right about' towards it. The military precision with which this movement is made is perhaps a sort of homage to the great luminary, which he then proceeds to address.

18. **come,** &c.: 'as one requires to be conducted.'

21. **duci:** the result of this is that, following the course of the sun, they move forward along the Cornice towards the right.

22, 23. **di qua:** 'here on earth.' **migliaio:** the last four

vowels of this word form metrically one syllable; cp. *Tegghiaio*, Inf. vi. 79. **di là**: 'onwards.' **iti**: for *andati*; cp. Purg. xi. 124.

27. **cortesi inviti**: the 'courteous invitations to the feast of love' are exhortations to large-heartedness or charity, the virtue that is the opposite of the vice of envy, which is here expiated. These are uttered by spirits passing through the air, but who the spirits are we are not told. They consist of the usual examples of the virtue—in this case two in number—together with our Lord's command to love our enemies. These three utterances represent three forms of charity, viz. (1) consideration of the wants of others; (2) self-sacrifice for the sake of others; (3) forgiveness of injuries done by others.

29. **Vinum non habent**: this is what the Virgin said at the marriage feast at Cana in Galilee (John ii. 3), showing her thoughtful care for others.

31–3. **del tutto**, &c.: 'had ceased entirely to be heard owing to the distance.' **Io sono Oreste**: this was the exclamation of Pylades, when he desired to personate Orestes, and to be put to death in his stead. Dante's authority for the story was probably Cicero, *De Amicit.* vii. 24, for he was well acquainted with that work. **anco**, &c.: 'this voice also stayed not its course.'

36. **Amate**, &c.: from the Sermon on the Mount, Matt. v. 44.

39. **Tratte**, &c.: 'the lashes of the scourge are derived from love'; i. e. the heinousness of their sin is brought home to the envious by the examples and precepts which enforce the opposite virtue.

40. **Lo fren**: the bridle, or, as we say, the deterrent from sin, is found in the examples of the ruin which envy entails on the envious (Purg. xiv. 133–9). These are **del contrario suono** because their moral is not love but fear.

42. **passo del perdono**: the Pass of Pardon is the passage through the rock, which leads from this Cornice to the next. It is at the entrance to this that they meet the Angel (Purg. xv. 34–6), who, as we infer from what happened in Cornice I, removes the second P from Dante's forehead.

45. **lungo la grotta**: 'against the face of the cliff.'

48. **color**: the livid colour of envy; cp. l. 9.

50. **Maria**, &c.: the Church Office which is used in this Cornice is the Litany of the Saints.

52. **ancoi**: 'at the present time'; for *anche oggi*.

57. **Per gli occhi,** &c.: 'my load of grief found a vent through my eyes'; lit. 'I was drained of my grief through the passage of my eyes'; for **munto** cp. Inf. xii. 135.

59. **sofferia:** 'supported.' They were in pairs, with their backs against the rock, and propped up by one another's shoulders. The mutual help which this implies was an antidote to envy.

61–3. **a cui la roba falla:** 'poverty-stricken'; cp. Inf. xxiv. 7. **Stanno,** &c.: 'station themselves at places where indulgences are granted,' i. e. at pilgrimage churches and similar holy places. **avvalla:** 'reclines,' lit. 'lowers.'

66. **agogna:** 'craves help.'

67, 68. **approda:** if this word is derived from *pro*, *prode*, 'advantage' (Lat. *prodesse*), the meaning is 'does not benefit,' cp. Inf. xxi. 78; if, on the other hand, it is derived from *proda*, 'shore,' it means 'arrives at'; 'the sun does not reach their eyes.' **là 'v' io,** &c.: 'in the place of which I was just speaking.'

71. **cuce:** in the punishment of the envious by sewing up their eyes the retribution corresponds to the sin, because envy arises from looking in a malignant spirit at the prosperity of others; cp. l. 135, 'occhi con invidia volti.' At the same time there is an allusion to the etymology of *invidia*, as being derived from *in* and *video*. **come a sparvier:** Philalethes (p. 119) refers to the emperor Frederic II as mentioning in his treatise on Falconry that this practice was in use in taming hawks; the technical name for the operation was *cileare*.

73, 74. **A me,** &c.: 'I seemed to myself as I passed along to be committing an act of outrage in seeing others without being seen myself.' This feeling impels Dante to reveal himself to the spirits.

76–8. **lo muto:** 'though I had not opened my lips.' **arguto:** 'to the point.'

79–81. **Virgilio,** &c.: to protect Dante from the risk of falling over, since there was no parapet encircling the Cornice, Virgil places himself on his outer side. **da quella banda:** 'towards that side'; for **banda** cp. Inf. xviii. 80.

82–4. **devote:** 'devout,' as being engaged in chanting the Litany. **che per,** &c.: 'who were pressing out the tears through the grievous stitching of the eyelids.'

85–7. **sicura,** &c.: here, as elsewhere in Purgatory, Dante shows his sympathy with the souls in pain by referring, not so much to

their present suffering, as to the certainty of their future blessedness; and in this instance he introduces the aspect of that blessedness which appealed most forcibly to them in their sightless condition, viz. the sight of God. **Che,** &c.: 'which is the sole object of your longings.'

88. **Se:** 'so may,' the usual form of appeal. **le schiume,** &c.: a limpid stream is a natural image to represent the current of pure thoughts; the conscience is the channel through which they flow; the **schiume** are the accretions of sinful feelings, like envy, which impede their passage through that channel; these accretions are removed by divine grace by means of the sufferings of Purgatory.

91–3. **chè mi fia,** &c.: 'for the news will be acceptable and welcome to me.' **latina:** Italian; cp. Purg. xi. 58. **sarà buon:** because Dante might persuade his friends on earth to pray for him. **I' apparo:** 'learn his name.'

95, 96. **una vera città:** the city of God. **tu vuoi,** &c.: 'you mean, a spirit that lived in Italy during its pilgrimage on earth.'

99. **mi feci,** &c.: 'I made myself heard (by raising my voice) still farther on.'

100, 101. **aspettava,** &c.: 'wore an expectant look'; cp. Purg. vii. 97. **se volesse,** &c.: 'if you ask how expectancy was expressed in its looks.'

103. **che per salir,** &c.: 'who dost subdue thyself (by penance) that thou mayest rise'; the underlying idea is—'he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.'

106–8. **I' fui Sanese:** this is Sapia of Siena; her story is sufficiently given in what follows. **Lagrimando,** &c.: 'praying him with tears to vouchsafe himself to us,' i. e. to grant us his presence.

114. **discendendo,** &c.: Sapia means that she was past middle age; cp. *Conv.* iv. 24. ll. 30, 31, 'il colmo del nostro arco è nelli trentacinque.'

115–7. **Colle:** a town of Tuscany near Volterra, in the neighbourhood of which the Sienese, commanded by Provenzan Salvani (on whom see note on Purg. xi. 109), were defeated by the Florentines. Sapia, who was in exile there, watched the battle from a tower. **di quel ch' ei volle:** her request (that they might be discomfited) coincided with what God had ordained. She obtained her wish, but not in answer to her prayer.

119, 120. **Passi:** 'straits,' 'difficulties'; cp. Par. iv. 91; xxx. 22. **a tutte,** &c.: 'surpassing every other joy.'

123. **Come,** &c.: 'as the blackbird does when there is a short spell of fair weather.' The story to which Dante is referring is, that the blackbird, when a succession of fine days occurs in winter time, exclaims, 'I fear thee no more, O Lord, for the winter is over.' It is said also that in Lombardy the warm days at the end of January are called 'i giorni della merla.'

125, 126. **ancor,** &c.: 'my debt would not yet be reduced by penance,' i. e. 'I should not yet be in the way of expiating my sin'; in other words, 'I should still be in Ante-Purgatory,' having deferred repentance to the end of my life.

128, 129. **Pier Pettinagno:** a hermit who lived in the neighbourhood of Siena. **A cui,** &c.: 'who was distressed for me,' 'felt compassion for me.'

132. **come io credo:** the blind are naturally observant, and so Sapia infers that Dante is not blind from his moving about, and from his speaking as if he was not undergoing the punishment of this Cornice.

133–5. **Gli occhi,** &c.: 'I shall be deprived of my eyesight here' by the 'orribile costura.' **ancor:** 'hereafter,' i. e. when he would have to undergo Purgatory. **l' offesa,** &c.: 'the sin that they have committed by envious glances.'

136–8. **sospesa:** 'preoccupied'; cp. Purg. xii. 78. **Che già,** &c.: 'for the weight which presses on the necks of the spirits in the lower (first) Cornice already weighs me down.' Dante confesses that pride is his besetting sin.

140. **giù:** 'to the Cornice below,' with reference to *laggiù*, l. 138.

142–4. **richiedi:** 'proffer thy request.' **mova,** &c.: 'exert myself among the living (lit. move my mortal feet in the world beyond) hereafter for thee,' i. e. endeavour to obtain for thee the intercessions of others.

148–50. **per quel,** &c.: 'by thy dearest object of desire,' i. e. by thy hope of eternal life. **mi rinfami:** by assuring them that I am not in Hell but in Purgatory, and consequently that their prayers will avail for me. The hope of obtaining intercessory prayer, it will be observed, is what both Dante (ll. 143, 144) and Sapia herself (l. 147) have been referring to. It is not meant that she desired to be favourably remembered by the living, for the spirits in Purgatory do not long for this, as those in Hell do (see note on Inf. vi. 89).

151. **vana**: for this as an epithet of the Sienese cp. Inf. xxix. 122. Here, as elsewhere in the *Div. Com.*, the traditional hostility of the Florentines to the Sienese is apparent in Dante's remarks.

152. **Talamone**: a port of the Sienese on the coast of the Maremma, on which they spent much money, but failed to make it serviceable owing to the unhealthiness of the spot. **perderagli**: **gli** is for *vi*, as in l. 7.

153. **la Diana**: a subterranean stream, which the Sienese spent much money in searching for, in order to supplement their water supply. Subsequently to Dante's time they found such a stream; and a well called the *pozzo Diana* is now shown in the convent of S. Maria del Carmine there.

154. **Ma più**, &c.: 'but the officers in command there will expend more upon it than their hopes,' viz. their lives. For the use of *mettere* here cp. Villani, vii. 8, 'la parte ghibellina, ch' io ho cotanto servita e messo in loro cotanto tesoro.'

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT.—Dante is recognized as being a living man by two spirits, Guido del Duca and Rinieri da Calboli, who were natives of Romagna. When they discover that his birthplace was in the valley of the Arno, the former of them first denounces the vices which characterized the peoples who dwelt along the course of that stream, and afterwards proclaims the degeneracy of the great families in the cities of Romagna. Dante and Virgil, as they proceed, hear other voices in the air, resembling the former ones but loud as thunder, which recall examples of the disastrous effects of envy.

LINE 1. **Chi è**, &c.: the two spirits who are here introduced as conversing with one another—Guido del Duca and Rinieri da Calboli—have overheard part of Dante's conversation with Sapia, and consequently are aware that he is alive and in the body, and that he has a companion; cp. Purg. xiii. 141, 142.

5, 6. **che più**, &c.: 'who art nearer to him than I am.' **acco' lo**: for *accoglilo*; cp. *raccogli* for *raccoglieli*, Inf. xviii. 18.

7–9. **chini**: resting against one another with their shoulders, as described in Purg. xiii. 59. **a man dritta**: as Dante was facing the rock when talking to Sapia, and these spirits were further on, they would be on his right. **supini**: 'upturned'; cp. Purg. xiii. 102, 'Lo mento, a guisa d' orbo, in su levava.'

10–2. **l' uno**: Guido del Duca. **ditta**: here used for *di'*.

14. **tua grazia**: 'the grace conceded to thee.'

17, 18. **Un fiumicel**: the Arno, which is here called 'a small stream,' probably because its source is mentioned in the words which follow. **Falterona**: this is the name of the ridge of the Apennines which rises to the NE. of Florence. **sazia**: the use of the sing. here with a plur. subject is a construction according to sense, **cento miglia di corso** being equivalent to *un corso di cento miglia*.

19. **Di sopr' esso**: from its banks, i. e. from Florence.

22. **accarno**: the first sense of *accarnare* is 'to penetrate the flesh,' of a tooth or a weapon; hence metaphorically it signifies 'to penetrate the meaning of.'

25. **l' altro**: Rinieri da Calboli.

29. **Si sdebitò**: 'delivered itself,' 'expressed its sentiments.' In what follows Guido del Duca traces the course of the Arno from its source to its mouth, and denounces the vices of those who dwelt on its banks, designating the inhabitants of the Casentino as hogs on account of their brutishness (ll. 43–5), the people of Arezzo as curs because of their mean and quarrelsome temper (ll. 46–8), the Florentines as wolves for their rapacity (ll. 49–51), and the Pisans as foxes for their cunning (ll. 52–4).

30. **valle**: both here and in l. 41 **valle** means the Val d' Arno; but notwithstanding this the river itself is implied, for it is this which is referred to in *principio suo* (l. 31) and *si rende* (l. 34).

31. **dov' è**, &c.: the description which Dante here gives of the Apennines as 'the rugged mountain from which Pelorum is torn away' illustrates his love of physical geography; for, whereas the feature of which he is here speaking is the Monte Falterona in the northern part of the chain, he carries us to the other extremity of Italy to remind us that the chain had been broken through by a convulsion of nature at the Straits of Messina, in accordance with the view that prevailed on that subject among Greek and Roman poets and geographers. **pregno**: this epithet is best explained of the 'prolific' character of this part of the chain, since at this point the

Apennines form a knot, from which several branches diverge. Others refer it to the abundance of water, of which *pregno* is used in Purg. v. 118; Par. x. 68; and this view they support by the fact that both the Arno and the Tiber have their sources in this neighbourhood. Others again take it as signifying elevation, and in illustration of this quote Lucan's description of the Apennines (*Phars.* ii. 396–438), where *intumuit* (l. 398) is thought to correspond to **pregno** here. The mountains, however, of which Lucan is speaking in that passage, are those at the back of Capua; and Dante must have been well aware that the Monte Falterona is far from being the highest point of the Apennines.

32, 33. **Peloro:** the disruption of Sicily from Italy at this point is referred to by Lucan in the passage just mentioned (ll. 437, 438), and is more fully described in Virg. *Aen.* iii. 414–9. **passa,** &c.: 'it exceeds that measure (lit. mark)'; the meaning of this will depend on the interpretation of *pregno* above.

34–6. **Infin,** &c.: 'as far as the point (the mouth of the Arno) where it yields itself up in compensation for those particles of the sea which the heat of the atmosphere absorbs, and which provide the rivers with their train of waters.'

37. **per nimica si fuga:** 'is driven out as an enemy.'

38, 39. **o per sventura,** &c.: 'either from ill fortune attaching to the spot, or from bad habit which goads them on.' The two influences which are here intended are divine appointment and human freewill; the **sventura Del loco,** according to Dante's view of the scheme of Providence, would be caused by planetary influences; see note on Purg. xvi. 63.

42. **par che,** &c.: 'one might think they had been bred in Circe's sty'; *avere in pastura* means 'to feed.' The reference is to Circe's changing human beings into the forms of various beasts, Virg. *Aen.* vii. 17–20.

43–5. **brutti porci:** the rude inhabitants of the Casentino in the upper valley of the Arno. **povero calle:** 'feeble course,' with reference to the scanty supply of water in this part; cp. Purg. xvi. 2, 'pover cielo.'

46–8. **Botoli:** 'curs'; by these the people of Arezzo are meant. **Ringhiosi,** &c.: 'disposed to snarl more than their force requires,' i. e. there is more bark than bite in them. **Ed a lor,** &c.: 'and contemptuously makes a wry face (lit. twists its muzzle) at them.'

What is here described is the course of the Arno in this part, for, whereas before it approaches Arezzo it flows towards the SE., in the neighbourhood of that city it bends sharp round towards the NW. This being the case, it seems perhaps preferable to read (with Casini) *E da lor*, 'it contemptuously turns away its muzzle from them.' **disdegnosa**: this agrees with *valle* supplied from above, and signifying the river; see note on l. 30.

50, 51. **di can farsi lupi**: the dogs of Arezzo are replaced by the wolves of Florence; thus the river passes from bad to worse. The wolf is the emblem of rapacity. **fossa**: 'dike,' a contemptuous term for 'river.'

52–4. **più pelaghi cupi**: 'many a deep abyss'; this refers to the gorges through which the river passes above Empoli. **volpi**: the Pisans are so designated on account of their fraudulent cunning. **ingegno**, &c.: 'any form of cleverness that can master them.'

55. **perch' altri m' oda**: 'because I speak in the presence of others.' The statement is put in a general form, but refers to Rinieri, who might be distressed at the mention of the misdeeds of a member of his family, and to Dante, who might be ashamed at hearing the terms which are applied to Florence.

56, 57. **costui**: Dante; it will be good for him, because he will learn what disasters await his party, so that he may himself be forewarned. **se ancor**, &c.: 'if hereafter (i. e. when he has returned to the world of the living) he remembers that which a truthful inspiration unravels (i. e. clearly reveals) to me.'

58–60. **tuo nipote**: Fulcieri da Calboli, grandson of Rinieri, who was made Podestà of Florence in 1302, and fiercely persecuted the White Guelfs, whom Dante, notwithstanding that they were of his party, classes among the *lupi* on account of their greed. **fiero**: 'the cruel river,' even the name of which should be concealed (ll. 25–30) on account of the malignity of those who dwelt on its banks.

61–3. **Vende**, &c.: this seem to mean—'violates their persons for gain,' the reference being to his torturing his victims, on the strength of which he was continued in his office for six months longer. **come antica belva**: 'like ancient beeves' (Longf.). **pregio**: 'good repute.'

64–6. **trista selva**: Florence. Fulcieri is spoken of as leaving Florence (**esce**) because, not being a Florentine, he only resided

there during his term of office. **primaio**: the last three vowels of this word form metrically one syllable; cp. *beccaio*, Purg. xx. 52; *gennaio*, Par. xxvii. 142. **non si rinselva**: 'does not regain its foliage.'

69. **qualche**: for *qualunque*. **assanni**: 'grips.'

71, 72. **Stava**: here, as often elsewhere, *stare* merely signifies position. The spirits were seated on the ground. **a sè raccolta**: 'laid to heart,' 'fully comprehended.'

77, 78. **mi deduca**: 'should condescend.' **che tu**, &c.: cp. l. 20.

81. **Guido del Duca**: little is known of his history.

84. **di livore sparso**: 'tinged with a livid hue.'

87. **Là 'v' è**, &c.: 'where interdict of partnership must be' (Longf.), i. e. on objects which do not admit of being shared by others; temporal, as distinguished from spiritual, goods are meant. The Poet recurs to these words in Purg. xv. 44. The construction is—**ove divieto di consorto è mestieri.**

91–3. **E non pur**, &c.: Dante proceeds by the mouth of Guido to lament over the demoralization of the Romagna. **brullo**, &c.: 'destitute of the good qualities (**del ben**) required for righteous dealing (**il vero**) and gentle living (**il trastullo**, lit. amusement),' in other words, 'for well-ordered society.' **Tra il Po**, &c.: the country intended in this line is the Romagna, which is described by its boundaries, viz. to the N. the Po, to the S. the Apennines (**il monte**), to the E. the Adriatic (**la marina**), to the W. the river Reno which flows near Bologna.

94–6. **è ripieno**: the subject of the sentence is 'the land' understood; cp. Purg. ix. 54; x. 79. **tardi**, &c.: 'it would be long before they could be reduced by cultivation': the **sterpi** are the demoralized families.

97. **Lizio**: this name, and the others which follow, are those of the virtuous gentlemen of the Romagna of former times: little is known of their history.

100–2. **si ralligna**: 'takes root again.' **Verga gentil**, &c.: i. e. a man of noble character, though of humble extraction.

105, 106. **vivette**: for *visse*. **brigata**: 'company,' 'associates'; cp. Inf. xxix. 130.

108. **diretata**: 'devoid of heirs'; from Low Lat. *dehaeritare*: in mod. Italian it would be *diredata*. The two families here spoken of belonged to Ravenna.

109, 110. **gli affanni**, &c.: 'the toils and the repose, which inspired our souls with love and courtesy.'

112. **Brettinoro**: now Bertinoro, a small town between Forlì and Cesena; it was Guido del Duca's own birthplace. The family which is spoken of in l. 113 is probably that of the Mainardi.

115, 116. **Bagnacaval**: this place and the two following were castles belonging to powerful families.

118–20. **i Pagan**: the Pagani were lords of Faenza and Imola; the head of the family was Maghinardo, surnamed 'the Devil.' 'They will conduct themselves aright from the time when their Devil departs; but, for all that (**però**), not so that their record can ever be untarnished,' because Maghinardo had permanently compromised the reputation of the family. Maghinardo is the 'leoncel dal nido bianco' of Inf. xxvii. 50.

121. **sicuro**: he died without heirs, so that there was no longer any fear of his name being compromised.

125, 126. **Troppo**: 'far'; cp. Purg. xii. 116. **ragion**: for *ragionamento*, cp. Purg. xxii. 130; 'so much has our discourse distressed my mind.'

128. **però**, &c.: 'as they knew in which direction we were going, and said nothing to the contrary, we concluded that we were right.'

130, 131. **Poi**: for *Poichè*. The voices in the air which are now heard proclaim examples of the punishment of envy, viz. Cain and Aglauros. **Folgore**: 'thunder.'

133. **Anciderammi**, &c.: Cain's exclamation in Gen. iv. 14, 'every one that findeth me shall slay me'; Cain's envy is noticed in 1 John iii. 12.

134, 135. **si dilegua**: 'dies away.' **scoscende**: 'it rends the cloud'; for the etymology of the word see note on Inf. xvii. 121.

136–8. **ebbe tregua**: 'had truce from it'; when it ceased to strike the ear. **ed**: 'thereupon'; see note on Inf. xxv. 34. **tuonar**, &c.: 'a thunder-clap following quickly on another,' i. e. on that mentioned in l. 134.

139. **Aglauro**: the story of Aglauros is told in different ways; but the version of it to which Dante is alluding is that found in Ovid, *Met.* ii. 708 foll., in which alone envy is a prominent feature. Aglauros, finding that Hermes was in love with her sister Herse, attempted to prevent him from entering Herse's house; on which she was changed by him into a stone.

140. **ristringermi**: from fear of the terrible voices.

143, 144. **camo**: 'the bit' here, like *lo fren* in Purg. xiii. 40, expresses the deterrent force of these examples. The word **camo** is taken from Ps. xxxi. 9 (Vulg.), 'in camo et freno maxillas eorum constringe.' **sua meta**: the bounds of duty.

145–7. **l' esca**: the devil's bait is the temptation to sin. **richiamo**: the metaphor here is changed; the **richiamo** is the 'recall' of a falcon; cp. Inf. iii. 117. The nature of the 'recall' is explained in the lines that follow.

151. **vi batte**, &c.: 'the all-seeing God punishes you.'

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT.—An angel of dazzling brightness points out to them the passage leading upwards. As they ascend, Virgil solves a doubt which had arisen in Dante's mind from an expression in Guido del Duca's speech, concerning the participation with others of temporal and spiritual blessings. When the third Cornice is reached, in which the sin of anger is expiated, Dante sees an ecstatic vision, in which three examples of gentleness are presented to him.

LINE 1. **Quanto**, &c.: the first five lines of the Canto are intended to express—though they do so with great circumlocution—that it was now about 3 p.m. in Purgatory. Paraphrase thus—'As much as is seen (**par**) of the sun's path (of the movement of the sphere in which the sun is fixed) between the end of the third hour (9 a.m.) and the beginning of the day' (i. e. inverting the form of statement, 'between 6 and 9 a.m.'), 'so much of his course towards nightfall (i. e. about three hours) seemed at this moment to remain'; that is, it was about 3 p.m.

2, 3. **par**: 'is seen,' i. e. along which the sun is seen to pass. **della spera**, &c.: 'the sphere which is ever in restless motion like a child' is the celestial sphere in which the sun is fixed, and which contains the ecliptic, or the path of the sun through the heavens. It is said to be in restless motion (**scherza** does not here mean *wayward* motion), because it is revolving unceasingly in company with the sun round the earth.

6. **Vespero là**, &c.: this line expresses in a different way the same thing as has been expressed in the preceding lines. **Vespero** is used by Dante of the last of the four divisions of the day, viz. from 3 to 6 p.m. (*Conv.* iv. 23. ll. 129–33). 'It was 3 o'clock in Purgatory (**là**), and consequently in Italy, where the Poet is writing (**qui**), it was midnight.' The latter of these statements becomes clear, if we understand that, as it was 3 p.m. in Purgatory, it would be 3 a.m. in Jerusalem, which was antipodal to it; and it would be three hours earlier, i. e. midnight, in Italy, for according to Dante's mathematical geography Italy was 45° westward of Jerusalem, and 45° of distance = three hours of time. (45°, being $\frac{1}{8}$ of 360°—the circumference of the earth—corresponds to three hours, which are $\frac{1}{8}$ of 24 hours, or the time occupied by a revolution of the sun.)

7, 8. **per mezzo il naso**: directly in front. **sì**: 'so far'; as they started from the east, and at this point began to face westwards, they had now completed one-fourth of the circuit of the Mountain.

10–2. **io senti'**, &c.: Dante here describes the dazzling appearance of the Angel of the second Cornice, who was now in front of him. 'I perceived that my brows (my eyesight) were overpowered by the brilliant light far more than at the first, and something—I knew not what—dazed me.'

13–5. **Ond' io**, &c.: Dante here shades his eyes with his hands. **Che**, &c.: 'which diminishes (lit. files away a part of) the excessive brightness of an object.' **il visibile** here is a subst. (cp. *il sensibile*, Purg. xxxii. 15), and **soperchio** is an adj. agreeing with it; lit. 'the excessive visible object.' The expression is from Ar. *De An.* ii. 12. 3, *τῶν αἰσθητῶν αἱ ὑπερβολαί.*

16. **Come**, &c.: the light which emanates from the angel is reflected into Dante's eyes from the surface of the Cornice in front of him. This he compares to the reflexion of a sunbeam from water or from a mirror.

18, 19. **per lo modo**, &c.: i. e. at a corresponding angle to that at which it falls.

20. **Dal cader della pietra**: 'from the perpendicular'; as we say, 'from the plummet line.' **in egual tratta**: this is an expansion of the meaning contained in **tanto**; 'deviates as far as the descending ray does, at an equal distance from it (the perpendicular).'

23, 24. **percosso**: 'that the ground in front of me was smitten'; the subst. is understood, as in Purg. xiv. 94. **a fuggir**, &c.: i. e. 'I quickly turned my eyes away.'

26. **tanto**, &c.: 'so much that it (my sight) may avail me'; i. e. sufficiently to enable me to see.

30. **ch' uom saglia**: 'that we (lit. one) should ascend'; *uomo* in this use corresponds to Fr. *on*; cp. Purg. iv. 27.

33. **Quanto**, &c.: 'even to the utmost capacity of thy nature.'

34–6. **Poi**: for *Poichè*. **vie men**, &c.: the ascents from cornice to cornice become less steep in proportion as they are higher up the Mountain.

39. **retro**: 'in our rear'; this Beatitude salutes Dante on his leaving the Cornice where envy is punished.

42. **Prode**: 'advantage,' from Lat. *prodesse*. The word is shown to be of the neut. gender by Par. vii. 26, 'a suo prode.'

44, 45. **lo spirto**, &c.: Guido del Duca. **"divieto" e "consorto"**: 'interdict and partnership'; in Purg. xiv. 87 Guido blames the human race for setting their affections on temporal goods, which do not admit of being shared by others (*consorto divieto*); in what follows, Virgil is made to explain the difference between spiritual and temporal goods in respect of their being, or not being, participated in by many persons.

46–8. **Di sua**, &c.: 'the detriment arising from his greatest failing (envy)'; by the detriment he means his punishment. **non s' ammiri**, &c.: 'it is not surprising (lit. let no one wonder) if he reproves men (*gente umana*, Purg. xiv. 86) for it, in order that they may rue it the less.'

49–51. **Perchè**, &c.: 'it is because your desires are pointed at things, a portion of which is lost (lit. deducted) when they are shared, that envy plies the bellows to excite your regrets'; in other words—'The reason why men's hearts are inflamed by envy is, that the objects which they desire are temporal advantages, which are diminished by being shared with others.'

54. **quella tema**: the fear of your advantages being lessened.

55–7. **per quanti**, &c.: 'in heaven (lì) the increase in the number of those who share its blessings multiplies proportionately the blessings enjoyed by each individually, and enhances the love that burns in that mansion.' **si dice . . . nostro**: 'the word "ours" is used.' **chiostro**: cp. Purg. xxvi. 128.

58–60. **Io son,** &c.: 'I lack satisfaction more'; for this use of **digiuno** cp. Inf. xviii. 42. **aduno:** 'I gather'; 'more doubt arises in my mind'; cp. Inf. vii. 52.

63. **Di sè:** take with **ricchi,** 'rich in the enjoyment of it.'

66. **Di vera,** &c.: 'thou pluckest darkness from the very light' (Longf.), i. e. the clearness of my explanations only produces perplexity in thy mind.

67–9. **bene:** God, the fountain of love, is meant. 'The love which emanates from God is communicated to men in proportion to their power of receiving it, just as the rays of the sun cause objects to be brilliant in proportion to their luminous nature.'

70–2. **ardore:** the fire of love. 'God communicates his love in proportion to the love he finds in men.' **Cresce,** &c.: 'the might of God's love increases so as to magnify it,' lit. 'over it,' sc. **carità.**

73–5. **quanta gente,** &c.: 'in proportion as the number of the inhabitants of heaven who have this fellow-feeling (**s' intende,** 'are in accord') is increased, there are more to feel pure love, and consequently more love is felt there, and this is reflected from one to the other.'

76, 77. **ragion:** for *ragionamento,* 'argument.' **Beatrice:** as the question is strictly a theological one, Virgil rightly refers him to Beatrice, who represents theology.

79–81. **Procaccia:** 'use diligence'; cp. Purg. xvii. 62. **che tosto,** &c.: 'that the remaining five of the seven P's may be soon erased from your forehead.' **si richiudon,** &c.: 'are healed up by means of contrition.'

82–4. **appaghe:** for *appaghi.* This word contains the answer to Virgil's doubt in l. 76. **le luci vaghe:** 'my eager eyes,' i. e. desirous of seeing new objects; cp. Purg. x. 104.

85. **Ivi:** in this, the third Cornice, (1) the sin punished is anger; (2) the mode of punishment is by being enveloped in a dense atmosphere of smoke; (3) the examples of the opposite virtue, viz. gentleness, are the Blessed Virgin, Pisistratus, and St. Stephen; (4) the examples of the vice are Procne, Haman, and Amata; (5) the manner of their presentation is by an ecstatic vision; (6) the Church Office is the *Agnus Dei*; (7) the Beatitude is *Beati pacifici.*

87. **più persone:** the Jewish doctors, in the midst of whom in the temple our Lord was found by his Mother; Luke ii. 46. The

mildness of the Virgin's remonstrance to her Son is the first example of gentleness.

93. **Ciò che pareva prima**: the first scene in the vision.

94. **un' altra**: the story which follows is this. A young man who was in love with Pisistratus' daughter kissed her in public, whereupon her mother begged of her husband that the offender should be punished; but Pisistratus replied, 'If we put to death those who show love towards us, what shall we do to those who hate us?' The authority for the incident is Valerius Maximus, v. 1. *Ext.* 2, where it is mentioned as an example of 'Humanitas et Clementia.'

96. **dispetto in**: 'indignation against.'

98. **Del cui nome**, &c.: from Ovid, *Met.* vi. 71, 'antiquam de terrae nomine litem.' In the lines which follow this Ovid describes the contest between Neptune and Minerva for the privilege of giving their name to Athens.

107, 108. **un giovinetto**: the third example is St. Stephen praying for his murderers, Acts vii. 54 foll. There is nothing in the Scripture narrative which implies that St. Stephen was a young man, but an idea to that effect seems to have prevailed, and has found its expression in art. Mrs. Jameson says of him (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. ii. p. 532), 'he is generally represented young.' **a sè**: 'one to another.'

109–14. **chinarsi**: 'he kneeled down,' v. 60. **degli occhi**, &c.: 'he looked up steadfastly into heaven,' v. 55. **guerra**: 'painful struggle'; cp. Inf. ii. 4, 'la guerra del cammino.' **pietà disserra**: 'calls forth (lit. unlocks) the compassion of others.'

115–7. **tornò**, &c.: 'returned to the outer world (from its previous condition of rapture) to those realities which are external to it,' i. e. to the objects of sense. **Io riconobbi**, &c.: 'I recognized the vanity of my imaginations, which yet had a true significance.' They were **non falsi**, because they represented real events, and conveyed a true moral.

119, 120. **dal sonno si slega**: 'is shaking off sleep.' **non ti puoi tenere**: 'canst not stand upright,' lit. 'hold thyself up.'

122, 123. **Velando**, &c.: 'with eyes half closed and with unsteady gait.' **piega**: 'overpowers,' lit. 'bends.'

127. **Se tu avessi**, &c.: cp. Inf. xxiii. 25–7, where Virgil had already assured Dante of his power of reading his inmost thoughts.

130, 131. **Ciò che,** &c.: 'the object of the vision was, that you may not excuse yourself from,' &c.; **scuse** for *ti scusi*. **acque della pace,** &c.: the waters of divine peace are the spirit of gentleness, which is the antidote to anger, and of which Dante is to learn the lessons in passing through this Cornice.

133–6. **Non domandai,** &c.: Virgil, having just assured Dante that he is acquainted with his inmost thoughts, now proceeds to explain to him what was his object in asking him the question, 'What ails thee, that thou canst not stand upright?' l. 120. The general purport of what he says is—'I asked this, not in order to learn your condition, as one gifted only with mortal sight would do—I have no need to do this, because I know already what was occupying your thoughts, and so caused you to reel in walking—but I did so in order to stimulate you to exertion.' **per quel che,** &c.: lit. 'with the object with which a person would ask the question, who looks only with the eye which ceases to see when the body lies deserted by the soul (in death),' i. e. with a mortal eye.

138. **vigilia:** 'wakefulness'; the present clause describes Dante's condition, viz. that having regained consciousness he failed to exert himself.

139–41. **per lo vespero:** 'during the evening hour.' **attenti Oltre:** 'gazing onward.' **raggi serotini:** 'rays of evening,' which consequently shone straight in their faces.

144. **da cansarsi:** 'to escape from it'; the smoke occupied the whole width of the Cornice.

CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT.—Dante finds himself enveloped in a dense smoke, in the midst of which are heard voices singing the *Agnus Dei*; these proceed from spirits who are being purged from the sin of anger. One of them, Marco Lombardo, explains to Dante that, though the life of man is affected by planetary influences, yet he is in no sense enslaved by them, because his will remains free; and that what is most needed for his welfare is a central governing power by which the laws may be enforced. Such an agency, how-

ever, is rendered impossible by the present attitude of the Papacy, which claims for itself the temporal as well as the spiritual power.

LINES 1–3. **Buio**: here used as a subst.; 'darkness of Hell, or of night, when night is bereft of every planet beneath a barren sky (lit. a sky impoverished of stars), overcast to the utmost by clouds.' The symbolism seems to be, that anger, which is 'a brief madness,' clouds the judgement and obscures the conscience, in the same way as smoke takes away the power of sight. Smoke, moreover, like anger, is harsh and irritating.

6. **Nè a sentir**, &c.: 'nor did the darkness ever make to my sight a veil of so hard texture to feel.'

8. **saputa**: 'sagacious,' like *savio*, 'sage,' the familiar epithet of Virgil, only **saputa** has the sense of practical wisdom.

15. **mozzo**: 'separated'; lit. 'cut off.'

17. **per pace**, &c.: in the *Agnus Dei*, which these spirits were singing, the bestowal of peace and mercy is the burden of the prayer—'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, da nobis pacem.' The English of these words is familiar in our Litany.

20, 21. **Una parola**, &c.: 'all used the same words and the same tone'; the 'concord' thus produced is contrasted with the discord arising from anger.

24. **solvendo il nodo**: 'untying the knot'; freeing themselves from the bondage of the sin of anger, which keeps them from ascending to heaven.

25–7. **fendi**: 'passest through.' **pur, come se**, &c.: 'just as if thou wert not one of us, but wert in the number of the living'; lit. 'as if thou didst still divide (measure) time by calends,' as men do on earth. The Roman calends, as being the first day of every month, are here taken as a specimen division of time—'by such time-marks as calends.' The form **calendi** for *calende* is found also in Boccaccio and other writers.

30. **si va sue**: 'is the passage upward' to the next Cornice.

34–6. **quanto mi lece**: we see from Purg. xv. 142 that the smoke did not extend over the entire Cornice; consequently the spirits who were undergoing penance were confined within certain limits. **in quella vece**: 'instead thereof,' i. e. of seeing; cp. Inf. xxi. 10.

37–9. **fascia**: 'swathing band' (Longf.), i. e. the body or outer man, which enwraps the soul. **la infernale ambascia**: 'the anguish of Hell'; this is shown to be the meaning by the use of the same expression in this sense in Par. xxvi. 133.

40–2. **se**: 'inasmuch as'; but the conditional particle puts the statement more modestly. **richiuso**: 'enfolded,' 'embraced me in his grace'; cp. Par. ix. 102. **fuor**, &c.: 'unwonted in these latter days'; subsequently to St. Paul no living person had been carried up to heaven.

44, 45. **varco**: 'passage.' **tue parole**, &c.: i. e. the sound of your voice will guide us through the darkness of the smoke.

46. **Lombardo**: 'a Lombard.' Benvenuto says that he was called a Lombard because he was intimate with the leading men of his time in Lombardy. Little is known of this Marco, but he is said to have been a Venetian nobleman of the second half of Cent. xiii, who was learned and courteous.

47, 48. **valore**: 'worth,' 'nobility of character.' **disteso**: 'unbent'; 'at which men now neglect to aim.'

51. **su**: in Heaven.

55–7. **Prima**, &c.: the question (**dubbio**) in Dante's mind was concerning the cause of the deep-seated corruption of his age. This question first suggested itself when Guido del Duca affirmed the existence of that corruption (Purg. xiv. 37, 38, 'Virtù così per nemica si fuga Da tutti'), and so far it had only a single or simple force (**era scempio**), because it started from the statement of a single person; but its force was doubled (**fatto doppio**), when the existence of that corruption was asserted by Marco also (**Nella sentenza tua**), for the repetition of the statement caused Dante to feel certain of the fact from which the question originated in his mind (**quello ov' io l' accoppio**). **Qui ed altrove**: 'comparing the present with the former statement' (Marco's with Guido del Duca's). **quello**, &c.: lit. 'that to which I attach the question.'

59, 60. **suone**: for *suoni*, 'dost declare'; cp. ll. 47, 48. **di malizia**, &c.: 'big with malice and overshadowed by it.'

63. **nel ciel**, &c.: Guido del Duca had already suggested that in the formation of men's characters two powers were at work, viz. divine appointment and human freewill, when he said that the corruption of the inhabitants of the Arno valley was caused 'o per sventura Del loco, o per mal uso che li fruga,' Purg. xiv. 38, 39.

In the present passage the same thing is affirmed, but it is more definitely stated that the agency through which the divine appointment works is the influence of the planetary spheres (**il cielo**). By these the order of nature is determined, and the characters and fortunes of men are variously affected. This doctrine is concisely declared in Purg. xxx. 109–11, and is more fully set forth, together with an account of the Angels or Intelligences who direct these spheres, in Par. ii. 112 foll. The point in connexion with it which is now insisted on is, that notwithstanding these influences the will of man is free, and he is a responsible agent.

64. **strinse in 'hui'**: 'forced into a cry.'

68. **così come se**: 'just as if.'

71, 72. **non fora**, &c.: i. e. in that case there would be no justice in a system of rewards and punishments.

73–5. **Lo cielo**, &c.: 'the planets originate in the soul some at least of the impulses which move it.' **Lume**, &c.: 'light is given you (in reason and conscience, independent of planetary influences) to teach you right and wrong.'

76–8. **se fatica**, &c.: 'though it has to endure fatigue in its first encounters with the planetary influences (i. e. the conditions imposed by them), in the end wins a complete victory.' For the construction in **vince tutto** cp. Inf. viii. 122, 'vincerò la prova.'

79–81. **A maggior**, &c.: 'it is to a higher power and a better nature than that of the spheres (i. e. to the power and nature of God) that ye are subject, though still free; and this it is which creates the mind in you, which the spheres do not control.'

82–4. **disvia**: 'goes astray'; this is in answer to Dante's question in ll. 58 foll. **si cheggia**: 'let the cause be sought.' **vera spia**: 'a faithful pioneer,' to explain the matter.

85 foll. Marco, having combated the view that the planetary influences destroy man's freewill and his responsibility, proceeds to show the real cause of the prevailing corruption. The soul, he says, when it leaves its Creator's hands, naturally seeks after what pleases it, and is liable to be misled unless it is guided and restrained; hence arises the need of laws, and of one to administer them. But at the present time the laws are in abeyance owing to the paralysis of government arising from the spiritual power having appropriated the temporal power, and itself showing a bad example.

85, 86. **la vagheggia**, &c.: 'contemplates it lovingly before it

is created'; the idea of it has existed from the first in the Creator's mind. The view of the origin of the soul which is here given is that of Creationism—according to which it proceeds directly from God—as against that of Traducianism, which regards it as being inherited from the parents.

91. **picciol bene**: paltry enjoyments.

96. **Della vera cittade**: i. e. of the city of God; cp. Purg. xiii. 95. **la torre**: the bulwark or tower of defence which the ruler is to have in view is justice; cp. *De Mon.* i. 13. ll. 54–7, where Dante says of the Monarch, 'ipse vel omnino, vel maxime bene dispositus ad regendum esse potest, quia inter caeteros iudicium et iustitiam potissime habere potest.'

97, 98. **pon mano ad esse**: 'administers them.' **precede**: 'goes before the flock.'

99. **Ruminar**, &c.: the terms here used refer to the tests by which beasts were determined to be clean under the Mosaic law, viz. that they should chew the cud and divide the hoof (Lev. xi. 3). As applied to the Heads of the Church, the allegorical meaning of 'chewing the cud' seems to be the acquisition of wisdom by pondering on sources of knowledge; but in respect of 'dividing the hoof' the symbolism is twofold, as is shown by the use which the Poet makes of it in two separate passages. First, it signifies the practice of good morals, in accordance with what St. Augustine says—'Fissa enim ungula ad mores, ruminatio vero ad sapientiam pertinet. Quare ad mores fissa ungula? Quia difficile labitur' (*Serm.* cxlix. 3. 4); and it is applied in this sense in ll. 100–5, where it is explained that it was the unprincipled conduct of the Roman Court which had demoralized the world. Secondly, the dividing of the hoof represents the separation of the temporal and spiritual powers, which principle the popes had ignored. This interpretation is found in ll. 127–9, where the Church of Rome is spoken of as a beast of burden, which falls in the mud in consequence of its not distinguishing between these two spheres of government, the reference obviously being to the support given to such animals in slippery ground by the divided hoof (see note on ll. 127–9). The two allegorical applications are not wholly unconnected with one another, because it was greed of worldly gains which led to the appropriation of the temporal power by the Papacy.

101. **Pure a quel ben ferire**: 'aim only at that advantage.'

103. **mala condotta**: 'evil guidance.'

106, 107. **il buon mondo feo**: 'created the world of good order,' i. e. originated the good government of the world. **Due Soli**: these are the source of temporal guidance in the Empire, and that of spiritual guidance in the Papacy. The principle laid down in this passage is the text of Dante's *De Monarchia*. Dante here identifies Christian Rome, which **soleva due Soli aver**, with Pagan Rome, **che il buon mondo feo**; this is due to his belief in the continuity of the Roman power.

109–11. **L' un**, &c.: 'the spiritual power has extinguished the temporal,' by appropriating it to itself. **Per viva forza**: take with **convien**, 'must of necessity'; this use is illustrated by the corresponding phrase 'per viva necessità.'

112. **Perocchè**, &c.: while the two powers were in separate hands, they were restrained from transgression by fear of one another; now that they are in the same hands, that fear has ceased.

113, 114. **pon mente**, &c.: 'consider the ear of corn, for the plant is known by its fruits (**lo seme**)'; in other words—'look at the corruption which has arisen from it.' To illustrate this, Marco now adduces the condition of his own country, Lombardy.

115–7. **In sul paese**, &c.: 'the country irrigated by the Adige and the Po' is Lombardy in its widest acceptation, i. e. the entire plain of Upper Italy. Observe that both in this line and the next there is a singular verb with two subjects. **avesse briga**: 'was involved in strife.' The evil arising from the Popes taking up the sword is shown by the ruin that had befallen Lombardy owing to the conflict between Frederic II and Honorius III, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV.

118–20. **Or può**, &c.: the meaning is:—'at the present time so few good characters are left there, that a man, who from sense of shame at his own criminality wished to avoid holding communication with respectable persons, could pass through the country without fear of doing so (**sicuramente**).' **indi**: 'by that way.' **lasciasse**: 'has ceased to'; cp. Purg. xiv. 55.

121–3. **en**: for *enno* (= *sono*); cp. Par. xiii. 97. **in cui**, &c.: 'in whose persons the ancient age reproves the modern.' **par lor tardo**, &c.: 'they think it long, ere God remove them to a better life.'

124, 125. The three noblemen here mentioned were of Brescia, Treviso, and Reggio respectively. Little is known of them.

126. **Francescamente**: 'as the French are wont to do'; he is said to have been hospitable and helpful to the French who passed through his country. **il semplice Lombardo**: 'the guileless Lombard,' in contrast to the Lombard usurers, from whom the Rue des Lombards in Paris and Lombard Street in London obtained their names. This contrast gives its point to **Francescamente**.

127–9. **oggimai**: 'henceforward.' **la Chiesa**, &c.: the Church of Rome is here likened to a beast of burden slipping in the mud in consequence of its not dividing the hoof. The purpose served by the cloven hoof in the animals that possess it is to steady their footsteps in yielding or slippery ground by the additional support which is thus given to them. This is what St. Augustine means in the passage quoted in note to l. 99, when he says, 'Fissa ungula . . . . difficile labitur.' The separation of the temporal from the spiritual government of the world, and the assignment of them to the Emperor and the Pope respectively, is compared to the cloven hoof in respect of the safety which it affords; but the Church of Rome (the Poet says) by combining in its own hands these two spheres of government destroyed this safeguard, and so broke down, and brought disgrace both on itself and on the office which it discharged. **la soma**: 'the burden which it carries,' i. e. the work of government which it has taken upon it.

131, 132. **perchè**, &c.: cp. Deut. xviii. 2, 'They (the tribe of Levi) shall have no inheritance among their brethren'; the reason for this injunction, which Dante now perceives, was that they might not be entangled in the care of temporalities; cp. *De Mon.* iii. 14. ll. 29–35.

133, 134. **quel che**, &c.: 'he who, you say, has remained as a specimen,' &c.

136–8. **O tuo**, &c.: 'you must be either mocking me or drawing me on to some further statement,' for it is impossible that you have not heard of him, as you come from Tuscany. This implies that Gherardo was well known in that country. The peculiarity of the *lingua Toscana* which Marco recognizes in Dante's speech was probably in the pronunciation; cp. Inf. x. 25; xxxiii. 11, 12.

139, 140. **Per altro**, &c.: from these lines it appears that, when in l. 133 Dante professes ignorance about Gherardo, he must have done so with a definite purpose, viz. in order that his daughter Gaia might be mentioned as a conspicuous person. The question then

arises, for what was she conspicuous? and to this there are two opposite answers, for whereas both accounts represent her as being beautiful, one says that she was distinguished for her virtues, the other for her vices. The latter of these is antecedently the more probable, for as Dante is here inveighing against the corruption of the age, it would be to his purpose to mention a descendant of a paragon of virtue who became notorious for vice.

142. **l' albor**: this white light proceeds from the Angel who guards the passage to the next Cornice; see Purg. xvii. 47.

144. **L' Angelo è ivi**: this is a parenthesis.

CANTO XVII

ARGUMENT.—The sun is setting as Dante emerges from the smoke, and he now falls into another ecstatic trance, in which he sees examples of the evil results of anger. After this they mount to the fourth Cornice, where the sin of sloth or lukewarmness is expiated; this they reach at nightfall. To compensate for the delay caused by the darkness, Virgil explains to Dante the origin and character of the vices from which the souls are cleansed by Purgatory, and the corresponding arrangement of the Cornices.

LINE 1. **alpe**: here for 'high mountains' generally; cp. Inf. xiv. 30. In the *Div. Com.* the word is always singular.

3. **per pelle talpe**: cp. Virg. *Georg.* i. 183, 'oculis capti . . . talpae.' The ancients believed that the mole had no power of sight, its eyes being covered by a membrane; Ar. *Hist. Animal.* i. 9. 3; *De An.* iii. 1. 5; cp. Brun. Lat. *Tesoro*, Bk. v. Ch. 64, 'la talpa non vede lume, chè natura non volle adoperare in lei d' aprire le pelli de' suoi occhi, sì che non valgono niente, perchè non sono aperti.' This idea arose from the mole's eyes being extremely small, and usually being completely hidden in its fur.

4. **Come**: this depends on *Ricorditi*. Dante's gradually seeing the sun's rays as he passes out of the smoke is compared to what happens when a cloud disperses in the mountains.

7–9. **imagine**: 'imagination'; cp. Par. i. 53. **leggiera**: 'ready,' lit. 'nimble.' **in pria**: 'at first,' i.e. when it began

to appear. **nel corcare**: this was towards the end of the first day in Purgatory proper.

12. **morti già**: 'which had already disappeared'; on the lower level they would disappear earlier.

13–5. Dante here intimates that he fell into a trance, and saw another ecstatic vision, corresponding to that which he beheld on entering the Cornice, only here examples of the vice of anger are presented to him. **ne rube . . . di fuor**: 'dost transport us,' lit. 'take us out of ourselves.' **Perchè**: 'however much,' 'even though.'

16. **se il senso**, &c.: 'if the senses present no objects to you.'

17, 18. **s' informa**: 'takes form,' i. e. the form of the object or scene to be presented to the mind. **Per sè**, &c.: 'either from power inherent in the light itself (i. e. from the planetary influences), or from the will of God, which sends (lit. conducts) it down to earth.'

19. The first example of anger, which is derived from the classics, is that of Procne, who in revenge for the faithlessness of her husband Tereus killed her son Itys, and served up his flesh to be eaten by his father; for this she was changed into a nightingale: as to this last point see note on Purg. ix. 15. The story is from Ovid, *Met.* vi. 412 foll.; the murder of Itys is related in ll. 639–41.

21. **imagine**: see note on l. 7. **orma**: 'representation,' lit. 'footprint,' 'impression.'

23, 24. **di fuor**, &c.: 'no external object was admitted by it,' lit. 'no object came from without that was then received by it.'

25. **piovve**, &c.: 'there rained within (i. e. descended from on high and entered) my exalted fantasy the figure of one crucified.' *Piovere* is used in a similar manner of spiritual influence descending from heaven, Par. iii. 90.

26. **Un crocifisso**: the second example of anger and its disastrous consequences, which is taken from Scripture, is Haman in the book of Esther, whose rage against Mordecai resulted in his being himself crucified in the place of his intended victim; Esther iii. 5; vii. 10. The word in Esther v. 14, which in Engl. Vers. appears as 'gallows,' in the Vulg. is rendered by *crucem*.

34. **Surse**, &c.: the third example of anger is Amata, wife

of king Latinus, who hanged herself in anger, because she believed that Turnus, to whom her daughter Lavinia was betrothed, had been slain by Aeneas, which however was not the case; Virg. *Aen.* xii. 595–607. The figure introduced in the vision is that of Lavinia, whose frantic distress at her mother's death is described by Virgil, and expressed in words by Dante.

36. **esser nulla**: 'to destroy thyself.'

37–9. **per non perder**: if she lived, she would lose Lavinia, because she would become the bride of Aeneas. **io son**, &c.: Lavinia means to say—'Your grief, Mother, was for Turnus; now it is my turn to grieve, but not as yet for Turnus' (**altrui**) death, but for yours,' lit. 'at your death, before I have to grieve at that of Turnus.'

40–2. **di butto**: for *di botto*, 'suddenly.' **Che fratto**, &c.: 'which (sleep), being broken, quivers (i.e. comes and goes, is intermittent) ere it ceases entirely.'

45. **Maggiore**, &c.: 'far more powerful than that to which we are accustomed,' i. e. the light of the sun. The light here proceeds from the Angel.

48. **intento**: 'thought'; cp. Par. xxi. 3.

51. **Che mai**, &c.: the statement here becomes general, and therefore the present tense is used; 'so eager that [in such a case] the wish can find no rest, until it meets the object of its desire.'

52, 53. **grava**: 'oppresses'; cp. Purg. xv. 10. **per soperchio**, &c.: 'veils his form from us through excess of light.'

58–60. **Sì fa**, &c.: this is a comment on *ne drizza senza prego*, and embodies the principle of 'Love thy neighbour as thyself.' 'No man in providing for his own needs waits for another to ask him; and in like manner the angel forestalls our request by offering of his own accord to guide us.' **Che quale**, &c.: 'for he who waits to be entreated, when he sees the need, is already setting himself in a grudging spirit to refuse.'

61–3. **accordiamo . . . il piede**: 'let us make our footsteps correspond to,' i.e. 'move forward in accordance with.' **Procacciam**: 'let us use diligence'; cp. Purg. xv. 79. **non si poría**: because the Mountain of Purgatory could not be ascended by night; cp. Purg. vii. 44.

67–9. **Senti' mi**, &c.: 'I was conscious in my neighbourhood of what seemed like the movement of a wing, and of fanning in the

face, and of a voice which said,' &c. The subject is purposely suppressed before the infinitives **ventar** and **dir**, because the Poet wishes to intimate that the angel was invisible to him, being concealed by his brilliancy. He only describes his own sensations. **mala**: 'unrighteous,' for there is such a thing as righteous indignation.

70, 71. **Già eran**, &c.: the meaning is, that the rays of the setting sun were only seen where they illuminated the summit of the Mountain.

73–5. **ti dilegue**: 'dost thou fail me,' lit. 'melt away,' Lat. *deliquescere*. Nightfall having arrived, Dante finds himself unable to proceed. Now commences the first night spent in Purgatory proper. **posta in tregue**: 'suspended,' lit. 'put in truce'; cp. Purg. xiv. 136.

76. **Noi eravam**, &c.: in the fourth Cornice, which they had now reached, (1) the sin punished is spiritual sloth or lukewarmness; (2) the mode of punishment is rushing round the Cornice with impetuous speed; (3) the examples of the opposite virtue of zeal are the Blessed Virgin and Julius Caesar; (4) the examples of the vice are the Israelites in the Wilderness and the companions of Aeneas; (5) the examples are presented by two spirits rushing past; (6) the passage from a Church Office is wanting, probably because the rapid movement of the spirits does not admit of its being recited; (7) the Beatitude is *Beati qui lugent*. The hours of night, which Dante passes in the Cornice where sloth is expiated, have a symbolical fitness, because during them 'no man can work'; he leaves that Cornice with the *sol nuovo*, Purg. xix. 39. Its occupants are passed over with slight notice owing to the contemptible character of sloth; only one of its inmates speaks to the Poets, viz. the Abbot of San Zeno.

78. **arriva**: 'brings up to the shore'; der. from *riva*; cp. Inf. xvii. 8.

82. **quale offensione**: the sin of spiritual sloth is called in Purg. xviii. 132 *accidia*; this word only occurs in that passage of the poem, but the adj. *accidioso* is found in Inf. vii. 123. *Accidia* is derived from the Greek ἀκηδία, 'indifference,' 'torpor,' which passed into Lat. as *acedia*, and in that form is used by Aquinas.

84. **Se i piè**, &c.: the account which Virgil gives in Inf. xi. of the principle according to which the sins that are punished in the

Inferno are classified, corresponds in method to that which is given in the present passage; and it is similarly introduced by an appeal to him on the part of Dante to improve the time which would otherwise be wasted—'"Alcun compenso," Dissi lui, "trova, che il tempo non passi Perduto,"' Inf. xi. 13–5.

85–7. **scemo**, &c.: 'which falls short of what it ought to be,' i. e. 'is in defect.' **quiritta**: 'just here,' 'in this particular spot'; see note on Purg. iv. 125. **si ribatte**: 'is plied anew'; former apathy is made up for.

90. **dimora**: the delay caused by the arrival of night.

91 foll. The system of classification here given of the sins which are expiated in Purgatory is as follows. Sin arises from faulty desire; and desire may be faulty, first, when it takes the form of wishing evil to one's neighbour, in which case the sinful feeling which prompts it may be either (1) Pride, or (2) Envy, or (3) Anger: accordingly these three are expiated in the first three Cornices. Secondly, desire may be faulty from being in defect in seeking after what is truly good; this is Spiritual Sloth, which is expiated in the fourth Cornice. Thirdly, desire may be faulty from being in excess in seeking after temporal goods; and this, according to the nature of that on which it is exercised, will take the form of either (1) Avarice, or (2) Gluttony, or (3) Lust. These are expiated in the last three Cornices.

91–6. **Nè creator**, &c.: paraphrase thus:—'All beings—both God and his creatures—are affected by love (by which term all forms of desire and longing are here intended); and in created beings this feeling is either instinctive (**naturale**)—in which case it is rightly directed, l. 94 (since it is implanted in them by God himself)—or it is the result of reason and reflexion (**d' animo**), and in this case it is liable to err, l. 95 (because it is subject to the operation of free-will). There are three ways in which love or desire may err: (1) it may be directed towards what is evil; (2) it may be in defect; (3) it may be in excess.'

93. **tu il sai**: Dante has treated of this subject of love or desire in *Conv.* iii. 3.

95. **malo obbietto**: this, it should be observed—and similarly *il male* in l. 100—does not mean a wrong or dangerous object of desire, like illicit pleasure, for the pursuit of that would be regarded by Dante as desiring in excess; it means something which is desired

because it is harmful. It is for this reason that no man can desire such a thing for himself (ll. 106–8).

97–102. These lines are a comment on the two preceding ones. 'The second form of desire—that which proceeds from reason, and so from choice—does not cause sinful pleasure, so long as it is fixed on spiritual things, and is moderate in the pursuit of temporal blessings; but when it turns away from God and seeks what is evil, or either pursues spiritual goods too little or worldly goods too much, then it falls into sin, because it is acting in opposition to the will of God.'

97, 98. **ne' primi ben**: 'towards the highest goods,' i. e. God and spiritual blessings; 'the secondary goods' (**i secondi**) are temporal advantages. There is, however, good authority for the reading *nel primo* in place of **ne' primi**; with this the meaning is—'when it is directed aright (**ben diretto**) in respect of the first (i. e. the object), and is temperate (lit. moderates itself) in respect of the other two (i. e. defect and excess).'

102. **Contra,** &c.: 'God's handiwork (man) acts in opposition to its Maker.'

104. **Amor**: 'love' in the sense of 'desire'; cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, i. Q. 20, Art. 1, 'Primus motus voluntatis et cuiuslibet appetitivae virtutis est amor.'

106–13. Paraphrase:—'To take the first of these forms of faulty desire:—when a man desires evil (i. e. desires that some evil may happen), he cannot desire it for himself, for that is unnatural (ll. 106–8); nor can he desire it for God, because man exists in God, and in hating him he would be hating himself (ll. 109–11); it remains then that he must desire it for his neighbour (ll. 112, 113).'

106–8. **non può,** &c.: 'love (i. e. the feeling of desire) cannot but regard the welfare of its subject (the person who feels the desire).' **Dall' odio,** &c.: 'no beings (and therefore no man) can hate themselves.'

109–11. **intender,** &c.: 'no one can be regarded as existing independently of the source of being,' i. e. God. **deciso**: 'cut off from,' 'prevented from.'

112–4. **se dividendo,** &c.: 'if I judge aright in the distinctions which I draw.' **vostro limo**: 'your clay,' i. e. your earthly nature.

115–23. There are three motives for wishing evil to one's neighbour, viz. Pride, which makes us think that we shall be exalted by another's depression (ll. 115–7); Envy, which fears to be depressed by another's exaltation (ll. 118–20); and Anger, which desires to avenge an injury received (ll. 121–3).

115–7. **soppresso**: 'kept down.' **di sua,** &c.: 'abased from his high estate.'

120. **il contrario**: the abasement of his neighbour, which is 'the contrary' of *sormontare*.

123. **il male,** &c.: 'should devise another's harm.' *Improntare* (from *impronta* = *imprenta*) is 'to strike an impression,' and so 'to imagine to oneself.'

124–6. **quaggiù**: in the first three Cornices. **con ordine corrotto**: 'in an ill-regulated manner,' i. e. too much or too little.

127–37. The remaining sins arise from faulty appreciation of what is truly good (ll. 127–9)—viz. Spiritual Sloth, which is caused by want of earnestness in the pursuit of the highest good (ll. 130–2); Avarice, Gluttony, and Lust, by following with too great eagerness the lower and imperfect forms of good (ll. 133–7).

127, 128. **confusamente,** &c.: 'has a vague conception of a good, in which the mind may find repose'; the 'good' here meant is the Divine Being.

130–2. **Se lento,** &c.: 'if the love which draws you either towards the contemplation of him, or towards winning him for yourselves, is defective.' **penter**: repentance is the condition of being admitted to Purgatory at all.

133, 134. **Altro ben**: temporal goods. **la buona Essenza**: the good essence is God himself.

138, 139. **come,** &c.: 'in what way it is spoken of as tripartite, I say not.' Virgil states the fact of there being three divisions, but declines to give an account of them, because Dante will have the opportunity of investigating them for himself.

CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT.—Virgil proceeds to instruct Dante, first in the nature of love or desire, and afterwards in the doctrine of free-will. They then become aware of a company of the spirits who occupy this Cornice rushing past them at full speed, this restless movement being assigned to them in expiation of their former sloth. Two of their number, who precede the rest, proclaim conspicuous examples of the virtue of zeal. The Poets are addressed by one of the band, who declares himself to have been Abbot of San Zeno at Verona. After this, two other spirits follow, naming instances of lukewarmness. When they have departed, Dante is overpowered with sleep.

LINES 10–2. **s' avviva**: 'is quickened.' **Quanto**, &c.: 'all the points which thy reasoning introduces or describes'; **ragion** for *ragionamento*.

14, 15. **dimostri**: 'explain,' 'define.' **a cui riduci**, &c.: see Purg. xvii. 103–5.

18. **ciechi**: these are the Epicureans, as appears from the statement of their tenets in ll. 34–6.

19–33. Virgil here sets forth the nature of love or desire, which, he shows, has three stages of development:—(1) It exists *potentially* as an instinct in the soul (ll. 19–21); (2) It becomes *actual* desire, when the attractive object is presented to it (ll. 22–7); (3) It exists *in fruition* (ll. 28–33).

19–21. **presto**: 'ready,' 'disposed to love'; cp. Inf. xv. 93. **in atto è desto**: 'it is aroused to activity.'

22–4. **Vostra apprensiva**, &c.: 'your power of apprehension derives the image which it presents to you from some real object, and sets it forth to view within you, so that it causes the soul to turn towards it.' An image derived from some real object is presented to the mind through the medium of the senses, and this image, being developed by the operation of fancy, attracts the notice of the soul. **intenzione**: this word is here used in the Scholastic sense of 'image.'

25–7. **E se**, &c.: 'and if the soul, when it has so turned, inclines towards it, that inclination is love—it is the natural instinct

(**natura**) getting a fresh hold on the soul by reason of the pleasure.' **si lega**: 'attaches itself,' 'gets hold.'

28–30. **movesi in altura**: 'tends upwards.' **forma**: 'essential nature'; *form*, as distinguished from *matter*, is that which constitutes the essence of a thing. So the adj. *formale* means 'essential,' cp. Par. ii. 71, *principii formali*. **Là dove**, &c.: 'to the sphere of fire, where it abides most in kindred matter.' Fire abides most in kindred matter in that sphere, because it is the proper home of the element of fire; cp. Par. i. 79–81; *Conv.* iii. 3. ll. 5–13. This sphere intervened between our atmosphere and the Heaven of the Moon.

31–3. **Così**: the comparison here is between the upward movement of fire towards its natural resting-place, and the striving of the soul to reach the desired object. **l' animo**, &c.: 'the soul, thus captured, is thereupon moved by desire—which is a spiritual movement—and it cannot rest until it has the satisfaction of possessing the desired object.' **spiritale**: the movement of the soul is 'spiritual'—not material, like that of fire which *movesi in altura*.

35. **gente**: the Epicureans, who are the *ciechi* of l. 18.

37–9. **Perocchè**, &c.: the argument is:—The desire of pleasure is not, as the Epicureans affirm, in all cases good, because, though it is good *potentially*—man being *creato ad amar*, l. 19—it is not always so when it becomes *actual* desire; just as wax may be beautiful in itself, before a stamp has been impressed upon it, but if the stamp is ugly the impression in wax becomes ugly. **sua matera**: this is shown to mean desire in general by comparing *sua materia* in l. 30, which means the element of fire in general: 'desire in general is to be regarded as (**appar**) always good.'

43–5. **Chè**, &c.: 'for, since desire is excited in the soul by external objects being presented to it (cp. ll. 22–6), and desire is the cause of all the movements of the soul, whether towards good or evil (cp. Purg. xvii. 103–5), it follows that the man does not deserve reward or punishment for acting rightly or wrongly'—in other words, he takes no part in determining his own actions, and therefore is not responsible for them. Dante's objection takes the form of what is now called Determinism. **non va con altro piede**: 'is not impelled by any other motive power than desire'; **piede** is used in this metaphorical sense because it is the foot which causes the forward movement of the body.

46–8. **Quanto,** &c.: as Virgil represents human reason, his explanations are limited to points of which human reason is cognizant; that which lies without its sphere, and belongs to the domain of faith, must be left to Beatrice, who represents theology. **t' aspetta:** 'place your hopes in'; cp. Par. xvii. 88, 'A lui t' aspetta.'

49–72. Virgil here expounds the relation which desire bears to free-will; the general argument is to the following effect. The human soul possesses by nature a desire for what is good (ll. 49–51), which desire is seen in its effects, though its origin is unknown to us (ll. 52–7); but as this feeling is instinctive, its workings are not controlled by the soul, and therefore are not a subject for praise or blame (ll. 58–60). But, in order that the desires which subsequently arise in the soul may be assimilated to this instinctive desire, and may, like it, be directed to what is good, there is implanted in man the power of judgement, which distinguishes good from evil, and is intended to direct the soul aright, when it is preparing to give effect to its desires (ll. 61–3). It is from this power of judgement that the merit of right actions proceeds, because the soul is thus enabled to accept the good and reject the evil (ll. 64–6): and reflexion on this process involves the belief in the freedom of the will, because it implies that man possesses the power of preferring right to wrong (ll. 67–72).

49–51. **Ogni,** &c.: 'every soul of man, which is distinct from matter (being immaterial or spiritual), and at the same time united with it (because it exists in a body), has a distinctive power gathered into itself.' **forma sustanzial:** by 'substantial form' is meant 'constituent element' or 'essence,' i. e. when speaking of man, the soul. Thus Aquinas says (*Summa*, 1. Q. 76. Art 4), 'nulla alia forma substantialis est in homine nisi sola anima intellectiva.' The term 'substantial' is here distinguished from 'accidental,' or that which does not belong to the essence. **setta:** 'distinct from,' lit. 'cut off from,' Lat. *secta*. **Specifica virtù:** the 'distinctive power' which the soul possesses 'gathered into itself,' is that from which individual traits of character in men proceed. It includes, as we see from ll. 55–7, the knowledge of the primary ideas and the liking for the primary objects of desire; but in the present passage Dante is treating more particularly of the latter of these.

52, 53. **La qual,** &c.: the only evidence of the existence of this power is its working, and the effects which it produces; it

cannot be known in itself. **ma' che**: 'except,' Lat. *magis quam*; cp. Inf. iv. 26.

55–7. **Però**, &c.: 'consequently (since the power is only known through its effects) we are in ignorance as to the origin of our knowledge of primary ideas (i. e. whether they are innate, and so forth), and as to the origin of our liking for the primal objects of desire.' The latter of these is the natural tendency towards what is good, true, pleasant, &c.

58–60. **Che sono**, &c.: 'which (viz. *lo intelletto* and *l' affetto*) exist in you, just as the instinct (**studio**) for making honey exists in the bee; and this original desire (**prima voglia**) does not admit of the recompense of praise or blame.'

61. **perchè**, &c.: 'in order that every other desire may harmonize with (lit. gather round, unite itself with) this instinctive desire.' The reason why it is to be wished that the other desires should follow the lead of the instinctive desire is, that it by its nature cannot err; cp. Purg. xvii. 94.

62. **Innata**, &c.: 'the power which counsels is innate within you.' This is reason, or the power of judgement in the mind, which distinguishes good from evil; cp. *Conv.* iv. 26. ll. 41–3, 'Veramente questo appetito conviene essere cavalcato dalla ragione.'

63. **E**, &c.: 'and should hold the threshold of assent,' i. e. should determine to which side (right or wrong) assent should be given. **assenso** is the act of directing the desire towards the object.

64–6. **Quest' è**, &c.: 'this (viz. reason) is the source from whence is derived the cause of merit in you, according as it receives and winnows out (i. e. distinguishes between) good and evil desires.' The merit of actions depends on the judgement, because it accepts the good and rejects the evil.

67, 68. **Color**, &c.: 'those (i. e. the philosophers) who in the process of argument sounded the matter, became aware of the innate freedom of the will which this involved (**esta**).' The judgement is the guiding power, but the motive power resides in the assent, which proceeds from the will.

69. **Però**, &c.: 'and consequently (because they recognized human responsibility) they left behind a system of moral teaching (i. e. Ethics) to the world.'

70–2. **Onde**, &c.: 'so it may be laid down, that every desire

which is kindled within you arises of necessity (i. e. independently of your will), but you possess the power of controlling it.'

73–5. **La nobile virtù,** &c.: 'Beatrice regards the freedom of the will as being this supreme power,' which guides the soul. **a parlar:** Beatrice does this in Par. v. 19–24, where she speaks of free-will as being the greatest gift of the Creator to his creatures.

76. **La luna,** &c.: the passage which follows merely signifies, though in an elaborate manner, that the hour was approaching midnight. 'The moon, belated nigh to midnight (in other words, 'at that late hour nigh to midnight'), was causing the stars to appear to us less numerous.' **tarda** agrees with **luna,** not with **notte.** The brightness of the moon, which is implied by the statement that its light was causing the lesser stars to disappear, is against the view that moonrise is intended, and that **tarda** signifies that it was rising late.

78. **Fatta,** &c.: 'in sight like to a bucket all a-fire'; this represents the gibbous moon, when it is some days after the full.

79–81. **correa contra il ciel:** this describes the 'backing' of the moon relatively to the movement of the heavens, which causes its daily retardation. **per quelle strade,** &c.: 'along that course, which the sun enkindles then, when he of Rome (i. e. an inhabitant of Rome) sees him set between Sardinia and Corsica'; that is, along that part of the zodiac, viz. the sign of Sagittarius, in which the sun is towards the end of November, when he sets west by south from Rome. **il vede:** as Corsica and Sardinia are not visible from Rome, this must mean that he sees the sun set, not actually between those islands, but in the direction in which he knows the Straits of Bonifacio which separate them to be.

82, 83. **per cui,** &c.: 'by reason of whom Pietola is more famous than any other Mantuan village.' The village of Pietola, situated about two miles from Mantua, is generally identified with Andes, Virgil's birthplace.

84. **Del mio,** &c.: 'had removed the burden (of doubt) by which I was oppressed.' **carcar** for *caricar*.

85–7. **che la ragione,** &c.: 'who had received (lit. gleaned) a clear argument on the subject of my questions.' **vana:** 'wanders in mind,' 'is in a reverie'; this word, like *vaneggiare*, is der. from Lat. *vanus*.

89, 90. **gente:** these are the slothful, who, to atone for their

inertness, unceasingly both by night and day run round the Cornice. **che dopo,** &c.: 'who, approaching us from behind, were at this moment coming round to us.' When the Poets had reached the top of the stairway and found themselves on the Cornice (Purg. xvii. 76, 77), we must suppose that they faced to the right—as they usually did—so that the mountain-side would be on their left, and they would be prepared to walk onward when daylight came. Hence the spirits, since they also moved towards the right, would come from behind them (**dopo Le nostre spalle**); and they are described as 'coming round' (**volta**) because of the circling course which they followed round the Mountain.

91–3. **E quale,** &c.: the rush of the band of spirits is compared to that of the Theban revellers who invoked their patron god Bacchus to the aid of their city. Dante here had in his mind Statius, *Theb.* ix. 434, where the Bacchic revelry is mentioned, and l. 449, where the Ismenus is associated with 'frater Asopos' as rivers of Thebes; probably also Virg. *Aen.* iv. 301–3. **furia e calca:** this is a hendiadys, 'a furious throng'; for **calca** cp. Purg. vi. 9. **Pur che:** 'if haply.'

94–6. **suo passo falca:** 'goes circling round,' lit. 'turns his steps round,' following the circular Cornice; *falcare* (from *falce*, 'a sickle') means 'to shape like a sickle,' 'to form into a curve.' **Per quel che,** &c.: this implies that they were dimly seen in the darkness. **Cui,** &c.: 'whoever is ridden (influenced) by,' &c.

97. **correndo:** take with **Si movea;** 'came on at full speed.'

99–102. **gridavan,** &c.: here are introduced the examples of zeal, the virtue which is the opposite of the vice expiated in this Cornice—viz. (1) the Blessed Virgin, of whom it is written, 'Mary arose in these days and went into the hill country *with haste*,' Luke i. 39; (2) Julius Caesar, who, when on his way to subdue Ilerda (Lerida) in Spain, attacked Marseilles, but refused to be turned aside from his primary object by waiting to besiege that city, and, entrusting that work to Brutus, continued his march with all speed. Lucan, who is Dante's authority here, describes Caesar's attitude at Marseilles by the words, 'impatiens haesuri ad moenia Martis,' *Phars.* iii. 453. **punse:** 'made a passing attack upon,' lit. 'made a thrust at.'

105. **Chè,** &c.: 'so that zeal in well-doing may quicken God's grace within us.'

108. **Da voi,** &c.: 'which through lukewarmness you have introduced into well-doing.'

110, 111. **purchè**: 'provided that,' and so 'as soon as.' **pertugio**: the opening of the passage leading to the next Cornice.

114. **Diretro a noi**: i. e. 'in the same direction with us'; the Poets could not follow them at once, because it was night.

117. **Se,** &c.: 'if thou regardest our desire to make amends (**giustizia**) as discourtesy.'

118–20. **Io fui**: this person was called Gherardo II, and died in 1187; nothing more is known of him. **dolente**: because that city was destroyed by him in 1162.

121–3. **tale**: this is Alberto della Scala, the father of Can Grande of Verona, who made his son Giuseppe abbot of San Zeno. Alberto died in 1301, and at the date of the Vision (in 1300) had 'already one foot in the grave.' **quel monastero**: i. e. the wrong which he had done to that monastery. **possa**: the power of appointing its abbot.

124, 125. **suo figlio,** &c.: Giuseppe was lame (**mal intero del corpo**) and illegitimate (**che mal nacque**).

132. **dando,** &c.: 'expressing their repugnance to (lit. gnawing) sloth'; this they do by mentioning two lamentable examples of it, viz. (1) the children of Israel who died in the Wilderness without seeing the Promised Land; (2) those companions of Aeneas, who preferred being left behind in Sicily to following their leader to the last. **accidia**: for this word see note on Purg. xvii. 82.

133. **Prima,** &c.: the lukewarmness of the Israelites in the Wilderness was shown by the discouragement which they felt at the report brought by the spies, Numb. xiv. 1 foll.; in consequence of this they were excluded from the Promised Land, vv. 22, 23.

138. **senza gloria**: Virgil characterizes them as 'animos nil magnae laudis egentes,' *Aen.* v. 751.

143, 144. **vaneggiai**: 'I passed confusedly.' **vaghezza**: 'wandering of the mind.'

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT.—Dante dreams a dream, in which the deceptiveness of worldly objects of attraction is allegorically represented to him. They then ascend to the fifth Cornice, in which the sin of avarice or covetousness is purged; there they find the spirits uttering lamentations as they lie face downwards on the ground. One of these, of whom they inquire their way, proves to be Pope Adrian V, who tells them that he was converted to God after he had attained the highest office. When Dante kneels by his side in token of reverence, he forbids him to do so, on the ground that after death all earthly distinctions cease.

LINE 1. **ora**: we have now reached the hour before dawn on Tuesday, April 12, the third day on the Mountain of Purgatory. That this hour is meant, is shown (1) by its being the coldest of the twenty-four, ll. 1–3; (2) by the later stars of Aquarius and the foremost ones of Pisces being on the horizon (ll. 4–6), for these stars would now be rising shortly before daybreak, since the sun was in Aries, the next sign of the zodiac. **non può**, &c.: what is implied is, that the heat of the day continues to temper the cold of night until the last hour before dawn.

2. **della luna**: 'caused by the moon'; the moon is generally regarded as producing cold. The origin of this belief is, that clear bright nights are the coldest because then the radiation is greater.

3. **da terra**: 'by the chilliness of the earth.' **da Saturno**: Saturn was known as the cold planet; cp. *Conv.* ii. 14. l. 201, 'la freddura di Saturno'; Virg. *Georg.* i. 336, 'frigida Saturni . . . stella.' **talor**, 'sometimes,' is added, because Saturn is not always above the horizon.

4. **i geomanti**, &c.: Geomancy is divination by spots on the ground, one arrangement of which, viz. ::··, was called *Fortuna maior*. The stars which were supposed to resemble this group, viz. the later stars of Aquarius and the foremost ones of Pisces, were now just above the eastern horizon.

6. **per via**, &c.: 'by a path which remains but a short time dusk for it,' i. e. for the *maggior fortuna*, or rather, for the stars

which form it. The 'path' is the eastern sky, which will soon be illuminated by the rising sun, so that these stars will disappear.

7–9. **in sogno**: the figure of a woman which is introduced in the dream is explained in ll. 58, 59 as representing the vices of avarice, gluttony, and lust, which are expiated in the three remaining Cornices, and which may be classified together as *cupidity*. The dream is an allegory of the deceitfulness of the things which attract worldly and carnal men. (On the subject of Dante's three dreams in Purgatory see note on Purg. ix. 19.) **femmina**: the woman is first seen as she is in reality—a hideous object, with stammering lips, squinting eyes, deformed feet, maimed hands, and pallid complexion. The allegorical interpretation of these traits is, that worldly and carnal pleasures are destructive of clear reasoning, straightforward judgement, active movement, and useful employment, and produce an unhealthy tone of mind.

10–5. This repulsive figure is idealized by the imagination of one who gazes long upon it, so that its defects pass out of sight, and it exercises a powerful attraction upon him. Similarly, the pleasures of the world and of sense dazzle the man who falls under their influence, so that their true nature is concealed from him. **facea scorta La lingua**: 'gave fluency to her tongue'; **scorta**, 'apt' to speak; cp. Villani, viii. 10, 'scorti in ben parlare.' **la drizzava**: 'straightened her distorted limbs.' **lo smarrito**, &c.: 'invested her ghastly face with the proper hue of love,' i. e. rosy tints.

20. **dismago**: 'cause to be distraught in mind,' lit. 'deprive of power.' The more usual form of the word is *smagare*; for the etymology see note on Purg. x. 106.

22, 23. **Io volsi**, &c.: 'I turned aside Ulysses from his wandering course.' Homer makes Ulysses successfully resist the Sirens, but Dante, who was unacquainted with Homer, may have got the story from Cicero, who in *De Fin.* v. 18. 49 adapts the Homeric version of it, and speaks of Ulysses as being 'ensnared' (*irretitus*). See Moore, *Studies*, i. pp. 264, 265. **meco si ausa**: 'shares my intimacy.'

26. **una donna**: this is co-operative grace, which sets in motion human reason (Virgil) to reveal the deceptions of sensuality.

29. **Fieramente**: she says these words 'in indignation' at the false character of the Siren.

31. **prendeva**: the subject of this is Virgil, who carries out the behests of the 'lady'; allegorically—human reason, aroused by grace, strips off the false show which conceals the repulsiveness of vice. If the 'lady' were the subject, as some take it, there would be no reason for introducing Virgil at all.

36. **la porta**: the entrance to the stairway. Others read *l' aperta*, for which word in the sense of *apertura* cp. Purg. iv. 19.

39. **andavam**, &c.: as the sun was behind them (**alle reni**), and had risen some little while, their direction was now south-westward.

42. **fa di sè**, &c.: i.e. stoops in walking.

43–5. **Venite**, &c.: 'come ye; here is the passage'; these words proceed from the Angel of the fourth Cornice. **marca**: 'region'; der. from Germ. *Mark*, 'frontier,' Engl. 'march.'

47. **Volseci in su**: 'directed us upward.'

49–51. **ventilonne**: 'fanned us'; here the fourth P is removed from Dante's forehead; cp. Purg. xvii. 68, 'ventarmi nel viso.' **Qui lugent**: this is the Beatitude which is used in this Cornice. It is not easy to discover any special appropriateness in its use, the nearest approach to this being the circumstance that the inmates of the Cornice pass *piangendo*, Purg. xviii. 99. **avran**, &c.: 'they shall be comforted,' lit. 'they shall have their souls possessed of (i. e. in possession of) consolation.'

54. **sormontati**: a pendent participle; 'we two having mounted somewhat above the Angel,' lit. 'from where the Angel was.'

55. **suspizion**: 'misgiving.'

58–60. **quella antica strega**, &c.: 'that ancient witch (Cupidity), who is the sole cause of the sufferings that remain for us to see in the three Cornices above us'; see note on l. 7. **omai**: 'from this point onward.' **si piagne**: lit. 'is lamented for.' **si slega**: 'can liberate himself'; cp. Purg. xv. 119.

61–3. **Bastiti**: 'enough!' no further teaching is needed. **batti**, &c.: 'press vigorously forward,' lit. 'let thy footsteps strike the earth.' **logoro**: the 'lure' is the attraction of the celestial spheres, which God himself causes to move before men's eyes; cp. Purg. xiv. 148, 149. The metaphor is derived from falconry, and suggests the simile which follows; see note on Inf. xvii. 128.

64–6. **ai piè si mira**: i.e. is looking downwards; this describes the posture of the bird in repose, before it is aroused by the cry of

its prey (**si volge al grido**); it thus corresponds to Dante's absorbed condition and downward looks, l. 52. **pasto**: the falcon was always allowed his share of the prey. **là**: towards the prey, which is implied in **grido**.

67–9. **e tal**: 'and in such a spirit,' i. e. as one aroused from inertness to action. **ove il cerchiar**, &c.: 'where one commences to move round' along the curve of the Cornice.

70. **quinto giro**: in this Cornice (1) the sin punished is avarice or covetousness; (2) the mode of punishment is by being extended face downwards on the earth; (3) the examples of the virtues which are opposed to this sin, viz. poverty and liberality, are the Blessed Virgin, Fabricius, St. Nicolas; (4) the examples of the vice are Pygmalion and Midas; Achan, Ananias and Sapphira, and Heliodorus; Polymestor and Crassus; (5) the mode of presentation of these is by one spirit speaking; (6) the passage from a Church Office is Ps. cxix. 25; (7) the Beatitude is *Beati qui sitiunt*. **fui dischiuso**: 'I had come forth clear.'

72. **Giacendo**, &c.: the position is symbolical of the grovelling nature of avarice.

73. **Adhaesit**, &c.: Ps. cxix. 25.

77, 78. **giustizia**: the sense of God's justice, which caused them to be resigned. **saliri**: 'ascents' of the mountain. Both in this word and in **soffriri** above the infin. has become so completely substantival as to be used in the plur.

79–81. **dal giacer**: i. e. from the punishment of this Cornice. **furi**: for *fuori*. If they advanced in this manner, i. e. keeping the precipice on their right hand, they would be taking the usual direction along the mountain-side.

83, 84. **ne**: 'from (one of) them.' **Nel parlare**, &c.: 'by his words I became aware of what else of him was hidden from me'; i. e. though I could not distinguish him as he lay face downwards on the ground, I discovered his presence from his speaking; cp. l. 90.

87. **la vista del disio**: 'my eager looks.'

88–90. **potei**, &c.: i. e. as having obtained Virgil's assent. **notar mi fenno**: 'attracted my attention.'

92, 93. **Quel**, &c.: the purification of the soul is meant. **tua maggior cura**: 'the work on which thou art intent,' i. e. the expression of penitence.

94–6. **avete**: the plur. number implies 'you and your associates.' **se vuoi**, &c.: what Dante means is—'tell me whether you wish me to obtain for you the prayers of the living.' **di là**, &c.: 'in the world which I left while still alive.'

97, 98. **Perchè**, &c.: this is another way of saying, 'Thou shalt know why heaven causes us to turn our eyes away from it.' The explanation is given in ll. 118–20.

99. **Scias**, &c.: 'be it known to you that,' &c. The speaker is Pope Adrian V, who was elected in 1276 and was pope only 39 days. There is nothing in history to confirm the imputation of avarice which is here brought against him. The declaration which he here makes is in Latin, because that was the official language of the Papacy; similarly, Dante employs it as the language of the Church or of Canon Law in Par. xii. 93, and as the language of dignity in Par. xv. 28–30.

100–2. **Intra**, &c.: the river here spoken of is the Lavagna, which flows down (**si adima**) between the towns of Sestri and Chiavari on the eastern Riviera. **del suo nome**, &c.: 'the title of my family glories (**fa sua cima**) in its name.' Adrian's family, the Fieschi of Genoa, were Counts of Lavagna.

109. **lì**: in the position of highest Pontiff.

115, 116. **Quel che**, &c.: 'the effect of avarice (i.e. the debased character which it produces) is shown by the nature of the punishment by which it is purged'; see ll. 118–20. **converse**: 'which repented' before death.

118–20. **aderse**: 'uplifted,' from *adergere*, Lat. *aderigere*. **merse**: 'sank.'

122. **onde**, &c.: 'in consequence of which the power of working was lost,' because the love of good is the mainspring of right action.

127–9. **inginocchiato**: Dante knelt to show reverence for the Papal office, and Adrian becomes aware of his position from the sound of his voice.

131, 132. **vostra**: the plural is used to express respect for his dignity; before he was aware of this Dante had used *tua*, l. 93; see note on Purg. xxxiii. 92. **dritto**, &c.: 'stung me with remorse for standing upright.'

135. **con gli altri**: 'with thy brethren'; the passage here is imitated from Rev. xix. 10, 'I am a fellow-servant with thee and with thy brethren,' &c.

136, 137. **evangelico suono:** 'utterance of the gospel.' **Neque nubent:** this is our Lord's answer to the Sadducees concerning the souls after the resurrection, Matt. xxii. 30. What is there said with regard to the relation of married persons, is applied here by Adrian in a more general sense; 'after death,' he would say, 'all earthly distinctions cease.' Perhaps, however, there is an additional and more special meaning, referring to the pope being the spouse of the Church, as in Purg. xxiv. 22; so that he means to say that his sacred office was now at an end.

140, 141. **la tua stanza:** 'thy staying here.' **ciò che tu dicesti:** cp. ll. 91, 92.

142. **Alagia:** this Alagia de' Fieschi married Moroello Malaspina, on whom see note on Inf. xxiv. 145. She is mentioned in answer to Dante's question in ll. 95, 96, which is an offer to obtain for Adrian the intercession of those on earth.

145. **questa sola,** &c.: this means, not that she was his only surviving relation, but that, the rest being wicked, she was the only one whose prayers would avail for him.

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT.—The spirits who are punished in this Cornice are so numerous, that Dante in passing onward is forced to keep close to the inner wall of rock. The examples of the virtues of poverty and liberality are presented by a single voice, which proceeds from the spirit of Hugh Capet. By him the vices of his descendants who had occupied the throne of France are loudly denounced. After he has recited the examples of avarice which he and his fellow-sufferers are accustomed to proclaim during the night, the Mountain is suddenly shaken, and from every part of Purgatory the words 'Glory to God in the Highest' are heard to arise.

LINES 1–3. **Contra,** &c.: 'ill strives the will against a better will'; this refers to Adrian's dismissal of Dante at the end of the preceding Canto, which the latter was forced to accept. **Trassi,**

&c.: i. e. though only half satisfied by the answers he had received, he forbore from asking further questions.

4–6. **il Duca mio**, &c.: 'my Guide advanced through the unoccupied spots on the Cornice close to the wall of rock.' It is explained in ll. 7–9 that this line of passage through the prostrate spirits, though narrow, was preferable to that on the outer side towards the precipice, which was still narrower on account of the spirits being more numerous in that direction. **per muro**, &c.: this describes the 'alure,' as the footway is called, which runs along near the top of the wall inside the battlements in mediaeval fortifications.

7–9. **che fonde**, &c.: 'who distil through their eyes drop by drop the all-pervading vice of avarice.' **Dall' altra**, &c.: 'in the opposite direction (to the wall of rock) approaches too near to the outside.'

10–2. **Maledetta**, &c.: the sight of the crowds of victims which are found in this Cornice calls forth this imprecation on Dante's part. **lupa**: the wolf from its insatiable hunger is symbolical of avarice or covetousness; cp. Inf. i. 49, 50. **cupa**: 'ravenous,' lit. 'hollow,' 'deep'; it here expresses the 'void' of hunger.

13–5. **par che si creda**: 'men, as we know, believe'; **par** does not here imply doubt on Dante's part; he has already affirmed in Purg. xvi. 73 that human affairs are affected by celestial or planetary influences; cp. also *Conv.* ii. 14. ll. 25–30. **Quando**, &c.: 'when will the man arise by whom this beast is to be expelled?' This is the 'coming man' of Dante's anticipations, who is foreshadowed in the *Veltro* of Inf. i. 101, where his campaign against avarice is spoken of in similar terms.

17. **Ed io**: understand *andava*.

19. **udi'**: the voice, as we afterwards learn (l. 49), is that of Hugh Capet; by him the examples of the virtue appropriate to this Cornice are recited—viz. the Blessed Virgin, Fabricius, and St. Nicolas. These are rehearsed by day, while the examples of the vice are given by night (ll. 100–2).

23. **quell' ospizio**: the stable at Bethlehem.

25. **Fabbrizio**: Fabricius, the Roman consul, who rejected the bribes of Pyrrhus, and died so poor that he was buried at the public expense; Dante refers to him in a similar manner in *De Mon.* ii. 5. ll. 90–9.

28. **piaciute**: here used for *piacenti*.

32. **Niccolao**: the two former examples represented virtuous poverty; this one represents liberality. St. Nicolas of Myra portioned three sisters in order to save them from a life of infamy.

37–9. **Non fia**, &c.: because Dante would obtain the intercessions of the living in his behalf. **quella vita**, &c.: 'that (mortal) life which hastens to its close'; cp. Purg. xxxiii. 54, where human life is called 'un correre alla morte.'

40–2. **non per conforto**, &c.: this probably means, that he had no virtuous descendants whose prayers would avail him. **grazia**: cp. Purg. xiv. 79, 80; in both passages the reference is to Dante's passing in the body through the world of spirits.

43, 44. **mala pianta**: the Capetian dynasty. **aduggia**: 'casts a blighting shade over'; see note on Inf. xv. 2. As this family in 1300 A. D. ruled in France and Naples, they might be said to overshadow the Christian world.

46–8. **Doagio**, &c.: the reference is to the cruel treatment of Flanders (the chief towns of which were Douai, Lille, Ghent, and Bruges) by Philip the Fair in 1299. The 'vengeance' which is here imprecated arrived in 1302, when the French were defeated with tremendous loss in the battle at Courtrai. **giuggia**: for *giudica*; from *giuggiare*, Fr. *juger*.

49. **Ugo Ciappetta**: Dante seems here to have fallen into a confusion between Hugh Capet and his father Hugh the Great, who was duke of France and count of Paris. It was the latter to whom the (fictitious) story was attached that he was the son of a butcher (l. 52); and it was he who secured the reins of power (ll. 55, 56); and it was due to the influence which he obtained that, thirty years after his death in 956, his son became king and founded the Capetian dynasty (ll. 57–60).

50. **i Filippi e i Luigi**: for two centuries and a half—that is, from 1060 to 1316—there was either a Philip or a Louis on the throne of France.

52. **beccaio**: the last three vowels of this word are pronounced as one syllable; cp. *primaio*, Purg. xiv. 66.

54. **renduto**: *rendersi* was the expression for 'becoming a monk'; cp. Inf. xxvii. 83. Dante seems here to have fallen into a further confusion between the Carlovingians, who immediately preceded the Capets and must be the **regi antichi** here mentioned, and the

Merovingians, the last of whom, Childeric III, became a monk, whereas Charles of Lorraine, the last representative of the Carlovingian line, certainly did not do so.

55–7. **Trovaimi,** &c.: 'I found that I had a tight grip of the reins of government of the kingdom.' **Di nuovo acquisto:** 'newly acquired.' **e sì,** &c.: 'and I found myself so well provided with friends'; **Trovaimi** is repeated here, **mi** being accus., not dat. as in l. 55.

58–60. **vedova:** 'bereaved of its former sovereigns.' **dal quale,** &c.: the meaning is:—'who founded the line of kings just mentioned (l. 50), whose persons (lit. bones) were consecrated by unction.'

61–3. **Mentre che,** &c.: Hugh Capet proceeds to trace the history of his descendants, and shows that greed of gain was their dominant motive. The meaning here is—'So long as the sense of shame was not lost to my race, as it was through the great dower of Provence, though it (my race) possessed small power, yet it did no wrong.' The 'great dower of Provence' was the accession of that important province to the kingdom of France through the marriage of Charles of Anjou with the daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Provence.

64–6. **Lì:** 'at that point'; the seizure of the neighbouring provinces commenced in the reign of Philip the Bold (1270–85), who obtained possession of Poitou and the kingdom of Navarre; his successor (**poscia**) Philip the Fair (1285–1314) annexed Gascony and Ponthieu in Picardy, which were ceded to him by Edward I in 1294, with a secret understanding, afterwards repudiated, that the cession was to be formal only; Normandy was taken from John as early as 1203, but the English claim on it was not renounced until the time of Philip the Fair, so that Dante may perhaps be excused for relegating its acquisition by the French monarchy to the later period. **per ammenda:** the kings of France made amends for crime by committing greater crimes. The threefold repetition of the phrase in the rhyming lines adds force to the irony; cp. the emphasis given by the triple repetition of *vidi* in rhyme in Par. xxx. 95–9. **Pontì:** the final vowel of this word is accented, and therefore unelided, because it stands for the French Ponthieu.

67, 68. **Carlo:** Charles of Anjou defeated Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufen, at Tagliacozzo in 1268, and afterwards

executed him. As this took place before the reign of Philip the Fair, **per ammenda** here must be taken as signifying 'in amends for' previous acts of aggrandizement, not those for which Philip was responsible.

69. **Tommaso**: the story (now discredited) that St. Thomas Aquinas was poisoned by Charles's orders was currently believed in Dante's time.

70, 71. **non molto dopo ancoi**: 'not far off at this moment'; the time intended is the year 1301; see below. **ancoi** = *anche oggi*; cp. Purg. xiii. 52. **Che tragge**, &c.: 'when another Charles advances'; for **tragge** intrans. cp. Purg. ii. 71. This Charles is Charles of Valois, who in 1301 came into Italy on the invitation of Boniface VIII to settle the disorders of Florence. By his aid the party of the Black Guelfs triumphed, and the Whites, including Dante, were banished.

73, 74. **la lancia**, &c.: treachery is meant.

76–8. **terra**: his nickname was Sans-terre. **più grave**, &c.: 'his doom in Hell will be the more grievous, because he makes light of such crimes,' and therefore will not repent of them.

79–81. **L' altro**: Charles II, king of Apulia, son of Charles I of Anjou. **che già**, &c.: 'who lately was set free (**già uscì**), after having been taken as a prisoner from his vessel (**preso di nave**).' He was taken prisoner by Roger di Lauria, admiral of Peter of Aragon, in an engagement in the Bay of Naples in 1284, and was released in 1288. **vender**, &c.: 'sell his daughter under a bargain,' lit. 'and make a bargain for her.' He gave his young daughter in marriage to the aged Marquis of Este, Azzo VIII, on consideration of receiving a large sum of money. **dell' altre schiave**: 'with other female slaves'; 'other,' because the daughter was thus treated as a slave.

85–7. **Perchè**, &c.: 'as if to cast into shade by contrast the crimes, past and future, of my descendants.' **Veggio**, &c.: Hugh Capet here prophesies the ignominious treatment of Boniface VIII by the agents of Philip the Fair at Anagni in 1303. **lo fiordaliso**: the *fleur-de-lys* on the banner of France. **catto**: 'made captive.'

90. **vivi ladroni**: the 'living malefactors' who insulted the Pope as contrasted with those who died in company with Christ. They were Sciarra Colonna and William of Nogaret.

91–3. **il nuovo Pilato**: Philip the Fair. **Porta**, &c.: 'he

directs the sails of his cupidity against the Temple.' Philip proceeded against the Order of the Templars in 1307.

95, 96. **che nascosa,** &c.: 'which, while it is hidden from us, causes thine anger to repose peacefully in the heart of thy secret counsels'; the certainty with which God foreknows the coming of the vengeance causes him to suppress all immediate tokens of his wrath: for the sentiment cp. Par. xxii. 16.

97–9. **Ciò ch',** &c.: this was Hugh Capet's mention of the poverty of the Virgin in ll. 19–24; Dante's request for an explanation (**chiosa,** lit. 'comment') was in ll. 34–6.

100–2. **è risposta,** &c.: 'this trait in the Virgin's character is the answer to our prayers which presents itself to us.' **prece:** for *preci*, poet. for *preghi*. **Contrario suon:** the repetition of examples of the vice and its results; thus the virtue and the vice are fittingly associated with day and night respectively; cp. l. 121. **in quella vece:** 'instead thereof'; cp. Purg. xvi. 36.

103 foll. The arrangement of the examples of the vice of avarice which are here given is, that three derived from Scripture—viz. Achan, Ananias and Sapphira, and Heliodorus—are placed between two sets of two from the classics, viz. (1) Pygmalion and Midas, (2) Polymestor and Crassus. Scartazzini remarks that these seven correspond to the seven results of avarice as given by Aquinas.

103–5. **Noi,** &c.: 'we repeat the story of Pygmalion.' He was Dido's brother, who killed her husband Sychaeus for the sake of his possessions; cp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 346–52, where the titles of traitor, robber, and parricide, which Dante assigns to him, find their justification. Obs. that *patricida* or *parricida* is sometimes used in Ital., as here, of kindred murder in general.

106. **la miseria,** &c.: the disastrous results of his turning whatever he touched into gold, as described by Ovid, *Met.* xi. 106–130.

109–11. **Acan:** Josh. vii. 16–25. **sì che,** &c.: 'so that he seems (to the imagination) to be still suffering the results of Joshua's sentence.'

113. **i calci,** &c.: 'the hoof-beats which Heliodorus received.' When Heliodorus attempted to rob the treasury of Jerusalem, there appeared 'a horse with a terrible rider upon him . . . . and smote at Heliodorus with his fore-feet,' 2 Macc. iii. 25.

114, 115. **in infamia,** &c.: i.e. his infamy is proclaimed

throughout the circuit of the Mountain. **Polinestor:** Polymestor, king of Thrace, the murderer of Priam's son Polidorus, who had been entrusted to his keeping; his was the 'auri sacra fames'; cp. Virg. *Aen.* iii. 49–57; Ov. *Met.* xiii. 429–38.

116, 117. **Crasso,** &c.: the story is, that after the defeat and death of Crassus in Parthia, Orodes, the king of that country, caused molten gold to be poured into his mouth in contempt of his rapacity. It is not clear from what source Dante obtained this; the Latin author in whom it occurs is Florus (*Epit.* iii. 11), and Dante does not seem otherwise to have been acquainted with his writings. Perhaps he found it in some mediaeval collection of stories.

120. **Ora a maggiore,** &c.: take with **dir**; 'to speak, now with stronger, now with weaker tones'; **passo,** lit. 'pace,' but it cannot imply movement, because the spirits here are restricted to one spot.

121–3. **al ben,** &c.: this is said in answer to Dante's inquiry in ll. 35, 36, why Hugh Capet's voice was heard alone: 'in proclaiming the virtuous examples, which are spoken of here in the daytime, I was not alone just now (though you thought so); but no other person in this neighbourhood spoke in tones sufficiently loud for you to hear him.'

126. **quanto,** &c.: this probably refers to the narrowness of the track they had to follow; cp. l. 5.

130–2. **non si scotea,** &c.: the movement of the Mountain is compared (not very appositely) to that of Delos, which was shaken by the waves when it was a wandering island, before Latona took up her abode there, and brought forth her twin offspring. Dante had in his mind the lines in which Ovid describes this—'Instabilemque locum Delos dedit. Illa duobus Facta parens,' *Met.* vi. 191, 192. Virgil relates how Apollo subsequently made it fast; *Aen.* iii. 75–7. **li due occhi,** &c.: Apollo and Diana—the Sun and the Moon.

133, 134. **un grido:** this burst of praise proceeds from all the souls throughout the whole Mountain; cp. Purg. xxi. 35, 36. Both it and the quaking of the Mountain celebrate the completion by a soul of its time of purgation, as is explained in Purg. xxi. 58–60. **inver di me,** &c.: Virgil's object was to calm Dante's fears arising from the overpowering sound.

136. **Gloria:** this word is here metrically a trisyllable, which it is not elsewhere in the *Div. Com.*, and its final vowel is not elided before that which commences the following word. This is due to its forming part of a Latin quotation, for in Dante as a rule every syllable of Latin words is pronounced separately, and their final vowels are not cut off. For instances of the former use cp. Purg. xxiii. 11; Par. xv. 29; xviii. 91: of the latter Purg. ii. 46; x. 44.

138. **Onde,** &c.: 'from whose mouths one could distinguish the words of the cry.'

139. **Noi stavamo:** the *i* of **Noi** forms metrically a separate syllable owing to the *st* of **stavamo** following; for similar instances see note on Inf. viii. 11.

140, 141. **i pastor:** the shepherds of Bethlehem. **ed ei,** &c.: 'and it (the hymn of praise) was concluded.'

145–8. **Nulla,** &c.: 'no ignorance ever caused me to be desirous to know with so great anxiety . . . as that which methought I then felt, when I reflected on the circumstances (the earthquake and the thanksgiving).' **guerra** means 'struggle or strain of the feelings.' **sapere:** 'to know the explanation.'

149, 150. **la fretta:** the speed of Virgil's progress. **Nè per me,** &c.: 'nor of myself could I discover aught in the matter (lì).'

CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT.—Dante and Virgil are joined by a spirit, who explains to them that the movement of the Mountain which they had felt did not proceed from natural causes, but announced the completion by him of his appointed term in Purgatory, and that the song of praise had reference to the same event. He then manifests himself to them as the poet Statius, and adds that the primary source of his poetical inspiration was the *Aeneid* of Virgil. The smile which rises on Dante's face on hearing this statement leads to the revelation that he is in the presence of that Great Master; whereupon Statius does obeisance to him.

LINES 1–6. **La sete natural:** the desire of knowledge is meant; cp. *Conv.* i. 1. l. 66. In the present instance it was

Dante's desire to know the significance of the earthquake and the burst of praise; cp. Purg. xx. 145–8. **sazia**: here used intrans., 'is quenched.' **l' acqua**: the living water, i. e. the revelation of spiritual truth; John iv. 14, 15. **onde**: take with **la grazia**, 'the boon of which.' **la fretta**: Virgil's rapid progress, referred to already in Purg. xx. 149. **impacciata**: obstructed by the prostrate spirits. **condoleami**: 'felt compassion.'

7. **Luca**: Luke xxiv. 13 foll.

10. **un' ombra**: this, as we shall see (l. 91), was the poet Statius. It seems probable that he is intended to represent allegorically philosophy as enlightened by Christianity; hence in Canto XXV Aquinas' view of the generation of man is put into his mouth. All the statements which Dante introduces with regard to Statius' life—his conversion, his prodigality, &c.—appear to be his own invention.

12. **ci addemmo di lei**: 'did we become aware of his presence'; **addemmo** is from *addare*, a verb of unknown origin, perf. *addiedi*: the *Vocab. Tramater* gives other instances of its use. **sì**: for *sino*, 'until'; cp. Inf. xix. 44: others take it as marking the consequence, 'so he spoke first.'

15. **il cenno**, &c.: 'the corresponding greeting,' viz. 'And to thy spirit.' The Latin forms are 'Pax vobiscum' and 'Et cum spiritu tuo.'

17. **la verace corte**: the tribunal of God.

19–21. **e parte**, &c.: 'and meanwhile (while he was speaking) we were speeding on our way'; for **parte** in this sense cp. Inf. xxix. 16. **che Dio**, &c.: 'whom God does not approve as denizens of heaven.' **la sua scala**: the stairway of penitence, i. e. the Mountain of Purgatory.

22–4. **i segni**: the P's on Dante's forehead. **profila**: 'is wont to trace,' lit. 'outlines'; the present tense here puts the statement generally, not as applying to Dante's case only. **vedrai**, &c.: his being allowed to pass through the stage of purification in Purgatory, which is preparatory to being received into Heaven, shows that he is destined for the company of the Blessed.

25–7. **lei**: Lachesis. Of the three Fates, Clotho placed the flax (i. e. the allotted span of life) on the distaff (**impone**) and packed it together (**compila**), while Lachesis spun the thread of life (**fila**). **Non gli avea**, &c.: 'had not yet drawn off all the

flax for him,' i. e. had not brought his life to an end. The word **conocchia** means first the distaff, and then the flax on the distaff.

29, 30. **sola:** without a guide. **al nostro,** &c.: 'does not look at things as we disembodied spirits do,' who see things immediately without the intervention of the senses.

33. **mia scuola:** 'my principles of knowledge,' i. e. the teaching of human reason, of which Virgil is the representative; cp. Purg. xviii. 46, 47.

36. **suoi piè molli:** 'its wave-washed base.'

37. **Sì mi die',** &c.: 'by his question he hit so exactly the needle's eye of my desire.'

40–57. Statius prefaces his explanation by saying that the movement of the Mountain was not, like an ordinary earthquake, the result of natural causes, which operate irregularly. In Purgatory proper everything is regulated immediately by divine appointment, the working of which is uniform.

40–2. **Cosa non è,** &c.: 'nothing here is affected irregularly by (**sanza Ordine senta**) the divinely appointed system (**la religione**) of the Mountain, or is exceptional (**fuor d' usanza**).'

43. **Libero,** &c.: 'here all is free from variations of whatsoever kind.' For the omission of the substantive where 'the place' is meant cp. Purg. ix. 54; x. 79; xiv. 94.

44, 45. **Di quel che,** &c.: in these two lines Statius gives the reason for the movement of the Mountain, which seems to be an exceptional occurrence, and so to contradict the statement just made. He says that this takes place only when a purified soul is passing from Purgatory to Heaven, and that its movement heavenward is brought about by the direct agency of Heaven. 'The cause [of what appears an unusual occurrence] can proceed here (**Esserci puote cagione**) from a soul being received by Heaven (**Di quel che il ciel riceve**) into itself (**in sè**) by its own agency (**da sè**), but from naught else (**e non d' altro**).' **Da sè** means *proprio motu*, independently of influences proceeding from the natural world; it is the attraction exercised by Heaven upon the soul which causes it to rise. Others interpret thus—'that which, having originally proceeded from Heaven (**da sè**), the Heaven receives into itself'; but the brachylogy which this involves seems extravagant even in the *Div. Com.*

46–8. **Perchè:** 'wherefore,' i. e. because there is no variation. **la scaletta:** the three steps in front of the gate of Purgatory.

50, 51. **figlia di Taumante**: in mythology Iris or the rainbow is said to be the daughter of Thaumas. **Che di là**, &c.: 'who on earth often shifts her region.'

52–4. **Secco vapor**: this 'dry vapour' is the *ἀναθυμίασις ξηρά* of Aristotle, *Meteorol.* ii. 9. 20, which is there stated to be the common cause of wind, lightning, thunder, and earthquakes. **ch' io parlai**: 'of which I spoke'; for the use of **che** cp. Par. i. 27. **il vicario**, &c.: the Angel who guards the gate; see Purg. ix. 78, 127.

55, 56. **più giù**: in the Ante-Purgatory. **per vento**, &c.: Aristotle's theory of the origin of earthquakes, which after his time was generally accepted, was that they were due to the action of winds, which were confined beneath the surface of the earth, and were endeavouring to find a vent; *Meteorol.* ii. 8.

59, 60. **surga**: 'rises from the ground'; this applies to the prostrate spirits in this Cornice, while **si mova** refers to those in the other Cornices. **tal grido**: the singing of the *Gloria in excelsis*. **seconda**: 'accompanies the spirit.'

61–6. Statius now explains what is the evidence of a soul being freed from the stain of sin, its purgation being accomplished. In order to understand his meaning, we must observe that there are two forms of will in man—the higher (**voler, voglia**), which is always aiming at the highest good, i. e. God and heavenly things; and the lower (**il talento**), which is fixed on inferior objects, and thus precludes the exercise of the higher will. This lower will during man's life on earth tends towards sin; in Purgatory by a special dispensation of God it is fixed on the punishment, and the desire of undergoing this restrains the action of the higher will. When the purgation is completed, the function of the lower will ceases, and the higher will immediately exerts itself, so that the soul tends upwards towards Heaven.

62, 63. **Che**, &c.: 'which (higher will) seizes the soul, when it is wholly free to change its company, and it (the soul) rejoices in exercising that will.' For **convento** cp. Par. xxii. 90.

64–6. **Prima vuol ben**: 'before that (i. e. before it has accomplished its purification) it has the right desire to rise, but it is prevented from doing so by the lower will, which the justice of God fixes on (i. e. causes to long for) the purgatorial suffering, just as it was previously fixed on the sin, in opposition to the higher will.'

Thus the longing for Heaven is suspended, being excluded by the craving for purgatorial suffering.

68. **Cinquecento,** &c.: in Purg. xxii. 92, 93 Statius says that he passed more than 400 years in the fourth Cornice, where the spiritually slothful are purified. As he died about 96 A.D., this would leave about 300 years to be accounted for to bring up the date to 1300 A.D. This period, we may suppose, was spent in Ante-Purgatory.

69. **Libera,** &c.: 'unimpeded desire of a better abode.'

72. **che tosto,** &c.: this is a prayer on Statius' part; 'may he soon, I pray, send them on high.'

73–5. **ei si gode:** 'one enjoys'; this is the impersonal use of the verb with *ei, egli.* **quant' ei,** &c.: 'how much he benefited me'; for **prode** see note on Purg. xv. 42.

76. **la rete:** the net which holds the souls in Purgatory is the desire of expiatory suffering; cp. l. 64.

81. **mi cappia:** 'that I may understand by your words, why,' &c. **cappia** is subjunct. from the neut. verb *capere*, which means 'to have sufficient room'; cp. Par. iii. 76; xvii. 15. The full form of the phrase here used would be 'questo mi cape nell' animo,' 'there is room for this (lit. this has room) in my mind,' and **che mi cappia,** which is an abbreviated expression, signifies 'that I may understand'; see *Vocab. Tramater*, s. v. 'capere.'

82. **Nel tempo,** &c.: the dates of the birth and death of Statius are not certainly known, but they were about 45 and 96 A.D. (Teuffel, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* i. p. 123, Engl. Trans.). Thus the capture of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D. would fall in the middle of his lifetime.

83. **le fora:** 'the wounds'; *fori* is used in the same sense in Purg. v. 73. Statius speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus as an act of retribution for the crucifixion of Christ. Dante derived this view from Orosius, who says of Titus that 'ad vindicandum Domini Iesu Christi sanguinem iudicio Dei fuerat ordinatus,' *Hist.* vii. 3. 8.

85–7. **più onora:** 'bestows most honour'; the name here meant is that of poet. **con fede:** i.e. a Christian.

88–90. **vocale spirto:** 'gift of song.' **Tolosano:** in reality Statius was a native of Naples. Dante's error as to his having been born at Toulouse was derived from Lactantius, who in his com-

mentary on the *Thebaid* confounds him with a rhetorician of Toulouse of the same name. **mirto**: the meed of success in poetry. Dante here puts into Statius' mouth his own estimate of that poet; in *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii. 6. ll. 79–81 he mentions under the title of standard poets Virgil, Ovid, Statius, and Lucan.

92, 93. **Cantai**, &c.: the works of Statius which were known to Dante were his *Thebaid* and *Achilleid*. His *Silvae* were unknown at that time in Italy. **caddi in via**, &c.: Statius died before he had completed the *Achilleid*.

94. **ardor**: 'poetic fervour.'

97–9. **Eneida**: at the conclusion of the *Thebaid* Statius says, apostrophizing his work—'nec tu divinam Aeneida tenta, Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora,' *Theb.* xii. 816, 817. **mamma**: 'mother.' **fermai**: 'weighed'; lit. 'made stationary in the scale,' i. e. balanced.

101, 102. **assentirei**, &c.: 'I would agree to remain a year more than I am bound to do with a view to (i. e. as the condition of) my escape from my place of exile.' Purgatory is regarded as the place of exile for those who are destined to be denizens of Heaven.

105. **non può tutto**, &c.: 'the power that wills is limited in its influence.'

106–8. **Chè riso**, &c.: 'for smiles and tears follow so directly on the feelings from which they respectively arise, that in the most truthful spirits they follow less the will,' i. e. the more candid a man is, the less they are under his control.

111. **ove**, &c.: 'where expression mostly dwells.'

112. **se tanto**, &c.: 'so mayest thou accomplish well thy great task'; i. e. the task of visiting the world of spirits.

121. **Forse che**: 'maybe that'; for *che* attached to *forse* cp. Purg. iv. 98; xxxiii. 46.

128. **e credi**: 'and believe that the cause was.'

133–5. **quantitate**: 'intensity.' **vanitate**: 'unreality,' 'incorporeal state.'

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT.—Dante and Virgil, accompanied by Statius, ascend to the sixth Cornice, where the sin of gluttony is punished. On the way, Statius explains to Virgil that prodigality, the vice of which he was himself guilty, is expiated along with avarice, which is its opposite, in the Cornice which they had just left. He also declares that his conversion to Christianity was due in the first instance to Virgil's prophetic utterances in his fourth Eclogue. They now perceive a spreading tree, rich with fruit, over which a fountain falls in showers; from it a voice proceeds, which proclaims examples of the virtue of temperance.

LINE 1. **Già**: they had now entered the passage which leads up from the fifth to the sixth Cornice, passing the Angel who guards the approach to it.

2, 3. **volti**: 'directed'; cp. Purg. vii. 86. **un colpo**: one of the 'strokes' or marks formed by the P's on Dante's forehead.

4–6. **E quei**, &c.: 'and the Angel had pronounced for us those to be blessed whose desires are fixed on righteousness, and his words completed that saying with the expression "who thirst," adding nothing thereto.' Here, as in other Cornices, as the travellers pass out, the Angel of the Cornice recites an appropriate Beatitude to speed them on their way. In this instance the complete Beatitude is 'Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam,' Matt. v. 6; but as the expression which relates to hunger, viz. 'qui esuriunt,' is reserved for use in the sixth Cornice where gluttony is expiated (Purg. xxiv. 151–4), 'qui sitiunt' alone (**senz' altro**) is used here. The motto 'Beati qui sitiunt iustitiam' is appropriate to the Cornice in which avarice is expiated, because the thirst for justice is the opposite or antidote to the thirst for wealth. As regards the text of this passage, the readings of the Oxford Text, viz. **avea** in l. 5 and **sitiunt** in l. 6, have been unhesitatingly followed here, though *avean* has about the same support from the MSS. as **avea**, and *sitio* predominates enormously over **sitiunt**; in fact, **sitiunt** is almost destitute of MS. authority. (On these points, and on the passage

generally, see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, pp. 405 foll.) With *avean* and *sitio* the meaning of the passage is taken to be—'and those who have their desires fixed on justice (i. e. the spirits within this Cornice) had recited for us the text "Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata" (Ps. xxxii. 1), and their voices added thereto "I thirst," but no further word.' On this interpretation *sitio* may either represent the cry of our Lord on the cross, or may express a feeling on the part of the spirits themselves. But the objections to this explanation of the passage, and consequently to the reading, are insuperable. (1) **Beati**, as it is used to introduce a Beatitude in all the corresponding passages (Purg. xii. 110; xv. 38; xvii. 68; xix. 50; xxiv. 151; xxvii. 8), can hardly be used otherwise here. (2) This Cornice alone would be without a Beatitude. (3) In five cases out of the six besides the present one it is either distinctly stated, or fairly implied, that the Beatitude was recited by the Angel: as to the sixth instance see note on Purg. xii. 110. (4) *sitio* has very little force, while **sitiunt** gives exactly the meaning which is needed.

7. **più lieve**: in consequence of the removal of another P.

10–8. Virgil here declares that he had ere this time reciprocated Statius' good will.

12. **Pur che**, &c.: 'provided that its flame appear outwardly,' i. e. if there is outward evidence of the feeling.

14. **Juvenale**: Juvenal's date is *circ.* 47–130 A. D. (Teuffel); consequently he was a contemporary of Statius.

16, 17. **quale**, &c.: 'as great as ever held a man for one whom he had not seen.'

20. **sicurtà**: 'confidence.'

24. **per tua cura**: 'by thy diligence,' i. e. long continued study.

28–30. **Veramente**, &c.: 'Verily things often present themselves to us, which furnish subjects for doubt which are untrue owing to the true causes being concealed.' His being found in the company of the avaricious suggested the erroneous idea that he had committed that sin, whereas the real explanation of his being there was that he had erred by prodigality, and that these two sins were punished together.

31. **tuo creder**, &c.: 'proves to me that it is your belief.'

34. **fu partita**, &c.: 'was removed too far from me,' i. e. that he erred in the opposite extreme of prodigality. From the example of Statius we learn, that in Purgatory the vices of avarice and

prodigality are punished together, as they are in the fourth Circle of the Inferno. As has already been intimated in the note to Purg. xxi. 10, there appears to be no historical groundwork to the story of Statius' prodigality; in fact Juvenal (vii. 86, 87) implies that he was a needy man, so that he could not have had much money to spend.

36. **Migliaia,** &c.: 'thousands of revolutions of the moon'; as Statius has said in Purg. xxi. 68 that he had been 500 years in Cornice V, the exact number here intended is 6,000 months.

37–9. **drizzai mia cura:** 'rectified my views of life.' **intesi là:** 'pondered on that passage.' **Crucciato:** 'indignant.'

40, 41. **Per che,** &c.: the passage in Virgil which these lines are intended to represent is *Aen.* iii. 56, 57, 'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames?' ('To what crimes dost thou not compel the hearts of men, accursed lust of gold?') No explanation of Dante's rendering of this which is wholly satisfactory has yet been given. Perhaps the following is the best:—'Through what a course of wickedness dost thou not lead the desires of men, accursed lust of gold?' **Sacra** in this case must be regarded as the Latin word borrowed from Virgil's original, for *sacro* does not bear the sense of 'accursed' in Italian. It is a *prima facie* objection to this interpretation—in fact to the introduction of the passage of Virgil in its proper sense at all—that it denounces avarice, while Statius is denouncing prodigality; but to this it may perhaps be replied, that the desire of wealth is an accompaniment of prodigality as well as of avarice. Others think that Dante misunderstood Virgil's meaning, and take **reggi** in the sense of 'restrain,' and **sacra** as signifying 'holy,' 'righteous,' 'temperate'; so that the passage is to be understood, not as denouncing greed of wealth, but as advocating moderation in its use—'Why dost thou not restrain the desires of mortals, O temperate hunger for gold?'

42. **Voltando,** &c.: 'rolling the weights I should be experiencing the dismal jousts': the reference is to the punishment of the avaricious and the prodigal in Hell, who roll forward heavy weights, with which they charge against one another. The words *voltando pesi* and *giostra* occur in that connexion in Inf. vii. 27, 35.

46–8. **scemi:** 'shorn'; cp. *mozzi* in Inf. vii. 57. The reference is to the Italian proverb concerning spendthrifts, 'Egli ha dissipato fino a' capegli.' **Per ignoranza,** &c.: 'from ignorance

(of the sinfulness of prodigality), which prevents repentance for this sin during men's lifetime and at their last hour.'

49–51. **che rimbecca**, &c.: 'which rebuts by direct opposition,' i. e. is the direct opposite of. **suo verde secca**: 'dries its green rankness,' i. e. reduces its superfluity, and so returns to the mean.

54. **Per lo**, &c.: 'this has befallen me owing to its opposite.'

55–7. **cantasti**, &c.: Statius in his *Thebaid* related the story of 'the merciless war of the twofold affliction of Jocasta,' i. e. the war between Polynices and Eteocles, the twin sons of Jocasta, who are called her 'affliction' on account of their incestuous birth. **bucolici**: Virgil is here spoken of as the 'singer of the bucolic strains,' because reference is about to be made in l. 70 to his fourth Bucolic or Eclogue.

58, 59. **Per quello**, &c.: 'from the evidence furnished by the matter of your poem,' lit. 'to judge from that which you by Clio's aid deal with there.' *Tastare* means 'to touch,' 'treat of,' 'deal with.' **fedele**: 'a true believer.'

61–3. **qual sole o quai candele**: 'what light from heaven or earth.' **diretro**, &c.: 'in the wake of the fisherman,' i. e. St. Peter—'the pilot of the Galilean lake.'

65, 66. **grotte**: 'grots,' 'caves,' which are frequently associated with sacred sources. Probably in this instance Dante was thinking of Castalia, though that spring does not issue from a cavern. **appresso Dio**: 'next after God.'

67. **quei**: the servant, who walks before his master and lights him on his way.

70–2. **dicesti**, &c.: Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 5–7, 'Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo. Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna; Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.' The fourth Eclogue was generally regarded during the middle ages as a prophecy of the birth of Christ.

73–5. **cristiano**: see note on Purg. xxi. 10. **mei**: for *meglio*; more commonly written *me'*. **disegno**: 'sketch,' in contrast with **colorare**, 'to fill in in colour.'

80. **Sì consonava**: 'in sooth was in harmony with'; *Si consonava* is also read.

82. **Vennermi**, &c.: lit. 'they came to appear to me'; when used in this way with the gerund, *venire* is almost redundant, but it usually implies duration: cp. Par. xxiii. 18, 'venir rischiarando.'

85–7. **mentre,** &c.: 'throughout the time that I remained on earth.' **sette:** 'schools,' of philosophy or religion.

88, 89. **pria,** &c.: 'before I described in poetry the arrival of the Argives (**i Greci**), who came to support Polynices, at Thebes'; i. e. before I reached the latter part of the poem (Book IX), in which their arrival is narrated. **fiumi:** by these Dante probably means the Ismenus and the Asopus; see note on Purg. xviii. 91–3.

90–3. **chiuso:** 'concealed.' **mostrando:** 'professing.' **il quarto cerchio:** the Circle or Cornice in which lukewarmness or spiritual sloth was expiated. **al quarto centesmo:** 'for 400 years.'

94, 95. **che levato,** &c.: 'who (by thy prophetic verses) hast lifted the veil, which hid from me all that great blessing of which I speak,' i. e. the Christian faith.

96. **Mentre che,** &c.: 'during the remainder of our ascent'; **soperchio** means 'that which remains over.' This clause is to be taken with what follows.

97–9. **nostro antico:** 'our early poet.' **Cecilio:** Caecilius, the writer of comedies, is mentioned among popular Roman poets in two passages of Horace, viz. *Epist.* ii. 1. 58, 59, and *Ars Poet.* 54, 55; in the former in conjunction with Plautus and Terence, in the latter with Plautus, Virgil, and Varius. Dante seems to have had one or both of these passages in his mind. **Varro:** it is not certain whether Dante here means Varro Reatinus, who was famous in antiquity for his great learning, or Varro Atacinus the poet. As the other writers who are here mentioned were poets, we should expect the latter to be meant, but it is doubtful whether Dante had heard of him. His name occurs in Horace, *Sat.* i. 10. 46, but Dante does not seem to have been acquainted with the *Satires*. On the other hand, he must have known Varro Reatinus, because that author is spoken of at some length and with high praise by St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, vi. 2 foll.); at the same time, though he wrote satires, he was comparatively little known as a poet. Some would prefer to read *Vario* here, but there is hardly any MS. authority for the reading. **vico:** 'region,' lit. 'alley,' 'quarter'; the word is used for the sake of the rhyme as an equivalent of *cerchio*.

101. **quel Greco:** Homer.

104, 105. **monte:** both Parnassus and Helicon were sacred to

the Muses (**le nutrici nostre**), but since in Purg. xxix. 37–42 Helicon is introduced in connexion with them, it is probably the mountain which Dante means here.

106, 107. **Antifonte**: both Antiphon and Agathon were tragic poets.

109–11. **genti tue**: 'thy folk,' i. e. the personages who are introduced in your poems. For the use of **genti** plur. in the sense of 'people' cp. 'le perdute genti' of Purg. xxx. 138, which is the equivalent of 'la perduta gente' of Inf. iii. 3. **Deifile**, &c.: Deiphile and Argea were daughters of Adrastus, the former of whom was married to Tydeus, one of the Seven against Thebes, the latter to Polynices. **sì trista**: the life of Ismene was one of almost unbroken sorrow.

112–4. **quella**, &c.: Hypsipyle, who is mentioned by Statius (*Theb.* iv. 716 foll.) as having shown the spring of Langia near Nemea to Adrastus and his army, when they were on their way to Thebes, and were distressed by want of water. **la figlia di Tiresia**: Manto (Stat., *Theb.* iv. 463 foll.), whom Dante in Inf. xx. 55 places among the soothsayers in Malebolge. This is an oversight on the Poet's part. **Teti**, &c.: Thetis, the mother of Achilles, and Deidamia, the object of his early love, are often mentioned in the *Achilleid*. The description of the latter in the company of her sisters (**con le suore sue**) occurs in *Achill.* i. 285–96.

117. **Liberi**, &c.: they were now emerging from the passage on to the sixth Cornice. Here (1) the sin punished is gluttony; (2) the punishment is the sight of trees laden with fruit and sprinkled with fresh water, of which the sinners may not partake; (3) the examples of the virtue of temperance are the Blessed Virgin; ancient Roman women; Daniel; the Golden Age; St. John the Baptist; (4) the examples of the vice are the Centaurs; the companions of Gideon; (5) they are presented by a voice from the branches of the mystic trees; (6) the passage from a Church Office is *Labia mea, Domine*; (7) the Beatitude is *Beati qui esuriunt.*

118–20. **ancelle del giorno**: for the use of this expression in the sense of 'hours' cp. Purg. xii. 81; 'four hours of the day had now passed.' **la quinta**, &c.: 'the fifth hour was at the pole of the sun's car (i. e. was leading on the day), directing ever upwards its blazing point.' As the sun was regarded as mounting the sky until

noon, the pole of its chariot would be conceived of as pointing upwards. Since the day commenced at 6 a. m., the time here intended would be between 10 and 11 a.m. The day was Easter Tuesday, the 12th of April.

121–3. **allo estremo**, &c.: 'towards the outer side of the Cornice.' By turning their right side towards this, and then walking on, they would be taking the direction to the right hand along the Mountain, which they had hitherto followed.

130, 131. **ragioni**: 'discourse'; cp. Purg. xiv. 126. **un arbor**: this tree is regarded as having sprung from the Tree of Life, in the same way as the corresponding tree which is mentioned below (Purg. xxiv. 116, 117) sprang from the Tree of Knowledge, in the Garden of Eden (Gen. ii. 9). The trees in this Cornice torment the souls which look at them from beneath by holding their fruit beyond their reach.

133. **si digrada**: 'tapers'; the fir-tree is broad below and narrows upwards, while this tree is broad at the top and narrows downwards.

136. **Dal lato**, &c.: 'on the side towards which our road was enclosed,' i. e. the side towards the Mountain; while that towards the precipice was open.

141. **caro**: for *carestia*, 'dearth,' 'lack.'

142–4. **disse**: the voice from the mystic tree here proclaims the examples of the virtue of temperance, which is the opposite of the vice of gluttony. As in the other Cornices, so here, the Scriptural and classical examples alternate with one another. **Maria**: at the marriage at Cana of Galilee, when she said 'they have no wine,' John ii. 3. **risponde**: 'intercedes.'

145–7. **le Romane**, &c.: this statement is found in Val. Max. ii. 1. 5, who says 'Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit'; but probably Dante got it from Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2^{dae} Q. 149. Art. iv, 'Secundum Valerium Maximum mulieres apud Romanos antiquitus non bibebant vinum.' **Daniello**: see Dan. i. 11, 12, 'Daniel said to the steward . . . let them give us pulse to eat and water to drink,' and God gave him 'knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom,' v. 17.

148–50. **quant' oro**, &c.: 'was as fair as gold,' i. e. it was the Golden Age. **le ghiande**, &c.: probably Dante was thinking of Ovid, *Met.* i. 104, 106, Arbuteos fetus montanaque fraga legebant

. . . Et quae deciderant patula Iovis arbore glandes,' and l. 111, 'iam flumina nectaris ibant.'

154. **l' Evangelio:** Matt. xi. 11, 'Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist.'

CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT.—As they pass along the Cornice they are overtaken by a company of spirits, whose emaciated faces testify to the pangs of hunger and thirst with which they are afflicted through the sight of the fruit of the tree and of the dripping water. Dante is recognized by a friend of his youth, Forese Donati, who explains to him that, though he had repented late in life, yet he had escaped delay in Ante-Purgatory through the intercessions of his wife; and the mention of her saintly character leads him to denounce the want of modesty which prevailed among the women of Florence. Dante expresses regret for his and Forese's relations to one another in their former life.

LINE 3. **Chi retro,** &c.: the bird-catcher, 'who wastes his time in pursuing little birds.'

4–6. **Figliuole:** Dante has here attached the termination of the Latin vocative to an Italian word for the sake of the rhyme. **imposto:** 'ordained,' 'assigned.' **compartir:** 'apportion.'

8. **sìe:** for *sì*, 'in such sort'; i. e. on such lofty topics.

11. **Labia,** &c.: this is the portion of a Church Office which is recited in this Cornice; 'O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise,' Ps. li. 15. The lips which had been devoted to gluttony here express a wish to be devoted to the praise of God.

15. **di lor dover,** &c.: 'untying the knot of their debt'; i. e. freeing themselves by Purgatorial suffering from the debt of sin which binds them: for *dovere* in the sense of 'indebtedness' cp. Purg. xiii. 126.

17. **Giugnendo:** 'coming up with,' 'overtaking.'

19, 20. **diretro,** &c.: 'coming on behind us with more rapid steps and passing us.'

24. **dall' ossa,** &c.: 'the skin took the form of the bones,' owing to the absence of flesh.

25–7. **Non credo,** &c.: 'I do not conceive that Erysichthon was so dried up to merest (lit. outermost) rind.' Erysichthon was a Thessalian, who cut down trees in a grove sacred to Demeter, and was punished by her with insatiable hunger; his pangs are described by Ovid, *Met.* viii. 738 foll. **quando,** &c.: 'when he most feared starvation.'

30. **die' di becco:** 'preyed on,' lit. 'pecked.' The story of the woman who ate her own child from extremity of hunger during the final siege of Jerusalem is told by Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* vi. 3. 4. Dante probably obtained it from the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais (x. 5), which work is one of his historical authorities; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 368.

32, 33. **omo:** mediaeval preachers were fond of the conceit, that the title 'man' (*omo*, Lat. *homo*) was written in the human face, the eyes being the two *o*'s, the nose with the eyebrows and the cheekbones the *m*—thus ᗰ. See the exposition of this in a sermon by the Franciscan monk, Berthold of Regensburg, given by Longfellow, p. 428. **Ben avria,** &c.: 'he would have clearly recognized the M in these faces,' because the hollows of the eyes made more conspicuous the bones which enclosed them.

35, 36. **Sì governasse:** 'should have ordained things so,' 'brought this to pass.' **non sapendo como:** i. e. if it were not explained to him how the result was produced. The explanation is furnished in ll. 61 foll.

38, 39. **Per la cagione,** &c.: this follows **ammirar,** 'because the reason was not yet clear.' **squama:** 'withered flesh'; both here and in *scabbia* (l. 49) this, rather than 'scales' or 'scabs,' seems to be the meaning.

45. **Ciò che,** &c.: 'that which his aspect had suppressed within it,' i. e. his identity. **conquiso:** from *conquidere*; the meaning 'to subdue,' 'suppress,' is poetical.

46, 47. **raccese,** &c.: 'quickened anew my knowledge of (**alla,** lit. respecting) the altered face'; for **labbia** cp. Inf. xiv. 67.

48. **Forese:** this is Forese Donati, an early friend of Dante, and a relation of Dante's wife, Gemma Donati, and brother of Corso Donati, the head of the Black Guelfs. Four sonnets exist, which passed between Dante and Forese in their younger days, and

in the first of these Dante reproaches Forese with his gluttony. The original of the two by Dante will be found in Fraticelli's *Opere Minori di Dante*, vol. i. pp. 291, 292, and all four are given in an English translation by Rossetti in his *Dante and his Circle*, p. 243. The authenticity of these poems, which are vituperative and indelicate, has sometimes been doubted, but at the present day is generally admitted.

49. **contendere**: used in the sense of *attendere*, 'pay attention to'; the *Vocab. Tramater* (s. v.) gives other instances.

54. **Non rimaner**, &c.: 'delay not to speak to me.'

57. **torta**: 'disfigured.'

58. **sfoglia**: 'dries up,' 'withers'; cp. note on *squama* in l. 39.

59, 60. **Non mi far**, &c.: 'force me not to speak when full of wonderment, for when the mind is preoccupied a man cannot rightly express himself.'

63. **Rimasa retro**: 'which we have left behind'; cp. ll. 1–7.

64. **piangendo canta**: cp. l. 10.

68, 69. **dello sprazzo**: the scent of water is noticed in Job xiv. 9, 'Through the scent of water it will bud, and bring forth boughs like a plant.' **su per**, &c.: 'over the foliage of the tree.'

70, 71. **non pure una volta**: another tree of the same kind is mentioned in Purg. xxiv. 113. **spazzo**: the area of the Cornice. **si rinfresca**: 'is renewed.'

73–5. **quella voglia**: the desire to conform our wills to the will of God. **a dire: Elì**: this should be taken as referring rather to Christ's offering himself to the Father upon the cross, which was consummated in the words, 'My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?' than to the actual words, for **lieto** could hardly be used in such a connexion. Obs. that this is a ten-syllable line, the irregularity being justified by its ending with a Hebrew word accented on the last syllable; cp. Par. vii. 1, 'Osanna sanctus Deus Sabaoth.' **la sua vena**: i. e. his blood.

77. **mutasti mondo**, &c.: 'didst migrate (lit. change worlds) to a better life.'

79–84. **Se prima**, &c.: Forese's was a case of what we should call 'a deathbed repentance.' His power of committing sin had come to an end before his repentance (**l' ora Del buon dolor ch' a Dio ne rimarita**). Hence Dante expects to find him in the Ante-Purgatory (**laggiù di sotto**, l. 83), but he learns that he had been

freed from the delay by his wife's prayers. **Ancora:** take with **laggiù di sotto,** 'still below' in Ante-Purgatory. Some editors prefer to put the question-mark after **ancora,** and to connect that word with **venuto;** in this case **ancora** means 'already,' as in Inf. xxxiii. 121. **Dove tempo,** &c.: 'where loss of time is compensated by delay.'

86, 87. **dolce assenzio:** 'sweet wormwood'; the explanation of the *oxymoron* involved in this expression will be found in ll. 72–5. **assenzio** is the Fr. *absinthe*. **Nella:** Forese's widow. As Dante had made offensive remarks about her in the second of his two sonnets to Forese, it has been thought that he is making amends in the present passage. **Nella** is an abbreviation of Giovanella. **pianger dirotto:** 'bursts of tears.'

90. **liberato:** this perhaps does not mean 'delivered,' as if he was excused the punishment of the lower Cornices, but may signify 'set free' after a term of punishment. This term in any case was short, since Forese had recently died.

91–3. **Tant' è,** &c.: 'my widow is the more beloved of God, in proportion as she stands alone in her good works.'

94–6. **la Barbagia di Sardigna:** a district of Sardinia inhabited by a wild race, called Barbaricini, who had been originally transplanted thither from Africa by the Vandals. The dissoluteness of their life was notorious at this time. **dov' io,** &c.: Florence is referred to.

100. **in pergamo,** &c.: 'it shall be forbidden from the pulpit.' From Forese's words in l. 98, 'm' è già nel cospetto,' a definite occasion would seem to be referred to; and from 'discipline' in l. 105 the prohibition appears to have taken the form of an edict, and was not merely a denunciation; but no mention exists of such an occurrence having taken place during Dante's lifetime. There is ample evidence of the extravagance and immodesty of the Florentine women of this period.

103. **Quai Barbare,** &c.: the name of Barbary for northern Africa dates from the Arab geographers, and therefore was in existence in Dante's time, and Barbari signified the natives of that region. Again, 'Saracens' was used in the middle ages as an appellation of unbaptized persons generally, and conversely in Ariosto the Saracens are constantly called 'Pagani.' Thus the expression 'Berbers and Saracens' is equivalent to 'godless folk,' much in the same way as we speak of 'heathen' practices.

107. **ammanna**: 'is preparing,' lit. 'is binding in a sheaf (*manna*).'

109–11. **l' antiveder**: 'my knowledge of coming events.' **Prima**, &c.: 'they shall be sad, ere he who now is quieted with lullaby has bearded cheeks.' The intimation of time here given describes vaguely the period between 1300 A. D. and the date at which Dante was writing. The disasters alluded to are the numerous misfortunes which befell Florence in the early years of the fourteenth century, owing to the struggles between the Black and White Guelfs.

114. **dove il sol veli**: 'where thou dost intercept the sun's rays,' i. e. 'dost cast a shadow.'

116. **Qual**, &c.: 'what were our relations to one another.' The relations here meant seem to have been (1) their ribald attacks on one another in the Sonnets mentioned in note to l. 48; (2) their boon companionship and careless living, the latter of which is implied in ll. 118, 119, for it is this mode of life which was symbolized by the *selva oscura* which is there referred to.

119, 120. **l' altr' ier**: 'the other day'; the moon was full (**tonda**) five days before this, viz. on the night of Maundy Thursday (see note on Inf. xx. 127), whereas it was now Easter Tuesday. **vi**: 'to you.'

121–3. **Costui**: Dante now replies to Forese's question in ll. 52, 53, with regard to his two companions. **seconda**: 'accompanies.'

126. **drizza**: 'straightens'; a proverb says, 'bent timbers are straightened by the fire.'

127. **dice**, &c.: 'he speaks of accompanying me'; **dice** is similarly used in l. 130.

131–3. **quell' ombra**: Statius. **ogni pendice**: 'all its declivities.' **sgombra**: 'discharges.'

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT.—Forese points out other spirits of note in this Cornice, and among them the poet Bonagiunta of Lucca, who converses with Dante on the difference between the earlier and the newer style of lyric poetry in Italy. Forese then predicts the violent death of his own brother, Corso Donati, Dante's political enemy.

Farther on, another tree like to the former one appears, and from the branches of this a voice proceeds, proclaiming examples of the vice of gluttony and its evil results. The passage leading to the next Cornice is now reached, and Dante is blinded by the effulgence of the Angel who guards it.

LINE 1. **lui**: the conversation.

4–6. **rimorte**: 'twice dead'; this word, which seems not to be found elsewhere, may have been suggested to Dante by 'arbores . . . bis mortuae' in Jude 12. **Traean**: 'expressed,' lit. 'drew forth.'

8, 9. **Ella**: the spirit (*anima*) of Statius, of whom Dante was speaking at the end of the previous Canto. **altrui**: primarily Dante is meant, on account of his burden of human flesh; but also Virgil, because Statius desired to enjoy his conversation; cp. Purg. xxii. 96–9.

10, 11. **Piccarda**: sister of Forese and Corso Donati, who was a nun of Santa Clara, and is placed by Dante in the first sphere of Paradise—the *alto Olimpo* of l. 15; see Par. iii. 46–9. **da notar**: 'worthy of note.'

16–8. **non si vieta**: 'there is nothing to prevent,' i. e. no offence can be taken; cp. ll. 26, 27. **munta via**: 'effaced,' lit. 'milked out'; cp. the use of *munta* in Inf. xxiv. 43. In this Cornice fasting had rendered the spirits unrecognizable.

19. **Bonagiunta**: a minor poet, of whom Dante speaks unfavourably in *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 13. l. 8 as composing verses in the dialect of Lucca. He is said to have been a *bon vivant*.

20–4. **quella faccia**: this is Pope Martin IV, who had previously been Canon of Tours (**Torso**, l. 23); he used to have the eels from the lake of Bolsena cooked in wine for his table, and is reported to have died in consequence of a surfeit of them. **trapunta**: for *trapuntata*, from *trapuntare*, 'to work embroidery'; here it means 'rough and punctured,' from the resemblance of the perished skin in these respects to the surface of a piece of embroidery. **Ebbe**, &c.: as Pope he was Spouse of the Church. **vernaccia**: a red wine, which was known in Engl. as 'vernage.'

27. **però**: 'thereat.' **atto bruno**: 'dark look.'

29. **Ubaldin**: he was father of Abp. Roger, the murderer of Count Ugolino, Inf. xxxiii. 14. **Bonifazio**: Abp. of Ravenna from 1274–94; he was of the family of the Fieschi of Genoa, and nephew of Pope Innocent IV.

30. **Che pasturò**, &c.: 'who shepherded a large flock with his rook.' **Rocco** is the name of the castle or 'rook' at chess, and Lana, who takes the word in that sense, says in explanation that the pastoral staff of the archbishops of Ravenna was not curved like those of other archbishops, but was shaped in its upper part like the 'rook' at chess. This, if true, would determine the meaning of the passage; but there is no further evidence to support Lana's statement, nor is it confirmed by anything that is found on the monuments of archbishops at Ravenna, or by any traditions now existing there. The natural inference therefore is, that this was an *ex post facto* explanation on that commentator's part. Recently, however, a pastoral staff of mediaeval workmanship, with a head-piece of the shape of a castle at chess, has come to light, which was preserved in the Camaldolese monastery of Classe, and now exists in the public library of Ravenna. (See Toynbee's *Dict.*, s.v. 'Ravenna.') The resemblance between so unusual an object as this and that which Dante appears to be here describing is a thing so remarkable that it is not easy to ascribe it to chance; and it has been suggested—since Lana's statement about the archbishops of Ravenna generally, as we have seen, is unconfirmed—that this is the original staff to which Dante is referring, and that it was a special possession of Bonifazio, and is here mentioned in connexion with him on account of its peculiarity of form. This is quite possible; but as the origin and history of the existing staff are unknown, it is difficult to determine the question satisfactorily. **molte genti**: this refers to the great extent of the diocese, which included the whole of the Romagna, and part of the Emilia.

31–3. **Marchese**: one of a noble family at Forlì. Little is known of him, except his answer to those who said he was always drinking, 'Why do they not say that I am always thirsty?' **ch' ebbe spazio**, &c.: 'who of yore had leisure at Forlì for drinking with less thirst than he feels here in Purgatory, and even so was such a toper that he never felt satisfied.'

34–6. **come fa**, &c.: 'as he does, who scans a number of men, and after doing so rates one more highly than another, so did I to Bonagiunta of Lucca, who seemed more than the others to desire information concerning me.' **s' apprezza**: *fa prezza* is also read, with the same meaning. **fe' io a**: the final vowel of *fei* and both vowels of *io* are lost in scansion; cp. Purg. iv. 132.

voler contezza: cp. l. 49; *aver contezza*, 'to be acquainted with,' is also read.

37–9. **non so che,** &c.: 'I was conscious of a sound like Gentucca there where he was conscious of the wound of justice which macerates them so.' **mormorava** and **non so che** imply that Bonagiunta spoke indistinctly from his lips being parched with hunger and thirst. **Gentucca:** this is generally regarded as the name of a lady of Lucca, to whom Dante became attached, though not necessarily otherwise than in an honourable way—the *femmina* of l. 43. **là ove,** &c.: in his mouth, where he felt the craving for food. **pilucca:** this word is derived from Lat. *pilare*, 'to pull off the hair,' 'denude'; Diez, *Wört.*, p. 247. In Italian it is first used of stripping off grapes; here it refers to the wasted flesh, like *sfoglia* in Purg. xxiii. 58.

43–5. **non porta,** &c.: i. e. 'is still unmarried'; the veil (**benda**) was the headdress of married women and widows. **come che,** &c.: 'however men may blame it'; this refers to an evil name which was popularly attached to Lucca, rather than to Dante's own vituperation in Inf. xxi. 41, 42.

48. **Dichiareranti,** &c.: 'the facts (**le cose vere**) will make the matter clear to thee.'

49–51. **che fuore,** &c.: 'who evoked (i. e. brought into prominence) the verses in the new style,' the *dolce stil nuovo* of l. 57. **Donne,** &c.: this is the first line in the first Canzone in Dante's *Vita Nuova*.

52–4. **Io mi son,** &c.: 'I am one who, when Love inspires me, attend, and express in words the thoughts which he suggests to the mind,' lit. 'express his meaning in words, in the same way as he dictates it in the form of thoughts (**dentro**).' **mi spira:** cp. *spirarmi*, Par. vi. 23. **vo:** *andare* with the gerund is here almost redundant; cp. the use of *venire* in Purg. xxii. 82.

55–7. **issa:** 'now'; see note on Inf. xxiii. 7. For the *hiatus* before **issa,** modified by the stop, cp. Purg. xxix. 135. 'Now I perceive the impediment (lit. knot, restraint), which prevented the Notary and Guittone and me from adopting (lit. detained us on the hither side of) the sweet new style.' The impediment was their not understanding the principle on which the 'new style' was based, viz. that the words should be inspired directly by the thoughts and feelings, and should correspond to them. This is what is set forth

by Dante in ll. 52–4, and is expressed in other words by Bonagiunta in ll. 58, 59. The schools of poetry which preceded the 'new style' were (1) the Sicilian school, under Provençal influence, to which the Notary (Jacopo da Lentini, in the first half of Cent. xiii) belonged; and (2) the *scuola dottrinale*, which theorized and philosophized on love, to which Guittone d' Arezzo (second half of Cent. xiii) and Bonagiunta belonged. The writers of the new school, to which Dante belonged, were distinguished from these by being natural, while they were conventional.

58, 59. **le vostre penne**, &c.: 'your pens follow closely the inspiration of Love (**il dittator**, him who dictates).'

61, 62. **E qual**, &c.: 'and he who sets himself to look more closely into the matter finds no further distinction than this between the two styles'; i. e. this is the essential point of difference. For the force of the prepositions in l. 62, and the explanation of the idiom, cp. Inf. xix. 113, 'E che altro è da voi all' idolatre,' 'what difference is there between,' &c.

64. **gli augei**: the cranes. The flight of these birds has already furnished Dante with a simile in Inf. v. 46, 47, and probably they are also meant in Par. xviii. 73–5.

72. **Fin che**, &c.: 'until his heavy breathing is assuaged,' lit. 'exhaled.' **l' affollar**: 'the panting,' lit. 'pressure,' from *folla*, 'crowd,' 'press.'

75. **riveggia**: i. e. here in Purgatory.

80, 81. **si spolpa**: 'is depleted.' **disposto**: 'ordained,' 'doomed'; cp. Par. viii. 104.

82–4. **quei**: Corso Donati, Forese's brother, leader of the Black Guelfs. According to Villani (viii. 96) he met his death at the hands of certain Catalans, after he had thrown himself from his horse to escape from being given up to the citizens. Dante's account of the occurrence is different, and possibly various versions of it existed; but it looks as if the Poet had given it a colouring of his own, so as to make it appear miraculous. **la valle**, &c.: the abyss of the Inferno, 'where there is never forgiveness.'

86, 87. **Crescendo**: 'increasing in speed.' **vilmente disfatto**: 'hideously mutilated.'

88. **molto**: the time was eight years, for the date of Corso Donati's death was Oct. 6, 1308.

91. **ti rimani**: in other words, 'I must leave thee.'

95–7. **che cavalchi**: 'which is riding to meet the enemy.' **del primo intoppo**: 'of being the first to engage the foe.' **valchi**: 'steps,' an archaic word.

98, 99. **con esso i due**: 'with those two only'; for the use of **esso** with **con** cp. Inf. xxxii. 62; Purg. iv. 27. **maliscalchi**: 'leaders,' lit. 'marshals'; Virgil and Statius are meant.

100–2. **entrato**: *entrare innanzi* is used for 'to pass on in front'; cp. Purg. iii. 101. 'And when he had passed on in front of us so far, that my eyes went in pursuit of his person, as my mind did of his words'; i. e. I was straining my eyes to keep him in view, as my mind was straining after the meaning of what he had said.

105. **Per esser**, &c.: 'because I had only just then turned (round the curve of the Cornice) in that direction.' **làci**: cp. *lici*, Purg. vii. 64.

110, 111. **per fare**, &c.: 'in order to render their longing exceedingly keen, he (**il pregato**) holds on high the object of their desire.'

116. **Legno**: the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, which grows in the Terrestrial Paradise on the summit of the Mountain (**più su**); cp. Purg. xxxii. 38.

119, 120. **ristretti**, &c.: 'drawing close together, we passed onward on the side which rises,' i. e. on the side towards the Mountain. They passed between the tree and the flank of the Mountain, and the narrowness of the space forced them to draw close together.

121–3. **dicea**: in like manner as the voice in the former tree had recited the examples of temperance (Purg. xxii. 142 foll.), so the voice in this tree proclaims the examples of gluttony. These are (1) the Centaurs; (2) the companions of Gideon—one from the classics, the other from Scripture. **maledetti**: the Centaurs, who were born of Ixion and the Cloud (**Nei nuvoli formati**), and whose two natures, of man and horse, were joined at the breast (**doppi petti**). When they were drunk with wine (**satolli**) at the marriage feast of Hippodamia and Pirithous, they strove to carry off the bride and the other women, but were resisted and overcome by Theseus and the Lapithae. The story is told in Ovid, *Met.* xii. 210 foll., which was Dante's authority, as we see from the epithet *nubigenae* (l. 211), and the expression *duo pectora* (l. 377).

124–6. **molli**: 'weak,' i. e. unrestrained. These were the

people in Gideon's company who 'bowed down on their knees to drink water,' in contrast with the three hundred who 'lapped, putting their hand to their mouth'; in consequence of which Gideon 'sent all the men of Israel every man unto his tent, but retained the three hundred men' (Judges vii. 6, 8). **non v' ebbe**: read *non n' ebbe*; 'had none of them in his company.' **discese i colli**: 'the camp of Midian was beneath him in the valley,' v. 8.

127–9. **all' un**, &c.: 'to one (the inner) of the two edges' of the Cornice; cp. l. 120. **vivagni**: lit. 'selvages'; cp. Inf. xiv. 123. **udendo**, &c.: 'listening to examples of the sin of gluttony, which were followed erewhile by a disastrous recompense'; 'erewhile,' because they were stories of old days.

130–2. **rallargati**: 'once more at large' (Cary); this is in contrast with *ristretti* of l. 119. **sola**: from which the spirits had departed. **Contemplando ciascun**: 'each of us rapt in thought.'

135. **poltre**: 'sluggish'; cp. *spoltrare*, 'to get rid of sluggishness,' in Inf. xxiv. 46: our word 'poltroon' is connected with this (Skeat).

136. **fossi**: archaic form of 3 sing. imperf. subj., for *fosse*; cp. Inf. iv. 64, *dicessi*; ix. 60, *chiudessi*.

139–41. **un**: the Angel of the sixth Cornice. **dar volta**: to turn towards the entrance of the passage. **per pace**: to seek the repose of the Blessed.

143, 144. **mi volsi**, &c.: 'I turned round and went behind my instructors, like one who in walking guides himself by sounds' (of words or footsteps).

149, 150. **la piuma**: the Angel's wing. By the movement of this the sixth P is obliterated from Dante's forehead. **ambrosia**: i. e. heavenly dainties, in contrast to those which tempt human appetite. **orezza**: 'breath,' 'fragrance'; der. from Lat. *aura*, see note on Inf. xvii. 87. Dante appears here to have had in his mind Virg. *Georg.* iv. 415, 'liquidum ambrosiae diffundit odorem.'

151–4. **Beati**: the Beatitude for this Cornice is 'Blessed are they that hunger for righteousness,' but it is adapted here, so as to mean, 'Blessed are they who hunger in accordance with right,' i. e. who observe the just mean in respect of diet. The part of this Beatitude which refers to thirst has been already used in the fifth

Cornice. **non fuma:** 'does not excite'; the transitions of meaning through which this sense of *fumare* is arrived at seem to be 'smoke,' 'exhale,' 'excite.' **Esuriendo:** 'hungering for'; take with **l' amor del gusto:** the word is from the Lat. *esurire*, which occurs in the Beatitude.

CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT.—As they mount the ascent Dante propounds the question, How can disembodied spirits, which have no need of nutriment, grow lean? At Virgil's request, Statius in answer to this explains the origin and development of the body, and of both the lower and the higher soul, in man. He further declares that after death the formative power which resides in the soul impresses itself on the air in such a manner as to reproduce the likeness of the living man; and the result is what is called a shade. This figure is affected by impressions communicated through the desires and feelings; and thus it is that a spirit can grow lean by contemplating objects which excite hunger. They now reach the seventh Cornice, where the spirits of the lustful are purified in the fire.

LINE 1. **Ora era onde,** &c.: 'the hour was such that the ascent did not admit of delay'; lit. 'it was an hour in consequence of which (i. e. so advanced that) the ascent did not brook hindrance.'

2, 3. **Chè il sole,** &c.: 'for the sun had left the meridian circle to the Bull, and night (i. e. the point of midnight) to the Scorpion.' The sun being now in Aries, the time when Taurus is on the meridian of noon would be about 2 p.m. Scorpio is only mentioned because it is the sign opposite Taurus, whence it is at this time on the meridian of midnight.

7–9. **callaia:** 'opening,' 'passage'; lit. 'a gap in a hedge.' **dispaia:** 'forces to walk singly,' lit. 'uncouples.'

14, 15. **venendo,** &c.: 'arriving at last at the movement of the lips which he makes who is preparing to speak.' For **atto** cp. Inf. xxiii. 88, 'atto della gola'; and for **s' argomenta** Inf. xxii. 21.

16. **Non lasciò:** 'did not forbear speaking'; cp. Purg. xiv. 55, 'Nè lascerò di dir.' **per l' andar,** &c.: 'owing to the swiftness of

our pace'; the subjunct. **fosse** shows that **che** is not a pronoun but a conjunction; it is not 'owing to our pace, which was swift,' but 'owing to our pace, that it was swift.' **ratto**: it will be remarked that, as Dante had now only one P remaining on his forehead, he makes no mention of fatigue, as he had done in the lower Cornices of Purgatory.

17, 18. **Scocca**, &c.: the form of expression involves an apparent confusion between the bow and the arrow; 'let fly the bow of speech, which thou hast drawn even to the head of the arrow.'

21. **non tocca**: 'does not affect the person.'

22–4. **Meleagro**: shortly after Meleager's birth the Fates appeared, and declared that he would die as soon as a piece of wood which was burning on the hearth should be consumed. His mother Althaea, on hearing this, extinguished the brand and concealed it in a chest. In consequence of this he wore a charmed life; but at last, when he had slain his mother's brothers, she in revenge lighted the brand, and he died. The story is given in Ovid, *Met.* viii. 260 foll. The point of the comparison is, that as Meleager was wasted away by the secret working of the burning brand, so the spiritual body is pined by the occult influence of the sight of food. **agro**: 'difficult,' lit. 'sour'; cp. *acerbe*, Par. xxx. 79.

25–7. The point here is that, as the likeness in the mirror follows the changes of the face reflected in it, so the shade is affected by changes of feeling in the soul to which it belongs. **vizzo**: 'easy,' lit. 'flaccid,' 'yielding.'

28. **perchè**: 'in order that you may master (lit. be at your ease in) the heart of the subject (**dentro**) according to your wishes.'

31, 32. **la veduta eterna**: 'the eternal view' is the aspect of the matter as it appears to God. As Statius represents philosophy enlightened by Christianity, Virgil, being a heathen, rightly deputes him to deal with such a subject. **dislego**: 'explain,' lit. 'untie.' **dove tu sie**: 'in thy (Virgil's) presence.'

36. **al come**, &c.: 'the "how" that thou sayest'='thy question'; see l. 20.

37–108. In order to answer the question, 'How can one grow lean there, where there is no need of nourishment (i. e. where the persons affected are spirits)?' Statius explains first the theory of the formation of the body with the vegetative and sensitive soul (ll. 37–60); next the infusion into this of the rational soul (ll. 61–78);

then the mode of existence of the soul, after it is separated from the body by death (ll. 79–87); and finally, the formation of the 'shade' and its nature (ll. 88–108). The account of the origin and development of the human body and soul which is here given, is due in the first instance to Aristotle, who discussed the subject in his *De Generatione Animalium*, i. 19, &c. (see the passages in Butler's Translation of the Purgatorio, p. 319); his view was afterwards elaborated and interpreted by Aquinas in his *Summa*, i. Q. 118, 119; and Dante, who follows these authorities, has treated of the question in *Conv.* iv. 21. ll. 32 foll.

37–9. **Sangue,** &c.: 'perfect (i. e. highly refined) blood, which in no case is drawn from the thirsty veins, and which remains behind, like food that you remove from table.' By 'perfect blood' is meant the *semen*. **che mai,** &c.: this remark is inserted to exclude the idea, which Aquinas condemns as erroneous, that the *semen* is an excretion of the blood which passes through the veins. **assetate:** 'thirsty,' because the veins are continually supplying the nutriment to the limbs, and consequently require to be replenished. **si rimane:** this is the origin of the *semen*, which is that part of the digested food which remains, after the rest has been carried off through the veins. **alimento,** &c.: the remains of a meal, which is cleared away after the guests (i. e. here the veins) are satisfied. **leve:** archaic for *levi*.

40–2. **Prende,** &c.: 'receives in the heart informing power for all the members of the human body, just like the other blood which takes its course through the veins in order to be converted into those members'; i. e. just as the ordinary blood supports the parts of the body in the grown man, so the 'perfect blood' after passing through the heart possesses the power of forming the various members in the embryo. **nel core:** the heart, according to Aristotle, is the source of life in the embryo, *De Gen. Animal.* ii. 4. 15, ἀρχὴ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως ἡ καρδία. **vane:** for *se ne va*.

43–5. **Ancor,** &c.: 'after the second process of digestion it descends to the part of which it is more becoming to keep silence than to speak, and afterwards it drops thence upon another's blood in the natural receptacle,' i. e. the *matrix*. **Ancor digesto:** the first process of digestion is the ordinary one of food, the second that which takes place in the heart. **geme:** for the meaning 'drops' cp. Inf. xiii. 41.

46–8. **Ivi,** &c.: 'there the one blood and the other mingle;—the one (that of the female) appointed to be passive, the other (that of the male) to be active owing to the perfect place (the heart) from which it proceeds.' **Per lo,** &c.: this refers to **l' altro a fare** only. Aristotle distinctly maintains that the female does not contribute *semen*; *De Gen. Animal.* i. 19. 15, *τὸ θῆλυ οὐ συμβάλλεται σπέρμα εἰς τὴν γένεσιν.*

49–51. **E giunto lui,** &c.: this, as far as the construction is concerned, is continued from l. 45, the intermediate lines forming a parenthesis. 'And being united with it (i. e. with the blood of the female) it commences to operate, first by amalgamating with it, and afterwards it vivifies that to which it gave consistency that it might serve as the material for it to work upon.'

52–7. These lines describe the formation of the sensitive soul, as the part of the argument which precedes describes that of the vegetative soul. 'The active power (i. e. that which proceeds from the male) having become a soul (i. e. a vegetative soul), like that of a plant—only differing from it in this, that the soul in the human embryo is in an elementary stage (lit. in progress), while the life of the plant has reached its ultimate development (**riva**, its destination)—thereafter works so much that it now moves and feels, like a zoophyte (which has a sensitive soul, but in the lowest stage of development); and, as the next stage, it takes in hand to provide with organs the faculties which spring from it (lit. of which it is the seed).' **organar**: for the meaning cp. l. 101. **le posse**: the faculties of seeing, hearing, &c.

58–60. **Or si spiega,** &c.: 'at this point, my son, is expanded and developed the power which proceeds from the heart of the begetter, in which nature is intent on forming all the members.' **ove,** &c.: the statement here is a repetition of that in ll. 40, 41.

61. **fante**: 'a child,' and by inference 'a rational being.' *Fante*, *fantolino* are used elsewhere in Dante for 'infant,' 'young child'; cp. Par. xxxiii. 107; Purg. xxiv. 108: they are abbreviated from *infante*. This is corroborated by the fact that *fanti* in the sense of 'foot-soldiers'—which is found both in Dante and Villani, and therefore at an early period of the language, and which originally signified 'young men attendant on knights' (see Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s. v. 'Infantry')—is abbreviated from *infanti*. In the present passage *fante* is taken by most commentators as meaning 'one gifted

with speech' (from Lat. *fari*), and by inference 'one who has reason'; but no other instance of *fante* in the sense of 'a speaking being' seems to be found in Italian.

63. **più savio di te**: Averroes is meant, who deals with this subject in his Commentary on Aristotle (the *gran comento* of Inf. iv. 144). Dante however, like Aquinas whom he is here following, misunderstood Averroes, for the view which is here attributed to him with regard to the *intellectus possibilis*, was really held by him concerning the *intellectus agens*. For the explanation of these terms see next note.

64–6. **Sì che**, &c.: 'so that in his teaching he separated from the soul the "possible intellect," because he did not see any organ appropriated by it'; i. e. he found that every function of the soul has its corresponding organ—eyes for seeing, ears for hearing, &c.—but there was no organ corresponding to the higher soul at large; hence he concluded that the rational element in man does not form part of the individual soul, but belongs to the universal intellect, which is one and indivisible for all men. From this it would follow that there would be no separate personal existence after death. **il possibile intelletto**: the 'possible intellect' is the Scholastic name for the higher intellectual power in man, which deals with abstract ideas; the 'active intellect' gathers the abstract ideas from sensible objects, and communicates them to the 'possible intellect.' According to Averroes the element in men, which exists independently of them and is indivisible, though they partake of it, is the 'active intellect'; see Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroisme*, p. 123.

67. **Apri**, &c.: Statius here proceeds to expound the origin of the rational soul, on which subject two views existed in the middle ages, viz. (1) Creationism, which maintained that this element in every case came direct from God; (2) Traducianism, which regarded it as being inherited from the parent. Statius adheres to the former, which was that of Aquinas.

68, 69. **feto**: the *fetus* is the young when perfectly formed in the womb; before that it is the embryo. **L' articular**: by 'articulation' is meant the organization of the parts.

70, 71. **Lo Motor primo**: God, who is here represented as rejoicing (**lieto**) in the work of creation; cp. Purg. xvi. 89, 'lieto fattore.' **arte**: 'display of skill,' viz. the art or skill of nature shown in the structure of the *fetus*.

73, 74. **Che ciò,** &c.: the rational soul, which is infused by the Creator, appropriates to itself the active element, which it finds in the *fetus*, i. e. the vegetative and sensitive soul. **sola:** this word provides against the view that there can be more than one soul in man; this opinion has been noticed in Purg. iv. 5, 6.

75. **sè in sè rigira:** 'turns itself in upon itself,' i. e. is conscious of its own existence, which power distinguishes the rational being from all other animals. These words explain the function of the higher part of the soul, as distinguished from that which **vive e sente.**

77, 78. **Guarda,** &c.: as the heat of the sun passes into the juice of the grape and forms wine, so the rational soul, which proceeds from God, entering into the vegetative and sensitive soul, forms the perfect human soul. **cola:** 'percolates,' 'distils.'

79. **E quando,** &c.: 'and when the thread of life has run out'; for Lachesis see note on Purg. xxi. 27. Statius here proceeds to describe what happens to the soul after death, and how it forms a 'shade,' the appearance of which can be affected by external objects, such as those which excite hunger; he thus solves the difficulty which Dante had originally suggested. The reason why Dante elaborated the theory of the formation of the 'shade' or aerial body which he here describes probably is, that for the purpose of his poem it was necessary to represent the souls as visible and capable of being recognized, just as the twilight of the Inferno was indispensable for the exigences of his treatment of that part of his subject. His views on this point are at variance with those of Aquinas, who says 'anima separata a corpore non habet aliquod corpus' (*Summa*, iii. Suppl. Q. 69, Art. 1).

80–4. **Solvesi,** &c.: 'the soul separates from the flesh, and carries with it potentially (**in virtute**) both its human and its divine element.' The human element is the powers of the vegetative and sensitive soul, the divine element those of the rational soul; and 'potentially' is added, because the former set of powers—**L' altre potenze** of l. 82—are inoperative (**mute**); that is to say, the powers which depend on the body exist in the soul after death, but cannot act without the body. **in virtute:** Aquinas (*Summa*, i. Q. 77, Art. 8) says of the powers of the vegetative and sensitive soul after death—'virtute tantum manent in anima'; the expression is equivalent to the Scholastic term *virtualiter*, which, like 'virtually'

in Engl., is opposed to 'actually.' **L' altre potenze:** this is governed by **porta seco,** and represents **l' umano,** while **Memoria, intelligenza, e voluntade** stand for **il divino. in atto,** &c.: 'far more keen in their working than before,' since they are no longer impeded by the burden of the flesh.

86, 87. **all' una,** &c.: the lost souls to the shore of the Acheron (Inf. iii. 71), those destined for Purgatory to the shore at the mouth of the Tiber (Purg. ii. 100–5). **le sue strade:** the direction it is to take, whether to Hell or Purgatory.

88–90. **Tosto che,** &c.: 'as soon as it is circumscribed there by place,' i. e. has reached a definite spot, one of the two *rive.* **la virtù formativa:** this 'formative power' works in the same way as the *virtute informativa* of l. 41, but is not the same with it, for that belongs to the vegetative soul, which is now inoperative. **raggia intorno:** 'radiates (i. e. disperses its influence) around.' **Così,** &c.: 'in the same manner and the same measure as it did in the limbs during life.'

92. **Per l' altrui,** &c.: 'owing to another's (the sun's) ray which is refracted in it (the air).'

94–6. **Così l' aer,** &c.: 'so here the neighbouring air takes the form which the soul that alighted there impresses on it by its innate power.' The formation of the 'shade' or aerial body by the influence of the formative power of the soul on the neighbouring air is compared in the simile to the colouring of the atmosphere by the sun's rays when a rainbow is formed. **Virtualmente** refers to the *virtù formativa* of l. 89.

100–2. **Perocchè,** &c.: 'the soul, inasmuch as it afterwards becomes visible (lit. has its visibility) by means of this aerial body, is called a shade.' The stress of the sentence is not so much on **quindi** as on **ha sua paruta.** The point which is in common between the soul seen in this aerial form and a shadow is, that both are visible and both are impalpable. Hence the name of 'shade' came to be used, as it was by the ancients, for this condition of the soul. **organa,** &c.: 'it provides organs for every sense, even including sight'; for the meaning of **organa** cp. l. 57.

106–8. **affiggono:** 'impress'; the other uses of this verb—e. g. *i piedi affissi,* Inf. xviii. 43; *s' affisse,* 'stopped,' Inf. xii. 115—suggest that it is from the Lat. *affigere.* **si figura:** 'shapes itself,' i. e. takes this or that aspect. **di che tu ammiri:** 'of that

which causes thy wonder,' viz. the shades in this Cornice appearing wasted with hunger.

109 foll. **E già**: in the seventh Cornice, which is now reached, (1) the sin expiated is lust; (2) the punishment is passing through the fire; (3) the examples of the virtue of chastity are the Blessed Virgin and Diana; (4) the examples of the vice are Sodom and Gomorrah, and Pasiphaë; (5) the manner of their presentation is by the voices of spirits in the fire; (6) the passage from a Church Office is *Summae Deus clementiae*; (7) the Beatitude pronounced is *Beati mundo corde.*

109. **ultima tortura**: the last turn or winding of the ascent; such windings are described in Purg. x. 7–9.

111. **cura**: 'source of anxiety'; this is explained by what follows.

112–4. **Quivi,** &c.: the meaning is:—flames burst out from the wall of rock, and a wind blows upward from the edge of the Cornice, which wind turns back the flame, and removes it to a distance from the edge. In this way a passage clear of the flames was formed along the edge. The fire here corresponds symbolically to the burning passion of lust.

119, 120. **tenere,** &c.: 'to curb the eyes tightly,' i. e. to prevent them from wandering to either side. **per poco**: 'easily.'

121. **Summae,** &c.: this is the first line of the Matins hymn for Saturday. In modern Breviaries it appears as 'Summae Parens clementiae,' but in Dante's time the form in use was that which he has given here; see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 38. The following verses of this hymn are specially suitable to those who are punished in this Cornice:—'Nostros pius cum canticis Fletus benigne suscipe, Ut corde puro sordium Te perfruamur largius. Lumbos iecurque morbidum Flammis adure congruis: Accincti ut artus excubent Luxu remoto pessimo.'

123. **Che di volger,** &c.: 'which caused me to be not less anxious to turn towards the sound than to keep my eyes on the path.'

128. **Virum,** &c.: this is the first example of chastity, viz. the Blessed Virgin, who said to the Angel, 'How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?' Luke i. 34.

130–2. **Al bosco,** &c.: the second example, which is from the classics, is that of the chaste indignation of Diana against Helice; 'Diana stayed in the wood, and expelled Helice from it.' Helice

or Callisto, one of the attendant nymphs of Diana, was seduced by Jupiter; and having been discovered by Diana in a wood to which the goddess and her companions had retired to bathe, and her unchastity having been revealed, she was banished by her from her company. Dante took the story from Ovid, *Met.* ii. 401 foll., where 'nemus gelidum' (l. 455) corresponds to **bosco**, and 'I procul hinc, dixit' (l. 464) to **Elice caccionne.** As to **si tenne**—it is implied by Ovid that Diana kept within the wood, and this is interpreted by Dante as being a proof of her modesty and chastity.

134, 135. **Gridavano:** 'they proclaimed the names of.' **imponne:** for *ne impone*, 'enjoins upon us.'

136. **questo modo:** the alternation of the hymn and the examples.

138, 139. **Con tal,** &c.: 'by such treatment and by such diet must the wound (of sin) at last be closed (lit. sewn up).' The treatment is the fiery purgation, the diet the hymn and the examples. For **dassezzo** cp. Inf. vii. 130.

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT.—Dante and his companions, as they proceed along the Cornice, keep close to the outer edge, the remaining part being covered by the flames. The spirits in the fire discover that Dante is a living man from the shadow which he casts; and one of them questions him concerning this. When Dante perceives that the speaker is Guido Guinicelli, he expresses profound admiration for his verses; but Guido points out to him another shade, whom he considers to be superior to all his contemporaries as a writer of lyrics. This is Arnaut Daniel, the Provençal poet, with whom Dante afterwards converses.

LINE 3. **giovi,** &c.: 'profit by my warnings,' lit. 'let it profit thee that I call thy attention.'

4–6. **Feriami,** &c.: the time is apparently about 4 or 5 p.m., since the sun is getting low in the west. This is indicated by two circumstances; (1) the blue of the western sky is turned pale by his

light; and (2) his rays strike Dante on the shoulder, which indicates a low altitude; see Moore, *Time-Ref.*, p. 108. **Mutava,** &c.: 'was turning all the western sky from a blue to a white hue,' lit. 'into a white tint from being blue.'

7–9. **più rovente:** the red hue of fire is deepened when seen in shade. **pure a tanto indizio . . . poner mente:** 'notice merely so slight a token' of my being more than a shade.

11, 12. **cominciarsi,** &c.: 'they began to say to one another, "that does not look like an unreal body."' By **fittizio** the aërial body of the shades is intended.

14, 15. **con riguardo,** &c.: they were anxious not to delay their purification even for a moment.

16–8. **O tu:** the speaker here is Guido Guinicelli. **sete:** i. e. the desire to know Dante's condition; cp. the use of the word in l. 20.

21. **fredda Indo:** the metrical *hiatus* between these words is exceptional. **Etiopo:** the geographical authorities whom Dante followed placed the Ethiopians in the extreme south of Africa, and therefore, according to them, in the Tropics; cp. Oros. i. 2. 88; Brun. Lat. *Tesoro*, Bk. iii, Ch. 4.

25, 26. **fora,** &c.: 'I should have revealed myself'; **fora** is for *sarei*, **manifesto** for *manifestato*.

29. **Venia gente,** &c.: the first of these two bands is composed of the incontinent who have not violated the laws of nature, the second of those who have done so; this distinction is explained in ll. 76–87.

31, 32. **farsi presta:** 'hasten.' **baciarsi:** the kiss of brotherly love in Purgatory takes the place of the kiss of sensual indulgence in the former life.

34–6. **Così,** &c.: in this simile of the ants Dante is thought to have borrowed his information from a passage in Pliny's *Natural History* (xi. 109, 110), where the habit of that insect which is here mentioned is described in a very similar manner. Dante, however, does not elsewhere betray any knowledge of Pliny's work, though he mentions him among famous prose writers (see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 7). It seems more probable that the remarks which he introduces here are the result of personal observation. Any one who watches two lines of ants meeting, and notices how they nose one another in passing, will understand what he means by his simile.

Forse, &c.: 'perchance to inquire about their road and the prospects of their journey.'

37–9. **Tosto che**, &c.: 'soon as they break off the friendly greeting, and ere they move a footstep from their meeting-place,' lit. 'before the first footstep passes on there.' **Sopragridar**: 'to outcry (cry louder than) the other.'

40–2. The examples of the vice, two in number, are here recited by the spirits; the former of them, which is taken from Scripture, is that of Sodom and Gomorrah; the latter, which is taken from the classics, that of Pasiphaë. **Soddoma**: Gen. xix. 5. **Pasife**: Pasiphaë, in order to have intercourse with a bull, entered the figure of a wooden cow, the 'falsa vacca' of Inf. xii. 13: cp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 24, 25; Ov. *Ars Amat.* i. 325. Pasiphaë represents the brutishness of unrestrained indulgence; see note on l. 83.

43–5. **Rife**: the Rhipaean mountains were an imaginary chain of mountains in northern Europe, in the existence of which, however, both the Greeks and the Romans believed. Among Dante's geographical authorities they are mentioned by Solinus, xvii. 1, by Orosius, i. 2. 52, and by Isidore, *Orig.* xiv. 8, who says, 'Riphaei montes in capite Germaniae sunt, a perpetuo ventorum flatu nominati (ῥιφή).' **Volasser**: 'might fly.' The mood shows that the description of the flight of the cranes is hypothetical, and this lessens the difficulty involved in the Poet's seeming to describe flights of cranes going northwards and southwards at the same season, whereas they fly in one direction in spring, in the other direction in autumn. That the same season is not intended is clear from l. 45; but some awkwardness remains, for the point of the passage is the two bands separating, and this is accentuated by **parte . . . parte**. **l' arene**: the parched country of the south.

47, 48. **primi canti**: the hymn mentioned in Purg. xxv. 121, while **il gridar** is the recitation of the examples, *ibid.* ll. 128–32. **che più**, &c.: 'which suits best their particular case.'

52. **lor grato**: 'their desire,' lit. 'that which was pleasing to them.'

55. **acerbe**: from meaning 'unripe' (Purg. xi. 117) *acerbo* comes to mean 'in an early stage'; hence **acerbe nè mature** signifies 'neither in youth nor in age.'

58–60. **per non**, &c.: that my eyes may be enlightened by the sights of the spiritual world. **Donna**: the Blessed Virgin; cp.

Inf. ii. 94. **ne:** 'for us,' i. e. for men in general. **il mortal:** cp. 'this mortal' of 1 Cor. xv. 53 (Engl. Trans.).

61–3. **se,** &c.: 'so may your highest longing (the desire of the higher life) soon be satisfied.' **più ampio,** &c.: 'extends most amply.' The heaven here meant is the Empyrean, where all the souls of the Blessed abide, though they revealed themselves to Dante in the lower spheres; see Par. iv. 28 foll. and note there. This heaven encircles all the other heavens.

64. **acciocchè,** &c.: 'that hereafter I may commit your answer to writing'; lit. 'may mark paper with it.' Since among the spirits in Purgatory there was no desire to be remembered on earth, as there was among those in Hell, the appeal here must be to their desire to obtain the prayers of the living on their behalf.

72. **s' attuta:** 'is quieted'; the word is probably derived from Lat. *tutus*.

73. **marche:** 'marches,' 'domains'; cp. Purg. xix. 45.

76–8. **La gente:** this is the band composed of those who in their incontinency had violated the laws of nature. **Di ciò,** &c.: Dante appears to have here combined two stories which are told by Suetonius (*Vita Iul. Caes.* c. 49) with regard to Caesar's youthful debaucheries with Nicomedes king of Bithynia—one to the effect that his soldiers on the occasion of a triumph sang a ribald song about them, the other that on another occasion a person named Octavius addressed him as 'Queen.' Dante's authority, however, was probably not Suetonius, with whose writings he appears not to have been acquainted, but Uguccione da Pisa, in whose *Magnae Derivationes* the incident is narrated in the same manner as in Dante, the two original stories being similarly amalgamated. See Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 149.

81. **aiutan,** &c.: the meaning is, that the sense of shame by its moral influence acts coincidently with the physical punishment in producing the purgatorial purification.

82–4. **ermafrodito:** the mythical figure Hermaphroditus, being a compound of both sexes, is taken by Dante as a type of unlimited indulgence in sensuality between the two sexes; hence the use of the adjective 'hermaphrodite' here. **umana legge:** the law of reason and conscience, which assigns the due limits to such intercourse, whereas animals are led by appetite only. This passage has sometimes been interpreted as referring to the baser form of

unnatural crime, viz. intercourse with the lower animals; but it is to be observed that in the corresponding part of the Inferno (Cantos XV, XVI) this vice is not mentioned. This being so, it would be strange to find it introduced in Purgatory, especially in the cases of men like Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel, for whom Dante had so great respect.

85–7. **si legge**: 'is recited.' **schegge**: the planks which formed Pasiphaë's wooden cow.

90. **Tempo**, &c.: 'it is not a fitting time to tell their names,' because the sun is getting low. **non saprei**: i. e. *non saprei dire*, 'I could not tell them, because they are so numerous that I do not know them all.'

91. **Farotti**, &c.: 'I will satisfy in sooth (**ben** for *bensì*) thy desire of knowing me': the construction is, *ti farò scemo di voler saper chi sono io*, lit. 'I will make thee void of the wish to know who I am'; cp. *vuoi saper chi semo* in l. 89.

92, 93. **Guido**: Guido Guinicelli of Bologna, the best of the Italian poets before Dante, and the originator of the 'dolce stil nuovo' (on which see Purg. xxiv. 55–7 and note); born circ. 1230; from the present passage we learn that he died before 1300, the date of Dante's Vision. He is referred to also in Purg. xi. 97. **e già**, &c.: 'and I am already purging myself (without having to delay in the Ante-Purgatory) because I fully repented before arriving at the end of my life'; i. e. he had not deferred his repentance, like the Negligent.

94, 95. **Quali**, &c.: when Hypsipyle was about to be put to death by Lycurgus king of Nemea, who believed that she had caused by her negligence the death of his son Opheltes (**la tristizia di Licurgo**), she was recognized and saved by her two sons, Euneus and Thoas. Statius (*Theb.* v. 720–2) says of the recognition—'per tela manusque Irruerunt, matremque avidis complexibus ambo Diripiunt flentes.' It is to this that Dante compares the impetuosity of his feelings on finding himself in the presence of Guido Guinicelli.

96. **non a tanto**, &c.: 'I do not rise to such a height of feeling,' i. e. 'I am not so carried away,' for fear of the flames; cp. l. 102.

98. **miei miglior**: 'my masters'; notwithstanding the unusual self-depreciation on Dante's part which this involves, this seems to be the right rendering.

105. **l' affermar**: 'the form of assurance,' viz. an oath; cp. *giuraro*, l. 109.

106–8. **Tu lasci**, &c.: 'thou art leaving so marked and clear an imprint on my memory by reason of the words I hear, that the waters of Lethe cannot obliterate or obscure it.' The impression of which Guido speaks is Dante's declaration in ll. 55–60 that he is still in the body, and his explanation of the object of his journey.

112–4. **detti**: 'lays.' **vostri**: Dante here uses the dignified **vostri** for *tuoi*, as addressing his master; just as he uses *voi* for *tu* in addressing Brunetto Latini in Inf. xv. 30: see note on Purg. xxxiii. 92. **l' uso moderno**: the use of the vulgar tongue in writing of Love. **i loro inchiostri**: 'the very ink with which they were written.'

115–7. **questi**: Arnaut Daniel, the Provençal poet of the latter half of Cent. xii., who, like Giraut de Borneuil mentioned below, is often referred to by Dante in the *De Vulg. Eloq.* It was from him that Dante got the *sestina*; cp. *De V. El.* ii. 10. ll. 24–8. **Fu miglior**, &c.: 'was a better craftsman of his mother tongue,' i. e. of the Provençal dialect.

118, 119. **Versi**, &c.: the meaning is:—'he surpassed in literary skill all writers of his time, whether they composed in verse or in prose'; and this is equivalent to saying that he was superior to all Provençal and all French writers, for Dante tells us in the *De Vulg. Eloq.* (i. 10. ll. 12–20) that everything in vernacular prose was written in the *langue d'oïl*, i. e. French. The expressions **Versi d' amore** and **prose di romanze** are used to signify writers in those two forms of composition. At first sight, indeed, the words seem to imply that he surpassed all other writers in romances in prose; but Dante cannot have meant this, for Arnaut Daniel never wrote any prose romances. The high estimate of his poetry which is here given was shared by Petrarch (cp. *Trionfo d' Amore*, iv. 40–2), but modern writers take a different view. See Toynbee, *Dict.*, pp. 50, 51.

120. **quel di Lemosì**: Giraut de Borneuil of Limoges, a contemporary of Arnaut Daniel. He introduced into the Provençal lyrical poetry a more popular element, and this may have been the reason why Dante did not appreciate him. The general opinion has been that he is superior to Arnaut Daniel.

121–3. **voce**: 'a popular cry.' **Prima**, &c.: 'before the principles of art or right judgement get a hearing from them.'

124–6. **Guittone:** Guittone d' Arezzo; see Purg. xxiv. 56 and note, and cp. *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii. 6. ll. 85–9, where Dante again depreciates Guittone. **Di grido,** &c.: 'passing on in loud tones from mouth to mouth his praise and his only (**pur lui**), until in most men's minds the truth has mastered him'; i. e. until a true judgement has declared against him.

128. **chiostro:** Paradise.

131. **Quanto,** &c.: i. e. omitting the last petition, 'Lead us not into temptation,' &c., which is not applicable to those in Purgatory; cp. Purg. xi. 22–4.

133, 134. **per dar,** &c.: 'to make room for others who chanced to be near him,' lit. 'according as (**secondo Che**) he had them near.' If a comma is read after **secondo,** that word should be taken with **loco**; but in any case **altrui** cannot refer to Arnaut, because he is said to have been in front, ll. 116, 136.

136–8. **Io mi feci,** &c.: 'I advanced a little towards the person designated'; cp. ll. 115, 116. **E dissi,** &c.: 'and I said that my desire of knowing him prepared me beforehand to welcome his name.'

139. **liberamente:** 'frankly,' i. e. without waiting for further solicitation.

140–7. **Tan m' abelis,** &c.: these lines, in which Arnaut Daniel addresses Dante, are in the Provençal language. The following is Longfellow's literal verse translation of them, altered in some points so as to suit the Oxford Text. 'So pleases me your courteous demand, I cannot and I will not hide me from you. I am Arnaut, who weep and singing go; Contrite I see the folly of the past, and blissful see the hoped-for joy before me. Now do I supplicate you, by that power Which guides you to the summit of the stairs, Be mindful in due season of my pain.' **Consiros:** lit. 'thoughtful,' connected with Lat. *considerare.* **iauzen:** Lat. *gaudens.* **Ara** = *ora.* **Sovenha vos,** &c.: i. e. pray when the occasion offers that my time in Purgatory may be shortened.

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT.—The angel who presides over this Cornice announces to Dante that in order to advance further he must pass through the fire; and the fear by which he is seized in consequence of this is only overcome by Virgil's reminding him that on the farther side he will behold Beatrice. On emerging from the flames they are directed by another angel to the last of the stairways on the Mountain; and here, as night is approaching, they make for themselves a resting-place until the morning. Dante now dreams a dream, in which his meeting with Matelda and Beatrice in the Terrestrial Paradise is foreshadowed. At daybreak they continue the ascent, and when they have reached the summit of the stairs Virgil formally declares that his office as Dante's guide and instructor is at an end.

LINES 1–5. **Sì come,** &c.: the general meaning is:—'the position of the sun as seen from the Mountain of Purgatory corresponded to (**Sì stava il sole . . . come**) sunrise at Jerusalem, midnight in Spain, and noon on the Ganges.' In the notes to Purg. ii. 1–9 and iv. 138 it is pointed out that according to Dante the Mountain of Purgatory was the antipodes of Jerusalem, and the habitable world extended over half the circumference of the globe from E. to W., the extreme limits being respectively the mouth of the Ganges and Spain. Here we are told that the sun is rising at Jerusalem, and it is midnight on the Ebro in Spain, and midday on the Ganges; consequently it is sunset in Purgatory. Sunset here is spoken of approximately, for the actual disappearance of the sun is not mentioned until l. 61. **vibra:** 'scatters.' **Là:** at Jerusalem. **Cadendo:** the English equivalent, when the position of a place relatively to the heavenly bodies is spoken of, is 'lying.' **Ibero:** the Ebro, Seville, Gades, the Straits, and Morocco are used indiscriminately to represent the western limit of the world. **l' alta Libra:** 'Libra on high,' i. e. on the meridian. As the sun was now in Aries, it being the vernal equinox, the middle point of night, which was directly opposite to the sun, was in Libra, the constellation opposite to Aries; cp. Purg. ii. 4, 5. Thus to say that the Ebro was under Libra is equivalent to saying that it was midnight in Spain. **nona:** 'noon.' Skeat remarks (*Etym. Dict.*, s. v. 'Noon') that 'noon' meant originally the ninth hour of the day, or 3 p.m.,

but afterwards the time of the Church service called *nones* was altered, and the term came to be applied to midday. In ordinary Italian *nona* is only used for 'nones.' **riarse:** an absolute participle, corresponding to **cadendo**, 'the waves of the Ganges being heated by the noon-tide.' Translate the whole passage thus:—'As when the sun scatters its first rays at the place where its Creator shed his blood, while the Ebro lies beneath Libra on high, and the waves of the Ganges are heated by the noon-tide, such was its position now.'

6. **l' Angel di Dio:** the angel here resembles the former ones in saying the Beatitude, but differs from them in not being stationed at the foot of the next stairway. His office is to guard the Cornice, while the angel at the stairway is the guardian of the approach to the Terrestrial Paradise (cp. ll. 58–60). It is also to be remarked that neither of these angels removes the last P from Dante's forehead; and it has been suggested that this takes place when he passes through the fire.

8. **Beati,** &c.: 'blessed are the pure in heart'; this is the Beatitude for those who have expiated the sin of Lust.

10–2. **se pria,** &c.: 'without first feeling the burning (lit. grip) of the fire.' It is to be observed that Dante passes through the fire unavoidably; therefore nothing can be deduced from it concerning his having committed the sin expiated in this Cornice. **di là:** on the further side of the flames. The 'chant' was that of the angel, which is mentioned in l. 58. They are bidden to give ear to this, because its sound was to guide them through the fire.

15. **fossa:** 'pit,' referring to the punishment of malefactors who were set head downwards in the earth; cp. Inf. xix. 50.

16–8. **In sulle man,** &c.: the description of the attitude of fear is very vivid. Dante clasps his hands, and bends forward over them, peering at the flames. **già veduti:** 'which I erewhile had seen.' Burning was a mode of punishment at Florence at this period, and Dante himself had been condemned to be burnt alive at the time of his banishment.

23. **esso:** this pronoun, when placed between a prep. and its case, gives precision and is indeclinable; cp. Purg. xxxi. 96, 'Sopr' esso l' acqua'; Inf. xxxiv. 41 and note. **Gerion:** cp. Inf. xvii. 81 foll.

29, 30. **fatti far,** &c.: 'put it to the test thyself with thy own hands on the hem of thy garments.' Dante is here adapting the phrase 'far la credenza,' which was used of 'tasters,' who secured

their masters against poisoned food: see the instances in *Vocab. Tramater.*

33. **Ed io pur,** &c.: 'and, notwithstanding, I stood immovable.'

37–9. **Tisbe:** the Babylonian lovers, Pyramus and Thisbe, were wont to meet under a mulberry tree; and one day Pyramus found Thisbe's veil on this spot covered with blood, and thinking that she had been killed slew himself. When Thisbe appeared, and addressing her lover assured him that she was his Thisbe, he looked up at her and then died. Thisbe then took her own life. In consequence of this, in accordance with Thisbe's dying prayer, the colour of the fruit of the mulberry changed from white to dark. Cp. Ov. *Met.* iv. 145, 146, 'Ad nomen Thisbes oculos iam morte gravatos Pyramus erexit, visaque recondidit illa':—Thisbe says to the tree—l. 160, 'Signa tene caedis, pullosque et luctibus aptos Semper habe foetus, gemini monumenta cruoris':—finally we are told that her prayer was heard—l. 165, 'Nam color in pomo est, ubi permaturuit, ater.'

48. **per lunga strada:** i. e. while we had been traversing a length of road.

57. **là dove,** &c.: at the point where the ascent of the final passage commenced.

58. **Venite,** &c.: Matt. xxv. 34; the words are uttered by the Angel who guards the approach to the Terrestrial Paradise.

62. **studiate il passo:** 'hasten your steps.'

64–6. **Dritta:** not winding, like the previous ones. **tal parte:** the east, because the sun, which was nearly setting, threw Dante's shadow in front of him as he faced the Mountain. Thus Dante emerges from the last Cornice on the western side of the Mountain after having started from the eastern side.

67–9. **levammo i saggi:** 'we made trial.' **il sol corcar:** this marks the end of the third day on the Mountain of Purgatory, and the second spent in Purgatory proper; it was Easter Tuesday. **l' ombra,** &c.: 'my shadow which had disappeared.'

70–2. **pria che,** &c.: the meaning is:—before the daylight and the tints of sunset had faded out of the sky. For the omission of the article before **orizzonte** cp. Par. xiv. 69; see also *abisso* in Purg. i. 46. **dispense:** lit. 'distributions'; 'ere night had spread through all its wide domain.'

74, 75. **la natura,** &c.: cp. Purg. vii. 49–57. **affranse:**

'broke down,' 'exhausted.' **il diletto:** 'the pleasure'; by this is meant, not the pleasure of mountain climbing for its own sake, but that of ascending. That Dante had some experience of mountains is suggested by his descriptions of the wide spaces of sky as seen from the mountain side (l. 70), of camping out on the rocks (l. 73), and of the increased size and brightness of the stars (l. 90). See also the note on Inf. xxiv. 19.

76–87. In the two similes which follow the position of the three companions is described, first from the point of view of Dante, and next from that of Virgil and Statius.

80, 81. **in sulla verga,** &c.: 'leans on his staff, and tends them as he leans.' Instead of **lor poggiato serve,** Witte and others read *lor di posa serve*, i. e. 'ministers repose to them'; but the repetition of the word **poggiato** is quite in Dante's manner; see note on Inf. xiii. 25.

87. **Fasciati,** &c.: 'begirt on either hand by lofty rocks.'

88, 89. **del di fuori:** 'of the world without.' **per quel poco:** 'in that small space of sky.'

93. **le novelle:** 'the intimation of it.'

94, 95. **Nell' ora, credo,** &c.: the planet Venus, as we see from Purg. i. 19, 20, was now in the eastern sky on the Mountain of Purgatory in early morning; the time is mentioned here, because 'morning dreams are true'; cp. Purg. ix. 16–8. **credo** is added, because Dante was asleep at the time.

97, 98. **sogno:** this dream, like those of the two previous nights which Dante spent on the Mountain of Purgatory, is symbolical of something which is about to occur in the narrative; see note on Purg. ix. 19. Here the figures of Leah and Rachel foreshadow those of Matelda and Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise. **landa:** 'plain,' 'meadow.'

100. **Sappia,** &c.: Leah and Rachel, according to the allegorical interpretation of the mediaeval theologians (see Toynbee, *Dict.*, pp. 334, 335), stand in the same relation to one another as Martha and Mary in the New Test., Leah representing the active, Rachel the contemplative life; cp. l. 108. Both find their ultimate bliss in the glorified spiritual life—or, as it is here expressed, in seeing themselves reflected, as in a mirror, in the face of God—but Leah attains it by means of good works, Rachel by means of contemplation.

101, 102. **vo movendo,** &c.: the words **movendo intorno le belle mani** express the process of gathering the flowers; 'I gather as I go the flowers with my fair hands to make me a garland.' The gathering represents the practice of active virtue, the garland the grace and merit which accrue from it.

103, 104. **Per piacermi,** &c.: 'to give me pleasure when I look in my mirror,' i. e. that I may see myself reflected more brightly in the face of God owing to good works. **si smaga:** 'withdraws her eyes from,' lit. 'falls away from'; see note on Purg. x. 106.

106. **veder:** the construction of the passage is irregular; if fully expressed, it would be *vaga de' suoi begli occhi, di vederli.* The meaning is that she desires to see herself reflected in God.

109–11. **splendori antelucani:** 'the brightness that precedes the dawn.' **men lontani:** the MS. authority and the early Commentators are about equally divided between this and *più lontani.* The latter reading probably arose from *più* in the line above catching the scribe's eye (see Butler's note), and also perhaps from the desire of making the antithesis of the two clauses complete. If *più* is read, the explanation is, that the farther one is from home, the more grateful it is to turn one's face homeward; but this is very forced, while **men lontani** gives a natural and poetical meaning, and one that suited Dante's present circumstances as he was drawing near to the Earthly Paradise.

115. **Quel dolce pome:** the highest good, i. e. God. **per tanti rami:** i. e. in so many different ways. Men seek for the highest good in many different forms, and often mistakenly, as when they suppose it to be power or pleasure; but it is found in the knowledge of God only.

119. **strenne:** 'guerdons.'

129. **Dov' io,** &c.: as Virgil represents human reason, his knowledge, and consequently his power of guiding others, comes to an end at the approach to the realm of faith, i. e. the region of beatified spirits and the presence of God: cp. Purg. xviii. 46–8. **per me:** 'by myself.'

130–2. **ingegno:** 'wit,' while **arte** is 'skill.' **erte:** the 'steep ways' represent the descent of the Poets through Hell, the 'narrow (**arte**) ways' the passages between the Cornices in Purgatory.

133–5. **il sol**: on the level summit of the Mountain, which they had now reached, the sun, which was fully risen, but had hitherto been concealed by the Mountain interposing, became visible. **sol da sè**: cp. *senza seme*, Purg. xxviii. 69; the explanation is given in Purg. xxviii. 112–7.

136–8. **gli occhi**: of Beatrice; cp. Inf. ii. 116. **Seder**: this represents the contemplative, **andar** the active life. We have now reached a region of allegory, and must expect to find recondite meanings at every turn.

141. **non fare**, &c.: 'not to do its bidding,' i. e. that of the *arbitrio*.

142. **Perch' io**, &c.: 'wherefore I confer on thee plenary jurisdiction over thyself.' The two words **corono** and **mitrio** are used to strengthen by repetition the force of the expression. No doubt they contain a reference to the imperial and papal crowns as being emblems of the two supreme powers which governed the world; but they must not be regarded as implying that Virgil conferred on Dante self-government in spiritual as well as temporal matters; to do this would be beyond his powers, and a usurpation of the function of Beatrice, who was Dante's spiritual guide. Consequently all reference to religious belief, and even to religious life, in **mitrio** must be excluded; and if anything is intended by the passage beyond the simple meaning which has been given above, it can hardly be more than that **corono** should refer to *conduct*, and **mitrio** to *conscience*; and even this seems doubtful. N.B. Virgil after this does not speak again, though he accompanies Dante until Beatrice appears.

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT.—Dante now enters the Terrestrial Paradise, where is a delightful forest, in which a pleasant breeze is blowing and birds sing on the branches. On the farther side of a stream which flows through it he beholds a beautiful lady, Matelda, gathering the flowers with which the ground is carpeted; and by her certain doubts are solved, which had arisen in his mind on meeting with wind and running water in a region where the ordinary causes which produce such phenomena are wanting. She tells him also that the stream is

that of Lethe, and that the forest was the abode of man during his state of innocency, and was the scene of the golden age of the poets.

LINE 4. **la riva**: the 'bank' is the outer edge of the Terrestrial Paradise, which they had reached on mounting the topmost step of the stairway; Purg. xxvii. 125.

7. **senza**, &c.: it came steadily from the same quarter and with equal force.

10–2. **pronte**: 'responsively,' the leaves being ready to follow the movement of the wind. **piegavano**: here used intrans. **alla parte**, &c.: towards the west; as the wind which swayed them blew in Dante's face (l. 8), and he was facing eastward (Purg. xxvii. 133), it must have come from the east. The cause of the direction of the wind is given in ll. 103 foll.

13–5. **Non però**, &c.: 'yet they were not swayed so far from their upright position, that the birds on their summits must fain cease from fulfilling any of their tasks,' i. e. from song and joyful movement.

16–9. **l' ôre prime . . . riceviènо**: 'breathed the morning breeze'; **ôre** for *aure*, cp. Purg. i. 115. It is better however to read *ore* ('welcomed the hours of morn'), because the breeze of morn, as such, would not be found in the Terrestrial Paradise, since the movement of the wind there was always even. **tenevan bordone**, &c.: 'were chanting a refrain' (i. e. making an accompaniment) to their lays, like that of the whispering pine-forest (**Tal qual**, &c.).' The word **bordone** means originally a droning sound, and the bass in music: see Skeat, s. v. 'burden.'

20, 21. **Chiassi**: the famous pine-forest of Classe lies on the coast of the Adriatic to the southward of Ravenna. **Quand' Eolo**, &c.: 'when Aeolus (the guardian of the winds; cp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 52) sets free the south-east wind.' The winds, according to classical mythology, were imprisoned in a cavern in the Aeolian islands.

25, 26. **un rio**: this is Lethe, the river of forgetfulness, which extinguishes in the mind the memory of past sin; cp. l. 128. In Inf. xiv. Virgil, when describing to Dante the courses of the rivers in Hell, informs him (ll. 136–8) that Lethe, which Dante knew by means of the classical writers as one of the infernal rivers, would be met with on the Mountain of Purgatory. **inver sinistra**: as the course of the Poets was towards the east, the river which here

interposed must have been running in this part from south to north. The words **inver sinistra** may possibly have an allegorical force, with reference to the memory of evil being carried away by Lethe; but this view rests on somewhat slippery ground, because we are told in Purg. xxix. 11, 12 that the stream had previously flowed at right angles to this.

30. **nulla nasconde**: 'hides nothing,' i.e. is perfectly transparent.

36. **mai**: 'green branches'; strictly *maio* is the laburnum tree.

40. **Una Donna**: this lady's name, as we learn from Purg. xxxiii. 119, is Matelda; she represents the active life, as Leah had done in Dante's dream. She is generally regarded as being Matilda, the 'Great Countess' of Tuscany (1046–1115), who was a strong upholder of her own rights, and also of those of the Papacy, having been the ally of Pope Gregory VII in his warfare with the Empire. She would thus be a fitting person to represent the life of action. The function discharged by Matelda in the *Div. Com.* is that of guiding and instructing Dante from the time when Virgil ceases to perform that office until Beatrice undertakes it. She thus leads Dante to Beatrice, as the active life leads up to the contemplative.

41. **iscegliendo**, &c.: 'making choice among the flowers.'

43–5. **amore**: the love of God is meant. **Ti scaldi**: 'dost bask.' **testimon**: for *testimone*, 'a witness,' which word is found in Petrarch, Boccaccio, and elsewhere; see *Vocab. Tramater*.

49–51. **dove**, &c.: Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres (Demeter), was gathering flowers in the valley of Enna in Sicily, when she was carried off by Pluto. **primavera**: the flowers which she had gathered; *primavera* is used again in the sense of 'flowers' in Par. xxx. 63, 'Dipinte di mirabil primavera.' That this is the meaning here is rendered almost certain by the passage in Ovid, which Dante evidently had in his mind when writing this—*Met.* v. 397–9, 'Matrem saepius ore Clamat; et, ut summa vestem laniarat ab ora, Collecti flores tunicis cecidere remissis.'

52, 53. **strette**, &c.: 'close to the ground and close to one another.'

59, 60. **Sì appressando sè**, &c.: at first he heard only the melody, but as she came near he distinguished the words also.

61–3. **là dove**, &c.: 'where the grass is now laved'; **già** marks the point where a person approaching reaches the edge. **mi fece dono**: 'granted me the boon'; cp. Inf. vi. 78.

64–6. **Non credo,** &c.: the story of Venus being accidentally wounded by one of Cupid's arrows, and fired by passionate love for Adonis in consequence, is found in Ovid, *Met.* x. 525, 526, 'Namque pharetratus dum dat puer oscula matri, Inscius exstanti destrinxit arundine pectus.' **fuor,** &c.: 'by no means with his wonted aim,' lit. 'differently from what he was ever wont'; he did it inadvertently (this Ovid expresses by *Inscius*), whereas Cupid's darts were not wont to fly astray.

67–9. **dritta:** take with **riva,** 'from the farther bank, which was the right bank'; if **dritta** is taken as agreeing with **Ella,** meaning 'erect,' then for **Traendo** in the next line *Trattando*, 'handling' (i. e. twining), must be read, for in gathering flowers Matelda could not be upright. Three of Witte's test MSS. read *Trattando.* **Traendo più color:** 'continuing to gather flowers'; **più** means 'additional to what she had gathered before,' cp. l. 41. With *Trattando* it must mean 'many,' as in Par. xxv. 3, 'per più anni.' **Che,** &c.: 'which that high land produces without seed'; this is explained in ll. 112–4; at the same time Dante probably had in his mind Ov. *Met.* i. 108, 'natos sine semine flores,' for Ovid's description of the golden age in which this occurs was familiar to him.

72. **Freno:** the Hellespont is a 'curb' to human pride, because it witnessed both the passage of Xerxes' army and his own miserable flight. Dante refers to this again in *De Mon.* ii. 9. ll. 49–60, where he quotes Lucan, *Phars.* ii. 672, 673, which was probably his authority for the story.

73, 74. **da Leandro:** because it interposed between him and Hero; Ov. *Heroid.* xviii. 173, 174. **Per mareggiare:** 'by reason of its current.'

78–80. **nido:** 'home,' the Garden of Eden having been the abode of our first parents. **sospetto:** 'questioning'; in the following line Matelda explains the reason of her smiles by referring to Ps. xcii. 4, 'Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work: I will triumph in the works of thy hands.' Her joy was in the forest and the flowers.

82–4. **dinanzi:** from the time that Virgil had withdrawn from his office as guide (Purg. xxvii. 139) Dante had walked in front of the other two poets. **tanto che basti:** 'to your satisfaction.'

87. **cosa:** this is the statement of Statius in Purg. xxi. 43 and 52–4, to the effect that there was no change, atmospheric or other-

wise, above the gate at the entrance to Purgatory proper. This would seem to exclude the movement of the wind which sways the trees, and the flow of the water.

88–90. **come procede,** &c.: lit. 'how that comes to pass in respect of its cause,' i. e. what is the cause of that. **la nebbia,** &c.: 'the cloud of doubt that assails thee.'

91. **esso:** here used in the proper sense of the Lat. *ipse*, 'himself.'

97–100. **il turbar,** &c.: 'the disturbances (arising from winds), which below the entrance to Purgatory proper (**sotto**) are caused by exhalations from the water and the earth through their natural force (**da sè**).' This is from Ar. *Meteorol.* ii. 4. 13; see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 131. **Che, quanto posson,** &c.: 'which (exhalations) follow the heat (upwards) as far as they can.' Aristotle in the passage just mentioned speaks of the heat ascending and leaving the moisture behind (Moore, ibid.): **quanto posson** refers to the ascent of the vapours being checked, either by reaching a colder stratum of air or by some other influence, like that which excludes them from Purgatory. **All' uomo,** &c.: 'might not in any wise disquiet man,' i. e. man in his innocence, when he inhabited the Terrestrial Paradise.

102. **libero,** &c.: 'it is free from such disturbance from the point where it is locked,' i. e. from the gate of Purgatory.

103–8. **Or,** &c.: Matelda now proceeds to explain the existence of the wind which moves the trees in the Terrestrial Paradise. This she attributes to the movement of the atmosphere, which revolves (**si volge in circuito**), following the motion initiated by the *Primum Mobile* or first sphere of movement (**la prima volta**), and imparted by it to the whole universe. As the earth is stationary, this movement causes a steady breeze to be felt in an elevated region like the Terrestrial Paradise, which is not affected by the currents of air which move irregularly below.

105. **Se non,** &c.: 'unless its rotatory movement is interfered with at some point.'

106–8. **disciolta,** &c.: 'disengaged in the clear air.' **percote:** take with **la selva** below.

109–20. These lines explain the propagation of various kinds of trees on the face of the earth from those planted by God in the Terrestrial Paradise.

111. **girando,** &c.: 'scatters it (**sua virtute**) as it revolves round the globe.'

112–4. **l' altra terra:** the earth at large, as distinguished from the Terrestrial Paradise. **degna,** &c.: 'fitted to receive these germinal forces in respect of soil (**per sè**) and climate (**per suo ciel**).' **concepe,** &c. 'conceives and bears from divers germinal forces divers trees.'

115. **di là:** 'in yonder earth.'

120. **si schianta:** 'is plucked,' 'gathered.'

121. **L' acqua,** &c.: Matelda now turns to Dante's other difficulty, the existence of a river where there was no rain to feed it.

122, 123. **Che ristori,** &c.: this seems to refer both to the formation of rain by condensation, which has already been described in Purg. v. 109–11, and to Aristotle's theory of the formation of springs by the condensation of subterranean moisture, *Meteorol.* i. 13. 9: *εἴπερ κἀκεῖ* [i. e. in the air] *διὰ ψυχρότητα συνίσταται ὁ ἀτμίζων ἀὴρ εἰς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ ψυχρότητος τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δεῖ νομίζειν συμβαίνειν.* See Moore, *Studies,* i. p. 134. **lena:** 'volume,' lit. 'breath,' 'force.'

124–6. **fontana:** the idea here is derived from Gen. ii. 6, where the Vulg. gives 'fons ascendebat e terra,' while the Engl. Vers. is 'there went up a mist from the earth.' **salda:** 'steady.' **Che tanto,** &c.: 'which by the agency of God's will is supplied afresh with the same quantity which it pours forth opening in two directions.'

128, 129. **altrui:** 'from men'; cp. Purg. iv. 54; xiii. 3. **la:** i. e. *la memoria.*

131, 132. **Eunoè:** the stream of 'kindly thoughts,' Gk. *εὔνους.* **chiama:** this word seems here to be metrically a trisyllable, though it is not used so elsewhere in the *Div. Com.* **non adopra:** 'it does not produce its effect'; the subject of the verb is *acqua,* l. 121, and the meaning is, that it does not render the soul fit to ascend to Heaven until the conscience of past sins has been removed, and the memory of good deeds has been revived.

135. **perchè:** 'supposing that,' 'even if.'

136–8. **corollario:** 'corollary,' i. e. a deduction, or supplementary statement. **per grazia:** 'of grace'; it is really equivalent to **oltre promission** below, Matelda having fulfilled her agreement by answering Dante's questions. **si spazia:** 'widens its field'; cp. Purg. xxvi. 63.

141. **in Parnaso:** 'to dream on Parnassus' means in prose 'to

conceive poetical imaginations.' Dante does not appear to have been acquainted with Persius' writings, otherwise we might suppose that he was thinking of his line (*Prol.* 2), 'Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso.'

142–4. **Qui fu,** &c.: this description of the Golden Age is chiefly derived from Ov. *Met.* i. 89–112, where there is mention in particular of 'ver aeternum' and 'flumina nectaris.'

146, 147. **con riso:** because they were in the number of the 'ancient poets,' and were pleased by this interpretation. **l' ultimo costrutto:** 'the last sentence.'

CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT.—Heralded by a brilliant light and sweet music, there now appears a mystic procession on the opposite side of the river to that on which Dante is standing, the central feature in which is a car, as yet unoccupied, drawn by a gryphon.

LINE 3. **Beati,** &c.: Ps. xxxii. 1, 'Blessed are they whose sins are covered.' Matelda sings these words in anticipation of Dante's immersion in the waters of Lethe, by which his sins were hidden from his memory.

7. **contra il fiume:** the direction would be towards the south, from which quarter the stream was here flowing; see note on Purg. xxviii. 26. Consequently, when Dante shortly afterwards finds that he is going eastward, the stream must have turned at a right angle (ll. 11, 12).

10. **Non eran,** &c.: the meaning is, 'we had advanced less than fifty paces each'; lit. 'the number of paces was not a hundred, what with hers and mine.' For a somewhat similar use of *tra* cp. Par. xxxi. 41, 'tra esso e il gaudio.'

16–8. **lustro:** the lustre and the melody (l. 22) are found to proceed from the Procession of the Church (ll. 49–54). **di balenar,** &c.: 'it made me doubt (i. e. wonder) if it were lightning'; cp. Inf. viii. 110, 'io rimango in forse.'

19. **come,** &c.: 'ceases as suddenly as it comes.' For this sense of *restare* cp. Inf. xxv. 135.

23–30. **buon zelo,** &c.: Dante's holy zeal, or righteous indignation against Eve, arose from his feeling that owing to her sin, which caused the human race to be excluded from Paradise, he had been prevented from inhabiting it hitherto, and had not enjoyed the delights here described, as would otherwise have been the case.

25. **Che,** &c.: 'who, where all creation was obedient, being a woman (and therefore naturally timid)—alone (without accomplices to encourage her)—and but just created (and therefore inexperienced in sin)—would not endure to stay beneath any veil,' i. e. 'would not be content that anything (and in particular the knowledge of good and evil) should be hidden from her.'

30. **prima,** &c.: i. e. from the time of my birth and throughout my life.

34 foll. The mystic procession which now approaches represents the triumph of the Church as the supporter of Theology—'the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the Truth,' 1 Tim. iii. 15. The car on which Beatrice (Theology) stands represents the Church. It is drawn (i. e. the Church is moved and guided) by the Gryphon (our Blessed Lord). By its right wheel are stationed three female figures (the theological virtues), by the left wheel four (the cardinal virtues). In front of it are twenty-four figures (the books of the O. T., which preceded the revelation of the gospel in Christ), and at the head of the procession are seven candlesticks (the seven Spirits of God, which lead men to the Truth). The car is flanked by four figures, two on either side, representing the four Gospels, which embody the revelation of Divine Truth. Behind the car are seven figures, representing the remaining books of the N. T. From this it will be seen that the central point in the symbolical representation is not the Church in and for itself, but Divine Truth as supported by the Church. The predominance in it of figures emblematic of the Scriptures points to this, and so does the position of Beatrice as its central personality: it is not until she arrives on the scene that the pageant is complete; and again, it is not until she has left the car (Purg. xxxii. 36)—in other words, until the glorification of Theology or Revelation is concluded—that the Church and its fortunes become the subject of the allegory. The purpose which the procession serves in the poem is that of introducing Beatrice, who is to be

Dante's guide through Paradise, and who, as representing Theology, is the interpreter of all the heavenly mysteries which are there presented to his view. The object of the latter part of the vision, which concerns the history of the Church, is that Dante may communicate it to his contemporaries, in order that they may learn the lessons which it teaches, as we are definitely told in Purg. xxxii. 103–5.

36. **per canto,** &c.: 'was now perceived to be singing.'

37. **Vergini**: the Muses, whom Dante invokes because of the difficulty of the task which now lies before him.

40–2. **versi**: 'pour forth its streams.' The fountains on Helicon, whose waters caused poetic inspiration, were Aganippe and Hippocrene. **Uranía**: the Muse of astronomy, and so of heavenly subjects. **coro**: the rest of the Muses. **Forti,** &c.: 'to express in verse things hard to conceive in thought.' For the omission of the prep. *a* before **mettere** see note on Purg. xi. 51.

43–5. **Poco,** &c.: 'A little farther on, seven trees of gold In semblance the long space still intervening Between ourselves and them did counterfeit' (Longf.). The objects which are here said to resemble trees, as seen from a distance, prove to be seven candlesticks (l. 50).

46–8. **Ma quando,** &c.: 'but when I was so near to them, that the 'common object' which deceives the sense, did not lose owing to distance any of its features'; i. e. when they were near enough for their size and shape to be clearly visible. **obbietto comun**: cp. *Conv.* iv. 8. ll. 49, 50, 'sensibili comuni, là dove il senso spesse volte è ingannato.' The technical term *obbietto comune* or *sensibile comune* is derived from Aristotle, *De An.* ii. 6. 1–4, where the distinction is drawn between the general and the particular object of sense (the *κοινὸν αἰσθητόν* and the *ἴδιον αἰσθητόν*), the latter of which terms is applied to qualities perceived by one only of the senses—e. g. colour by the eye, and sound by the ear—the former to qualities perceived by all the senses alike, e. g. motion, rest, number, form and size. In the case of the latter, he says, there can be deception, in the case of the former there cannot. The expression **obbietto comun,** as used in this passage, is liable to cause confusion, because it appears at first sight to signify the object in which certain qualities are inherent; but Dante uses it as a technical term, and as the equivalent of *sensibile comune*, which clearly refers

to the qualities themselves. In the present instance, as has already been intimated, the qualities intended are size and shape. **per distanza**: this also is from Aristotle, who says (*De An.* iii. 3. 20)—taking motion as his example of the *κοινὸν αἰσθητόν*—that error is especially liable to arise when the object of sense is distant (*ὅταν πόρρω τὸ αἰσθητὸν ᾖ*).

49–51. **La virtù**, &c.: 'the faculty which furnishes reason with the materials for argument'; this is the faculty of apprehension, which communicates the images of external objects to the mind, as has been described in Purg. xviii. 22–4. **ammanna**: lit. 'prepares'; cp. Purg. xxiii. 107. **siccome**, &c.: 'discovered that they were candlesticks, and in the words of the chant distinguished Hosanna.' **candelabri**: these represent allegorically the seven Spirits of God; Rev. iv. 5, 'There were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God.' Two other passages seem to have contributed to form the image in Dante's mind, but only in a subsidiary manner, since neither of them is exactly suitable; viz. (1) the description of the golden candlestick in the Jewish Temple (Ex. xxv. 31 foll.), where however the object is a single candlestick with seven branches; (2) the seven golden candlesticks of Rev. i. 12; but these signify the Seven Churches of Asia (v. 20).

52–4. **Di sopra**: 'in its upper part.' **arnese**: 'equipment,' i. e. the seven candlesticks. **suo mezzo mese**: the middle of the lunar month, when the moon is full.

57. **Con vista**, &c.: as what is here revealed relates to spiritual truth, Virgil, who represents human reason, is as much at fault as Dante in interpreting it.

60. **foran vinte**, &c.: 'they would have been distanced by a newly married bride'; the reference is to the timid gait of a bride, when leaving her father's house for that of her husband.

61, 62. **Perchè**, &c.: 'why look you with such eagerness only at the spectacle,' &c. If *affetto* is read for **aspetto**, it must be taken with **ardi**; 'why are you so eager in your desire for?'

64–6. **Genti**: these are the four and twenty elders of l. 83, the originals of whom are found in Rev. iv. 4, where they are described as 'arrayed in white garments.' **di qua**: 'on this earth'; Dante's point of view is that of the place from which he writes. **fuci**: for *ci fu*.

67–9. **dal sinistro fianco**: 'on its left side,' i. e. in that part of the stream which was near the left bank. **la mia sinistra costa**: Dante was still walking upwards along the bank of the stream, and had the stream on his left hand. **anco**: take with **rendea**, 'reflected back again.'

70, 71. **Quand' io**, &c.: what is implied in these two lines is, 'when I was directly opposite the procession and close to it.'

75. **tratti pennelli**: 'strokes of the painter's brush'; others say 'trailing pennons,' and this is supported by *ostendali* in l. 79. **avean**: *fiammelle* (understood) is the subject to this, signifying the lights and the bands which streamed from them.

76–8. **rimanea**: sc. *l' aer*, supplied from l. 74. **sette liste**: as these bands of light emanate from the candlesticks, which represent the seven Spirits of God, it is natural to regard them as the seven gifts of the Spirit, which are enumerated in Isa. xi. 2 (Vulg.) as wisdom, understanding, counsel, might, knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord. (N. B. The Engl. Vers. does not include piety.) **Delia**: Diana, i. e. the moon. **il cinto**: 'her girdle,' the lunar halo.

79–81. **ostendali**: 'standards.' **eran maggiori**, &c.: 'stretched further than I could see.' **Dieci passi**, &c.: 'the outermost ones were ten paces apart.'

82–4. **diviso**: 'describe.' **Ventiquattro**: though the idea of the four and twenty elders, as has already been remarked, is taken from Rev. iv. 4, Dante here employs them to represent the books of the O. T., which were twenty-four in number, as computed by St. Jerome. **fiordaliso**: the lily is here the emblem of purity in faith and doctrine.

85, 86. **Benedetta**, &c.: the salutation of Elizabeth to Mary, Luke i. 42. It is here addressed to Beatrice; and this need cause us the less surprise, when we find that in Purg. xxx. 19 the salutation with which Christ was hailed on His triumphal entry is offered to her also.

90. **Libere fur**: 'were no longer trodden by.'

91–3. **Sì come**, &c.: 'as one star in passing across the heavens follows and replaces another star.' **quattro animali**: the four living creatures represent the Four Gospels—not here the four Evangelists, though that is their usual symbolism. **verde**: the colour of hope.

94–6. **Ognuno,** &c.: Rev. iv. 8; 'the four living creatures, having each one of them six wings, are full of eyes round about and within.' Perhaps the best interpretation of the allegory intended by Dante here is, that the wings (representing motion) signify the all-pervading power, the eyes the spiritual insight, of the Gospels. **gli occhi d'Argo,** &c.: 'the eyes of Argus, when they were alert, would have resembled them.' The keenness of sight of Argus the guardian of Io is proverbial. Dante in this passage had in his mind the story of Argus in Ov. *Met.* i. 568 foll. **vivi**: in full activity—not asleep, as Ovid describes them to have been in ll. 713, 714, where Mercury charms the eyes of Argus, 'vidit Cyllenius omnes Succubuisse oculos adopertaque lumina somno'; see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 223. **sarebber**: for *sarebbero stati*; cp. *sarei* for *sarei stato* in Inf. xxiv. 36.

98. **spesa**: 'outlay'; i. e. demands upon my available space. For other passages in which Dante refers to his limited space cp. Purg. xxxiii. 136–41; Par. xxxii. 139–41.

100–2. **Ezechiel**: Ez. i. 4–6, 'Behold, a stormy wind came out of the north, a great cloud, with a fire infolding itself. . . . And out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures . . . and every one of them had four wings.'

104, 105. **salvo,** &c.: the number of wings according to St. John and Dante was six, according to Ezekiel four.

107, 108. **Un carro,** &c.: the chariot is the Church, which supports the Divine Truth, i. e. Theology, in the person of Beatrice: the gryphon by which it is drawn is our Lord, whose two natures, human and divine, correspond to the two elements of the lion and the eagle which are found in the gryphon; cp. Purg. xxxi. 80, 81. Of the numerous explanations of the two wheels perhaps that which best suits the function of the Church here given is that of Philalethes, that they are Scripture and Tradition.

109–11. **ale**: this form of the sing. is not found elsewhere in Dante, but the plural which is derived from it, *ali*, is common, e. g. in l. 94. **Tra,** &c.: between the middle one of the seven bands and the three on either side of it. **fendendo**: 'by cleaving (i. e. passing through) it.'

112–4. **Tanto,** &c.: the wings rose until they were out of sight. This signifies that the Divine Nature of our Lord is incomprehensible. **Le membra,** &c.: the description in this and the

next line is derived from that of the Bridegroom in the Canticles, v. 10, 11—'My beloved is white and ruddy. . . . His head (i. e. here the part like a bird) is as the most fine gold.'

115, 116. **Non che,** &c.: 'not only did not Rome gladden Scipio Africanus or Augustus with so magnificent a triumphal chariot.'

118–20. **Quel del Sol,** &c.: the reference is to the story of Phaëthon driving the chariot of the sun, as related in Ovid, *Met.* Bk. ii. The splendour of the chariot, which is the point of the comparison here, is described by Ovid in ll. 107–10; its swerving from its course (**sviando**) in l. 205; the intercession of the Earth in order to save the world from conflagration in ll. 272 foll.; the destruction of the chariot by Jove's lightning in ll. 316–8. **devota:** 'prayerful'; the speech of the Earth in Ovid is one long prayer. **Quando,** &c.: 'when Jupiter in his secret counsels was just.' It would be more natural to understand the words to mean, 'when the justice of Jove moved in a mysterious way,' implying that there was something in his treatment of Phaëthon which is hard to reconcile with our ideas of justice; but there is nothing in the story to support this explanation.

121. **Tre donne:** the three theological virtues—Love, Hope, and Faith, who are here distinguished by their appropriate colours.

126. **mossa:** 'shed,' 'fallen.'

127–9. **Ed or,** &c.: faith leads hope and love, because until it arises they cannot exist; love leads faith and hope, because they find their perfection in love. **dal canto,** &c.: it is the inspiration of love which regulates the movement of faith and hope.

130–2. **quattro:** the four cardinal virtues—Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance. They are dressed in purple, the imperial colour, because they regulate human conduct. **facean festa:** 'were making holiday,' i. e. were dancing. **una di lor:** Prudence, which forms the groundwork of the other cardinal virtues. Her three eyes look at the past, the present, and the future; cp. *Conv.* iv. 27. ll. 42–6.

133–5. **il pertrattato nodo:** 'the group here treated of.' **due vecchi:** St. Luke, representing the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul, representing his Epistles. The figures which follow these stand for the remaining books of the N. T., so that the entire canon of Scripture has its place in the procession. **in abito,** &c.:

'unlike in dress, but like in carriage, which was dignified and composed.' The difference in dress seems to have been that St. Luke wore the garb of a physician, St. Paul, to judge from his sword, that of a soldier. **atto, ed:** the metrical *hiatus* between these words is somewhat modified by the pause; cp. Purg. xxiv. 55.

136–8. **L' un:** 'Luke, the beloved physician,' Coloss. iv. 14. **de' famigliari,** &c.: 'one of the disciples of that supreme Hippocrates'; the great physician of antiquity is here regarded as the representative of the medical profession. **che natura,** &c.: 'whom nature made for the benefit of her favourite creature,' viz. man.

139. **la contraria cura:** that of wounding. St. Paul, whose emblem is a sword, smites the conscience with the sword of the spirit.

142–4. **quattro:** St. James, St. Peter, St. John, and St. Jude, representing their Epistles. They are 'in humble guise,' because their Epistles were of less importance. **un veglio:** St. John, representing the Apocalypse; he is asleep, as being in a trance, but his looks are keen, because he is listening in spirit to that which is being revealed to him.

145. **col,** &c.: 'were dressed in white to correspond to the company which preceded the car'; cp. l. 65. **primaio:** the termination in *aio* is elsewhere in Dante a monosyllable for metrical purposes, as in *primaio*, Purg. xiv. 66; *beccaio*, Purg. xx. 52: here the final *o* is pronounced separate in consequence of *st* following; see note on Inf. viii. 11.

148. **Anzi,** &c.: as the writings of the O. T. are characterized by purity of faith and doctrine, which is symbolized by the lily, so those of the N. T. are characterized by the warmth of Christian love, which is symbolized by crimson flowers.

149. **Giurato,** &c.: 'one looking from a little distance (lit. a look from no great distance) would have sworn.'

152–4. **Un tuon:** this was a sign from Heaven. **insegne:** the golden candlesticks with the bands of light proceeding from them.

CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT.—The figures who form the procession invoke Beatrice, and in the midst of a cloud of flowers scattered by a company of angels, she appears and takes up her position in the car. Dante overpowered at the sight turns to Virgil for aid, but finds that he has disappeared. Beatrice now addresses him reproachfully, and then, turning to the angels, describes her good influence over him during her lifetime, and his alienation from her after her death, notwithstanding which she had watched over him, and at the last had summoned Virgil to her assistance to save him from ruin.

LINE 1. **il settentrion del primo cielo**: the first or highest heaven is the Empyrean, where is the presence of God; and the Septentrion or constellation of seven stars of the highest heaven signifies the seven Spirits of God, and so in the present connexion the seven candlesticks by which the Seven Spirits are represented in the mystic procession. **il settentrion** is the subject to *Fermo si affisse* in l. 7, and the meaning is, 'when the seven candlesticks stood still.' There is much difference of opinion whether by **il settentrion** the Great or the Little Bear is intended. It is in favour of the latter that it was by the Pole-star that men steered (l. 6, *Qual timon gira*); in Lat. also the Little Bear was called *Septentrio Minor*, e. g. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 43. 111; and it has seven stars. On the other hand, *Septentrio* is much more commonly used of the Great Bear; and Dante has the latter in his mind in Par. xiii. 7–9; xxxi. 32; and in *Canz.* xv. 29.

2–6. **Che nè**, &c.: 'which (like the Bear) never rises or sets, and which is never obscured by cloud, except that of sin which hides it from men's eyes.' Thus far the seven Spirits of God are spoken of; what follows refers to the seven candlesticks which represent them. 'And which at that spot (lì) was intimating to each member of the procession his proper movement,' i. e. was guiding those who followed. **come il più basso**, &c.: 'as the Bear guides him who turns the rudder to come to port,' i. e. the mariner. The Bear is called 'the lower constellation of seven stars' in contrast with 'the Septentrion of the highest heaven,' because according to Dante's

scheme it is two spheres below the Empyrean in the eighth heaven, or that of the fixed stars.

7–9. **la gente,** &c.: the four and twenty elders, who are **verace,** because they represent the inspired books of the O. T. **Venuta,** &c.: who up to this time had been between the gryphon, who drew the chariot, and the candlesticks. **Al carro,** &c.: 'turned towards the chariot (the Church), as to their repose'; their repose was their fulfilment in the establishment of the Church.

10, 11. **un di loro:** the one of the twenty-four elders by whom the book of Canticles is represented. We cannot say Solomon, because according to the arrangement here introduced (see note on Purg. xxix. 83) the three books which were attributed to him—Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles—were represented by three separate elders. **Veni,** &c.: Cant. iv. 8; on the present occasion this is used as an invocation addressed to Beatrice.

13–5. **Quali,** &c.: the sudden appearance around the chariot of a company of angels heralding the approach of Beatrice, is compared to the dead rising from their graves at the Judgement. They are shown to be angels by ll. 29, 82. **bando:** 'proclamation,' 'the final summons.' **alleluiando:** this is an absolute construction; 'the voice of their renewed humanity raising alleluia.'

16, 17. **basterna:** 'car'; it is a Lat. word signifying 'a litter.' Dante may have obtained it from Isidore, *Orig.* xx. 12. 5, or from the *Catholicon* of Giovanni da Genova. **ad vocem,** &c.: 'at the sound of that elder's voice.' The Lat. words here were probably introduced to furnish a rhyme for *venis* and *plenis*.

19–21. **Benedictus,** &c.: the salutation addressed to our Lord on the occasion of His triumphal entry, Matt. xxi. 9. It is now addressed to Beatrice. **Manibus,** &c.: from the lament for Marcellus in Virg. *Aen.* vi. 884. We have here an illustration of Dante's fondness for combining a Scriptural and a classical allusion.

26. **temperanza:** 'tempering influence.'

32. **Donna:** Beatrice, who represents Divine Wisdom or Theology. Dante here redeems the promise which he had made at the end of the *Vita Nuova* (§ 43, ll. 10, 11), that he hoped to say of Beatrice what had never been said of any other woman. She appears dressed in the colours of Faith, Hope, and Charity (cp. Purg. xxix. 121–6), and wears a crown of olive in token of peace.

34–6. **cotanto,** &c.: Beatrice had been dead ten years in 1300.

che alla, &c.: 'since it was overpowered with awe at her presence.' Dante describes the impression made upon him by his first meeting with Beatrice in the following words:—'In quel punto dico veracemente che lo spirito della vita, lo quale dimora nella segretissima camera del core, cominciò a tremare sì fortemente, che apparia ne' menomi polsi orribilmente; e tremando disse queste parole: *Ecce Deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi*' (*Vita Nuova*, § 2. ll. 19–25).

37. **degli occhi:** 'by my eyes.'

40–2. **Tosto che,** &c.: Dante here describes the effect produced on him by the sight of Beatrice's person; he could not see her face, which was still hidden by her veil; cp. ll. 67–9. **puerizia:** Dante tells us in *Vita Nuova*, § 2. ll. 14, 15, that he was nine years old when he first saw Beatrice.

43. **rispitto:** 'confidence'; it is from a Provençal word *respieit*, which signifies 'expectation'; from this is deduced the meaning of 'confident expectation,' and so 'confidence.'

48. **Conosco,** &c.: a translation of Virgil's words in *Aen.* iv. 23, 'Agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.'

49–51. **Virgilio:** by the arrival of Beatrice, or Divine Wisdom, as Dante's guide, Virgil, or Human Reason, is superseded in that office, and consequently he has disappeared. Notice the threefold repetition of Virgil's name, which is probably in imitation of the similar repetition of that of Eurydice in Virg. *Georg.* iv. 525–7. **die' mi:** 'I surrendered myself'; cp. Inf. ii. 139, 140.

52–4. **Nè quantunque,** &c.: 'nor did all (the joys of the Terrestrial Paradise) which our first mother (Eve) lost, avail to prevent my cheeks which had been cleansed with dew (by Virgil, Purg. i. 124–9) from being once more stained with tears.' **atre:** 'dark,' the Lat. *ater*; cp. Inf. vi. 16.

55–7. **Dante:** this is the only passage in the poem in which the Poet's name occurs; and, as he tells us in l. 63, it is only introduced here because it is unavoidable. **perchè:** 'notwithstanding that.' **altra spada:** a wound inflicted by another sword, i. e. Beatrice's reproaches.

61. **sinistra:** this would be the side opposite Dante.

65. **l' angelica festa:** the cloud of flowers, l. 28.

68. **fronde di Minerva:** olive leaves.

70–2. **ancor proterva:** 'still haughty in demeanour.' **che**

dice, &c.: 'who, while he speaks, keeps in reserve his severest utterance.'

73–5. **sem**: for *siamo*: both this and *ci* of **guardaci** are the plural of dignity; see note on Purg. xxxiii. 92. **Come degnasti**, &c.: 'how wast thou able to approach the Mountain?' Beatrice was aware that Dante had been conducted to the Mountain of Purgatory by divine grace, but this she puts out of sight in order to reproach him with his sinfulness, which rendered him unfit to enter the Terrestrial Paradise. Casini remarks that *degnare*, like the Provençal *denhar*, in the language of poetry signified 'to be able.' **degnasti** is regarded by some as being used ironically here in the modern sense of 'deign'; but irony seems out of place in this connexion. **felice**: Beatrice implies that the sinful man cannot be happy, and therefore has no place there.

80, 81. **per che**, &c.: 'from which cause (i. e. owing to the display of haughtiness) the flavour of severe compassion has a taste of bitterness.' This is a general sentiment.

83, 84. **In te**, &c.: Ps. xxxi. 1, 'In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust,' to v. 8, 'Thou hast set my feet in a large room.' The passage implies the absolute confidence of the soul in God's power to save, and the angels by singing it interpret Dante's feeling at the moment. The remainder of the Psalm does not refer to this feeling, and is therefore omitted.

85–7. **vive travi**: 'living rafters,' i. e. trees: the Lat. *trabs* is often used thus in poetry. **lo dosso d' Italia**: the ridge of the Apennines. **soffiata**: 'breathed on.' **venti schiavi**: north-east winds from the Dalmatian mountains. The country called Slavonia in Cent. xiv. lay between the Dalmatian coast and the Drave.

88–90. **in sè**, &c.: 'filters into itself,' the upper layer trickling through into those below. **Pur che**, &c.: 'if haply a warm wind comes from the land where shadows are lost,' i. e. from the tropics, where the sun is vertical, and consequently casts no shadow, at certain times of the year. **Sì che**, &c.: 'even as wax is melted at the fire,' lit. 'so that fire seems to be melting a candle.'

92, 93. **che notan**, &c.: 'who ever make melody, following the music of the eternal spheres.' For the music of the spheres see note on Par. i. 78.

94–6. **tempre**: 'harmonies'; cp. Par. x. 146. **stempre**: 'unnerve,' 'unman,' lit. 'dilute.'

100, 101. **la detta coscia**: the left side, l. 61. **sustanzie pie**: 'compassionate beings.'

104–7. **a voi non fura**, &c.: 'cannot conceal from you one step which the ages make in their course.' 'Ye know everything that passes in the world, and therefore ye know the history of Dante's life; consequently my reply is made (not for your sakes, but) rather in order that he may hear,' &c.

109–11. **rote magne**: the celestial spheres. These determine the bias of each man's character and life in a certain direction, according to the character of the planet under which he was born. The system here referred to is fully set forth in Par. ii. 112 foll.

113, 114. **Che sì alti**, &c.: 'which (divine graces) are showered down upon us from a region so elevated (lit. which have such lofty clouds to furnish their rain) that our sight cannot approach thereto.' The elevated region is the profundity of God's counsels. **nostre**: that of all finite beings; Beatrice includes herself.

115–7. **sua vita nuova**: 'his early life,' i. e. the first period of man's life, reaching to 25 years of age; see note on l. 125. **Virtualmente**: 'potentially.' **Fatto**, &c.: 'would have produced wondrous results in him.'

119, 120. **col mal seme**, &c.: 'by harmful plants and want of cultivation'; when there are weeds in the soil and there is no tillage, the land is soon overrun with noxious growths, and the more so in proportion to its natural fertility.

125, 126. **seconda etade**: in *Conv.* iv. 24. ll. 1–13 Dante divides human life into four ages or periods; the first of these is Adolescence, the second Youth; and Youth commences at 25 years. Beatrice was in her twenty-fifth year at the time of her death in 1290, and consequently was on the threshold of her second age when she passed to another life (**mutai vita**). **diessi altrui**: the person—or at least the chief person—here intended by **altrui**, is the same as the *donna gentile*, or 'lady of the window,' in *Vita Nuova*, §§ 35–7, who for a time usurped Dante's affections; but who that lady was is a disputed question. Her significance, when allegorically interpreted, is given in *Conv.* iii. 11. ll. 2–4, 'questa Donna è quella Donna dello intelletto che Filosofia si chiama'; and the reference in **diessi altrui** is to Dante having for a time allowed himself to be absorbed in the study of philosophy to the neglect of theology.

131, 132. **Imagini,** &c.: 'false images of good' are such enjoyments as seem to be good but are not really so. **Che nulla,** &c.: 'which fulfil (**rendono intera**) no promises.'

133–5. **Nè impetrare,** &c.: 'nor did it avail me to obtain for him by prayer communications from Heaven.' **in sogno,** &c.: 'in dreams and visions (**altrimenti**),' such as those mentioned towards the end of the *Vita Nuova* (§ 40. ll. 1–8; § 43. ll. 1–6). **calse:** the verb is impersonal; **ne calse a lui,** 'he cared for them'; cp. *calme* in Purg. viii. 12.

136, 137. **argomenti:** 'means,' 'expedients'; cp. Purg. ii. 31. **corti:** 'insufficient.'

139–41. **visitai:** cp. Inf. ii. 52 foll. **morti:** the lost souls, the *veri morti* of Purg. xxiii. 122. **porti:** 'uttered,' from *porgere*: cp. Inf. v. 108; xvii. 88.

142–4. **fato:** 'appointment.' **tal vivanda:** 'the food which is in prospect,' i. e. the joy of seeing Beatrice's eyes, the *cibo* of Purg. xxxi. 128. **scotto:** 'payment'; the word is the same in derivation and meaning as Engl. 'scot' in 'scot-free,' 'to pay one's shot,' &c.

CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT.—Beatrice, once more addressing Dante, accuses him directly of unfaithfulness to her; whereupon Dante confesses his sin, and after expressing his repentance falls into a swoon. When he recovers consciousness, he finds that Matelda has plunged him in the stream of Lethe, and when he reaches the farther bank, he is conducted to a position in front of the car. Here he is privileged to gaze into the eyes of Beatrice unveiled and to enjoy her smile.

LINES 2, 3. **punta:** the 'thrust' is the direct appeal, the 'cut,' which strikes 'edgewise' (**per taglio**), the indirect charge, as set forth in her address to the angels.

4. **cunta:** 'delay'; an archaic word, der. from Lat. *cunctari*.

9. **dischiusa:** 'had been emitted from the organs of speech.'

10–2. **Poco sofferse:** 'she paused a while.' **dall' acqua offense:** 'impaired by the water of Forgetfulness.'

15. **le viste**: the eyes were needed to see the movement of the lips.

17, 18. **tesa**: 'tension'; 'when it goes off from being too tightly drawn.' **asta**: 'shaft,' 'arrow.'

19–21. **esso**: 'that'; the word is here used as an adjectival pronoun; cp. Par. viii. 19, 'essa luce.' **allentò**, &c.: 'flagged in its passage.'

22 foll. **Ond' ella**, &c.: throughout this address Beatrice is speaking in the twofold character of a lady who has been slighted for another lady, and (allegorically) of a higher study (Theology) which has been neglected for a lower one (Human Philosophy); see note on Purg. xxx. 126. The view that what Beatrice imputes to Dante in this part of the poem is of purely allegorical significance, referring to philosophy only, and not to any moral (or sentimental) aberration on his part, is hardly reconcilable with such expressions as 'Le presenti cose, Col falso lor piacer,' ll. 34, 35, and 'pargoletta, O altra vanità con sì breve uso,' ll. 59, 60.

22–4. **Per entro**, &c.: 'in the midst of (i. e. when thou wast under the influence of) the love that I inspired.' **lo bene**, &c.: 'the highest good (God himself), beyond which there is no further object of aspiration.'

25–7. **Quai fossi**, &c.: 'what trenches lying across thy path, or what chains (closing a gate) didst thou find?' ('What bar of thwarting foss or linked chain,' Cary); i. e. 'what hindrances of various kinds didst thou meet with, that owing to them (**per che**) thou shouldst thus have deprived thyself of the hope of a further advance?'

28–30. **agevolezze**: 'affability,' and so 'attractions.' **avanzi**: 'profit.' **degli altri**: these words agree with *beni* understood, which is to be supplied from *ad amar lo bene* in l. 23. They mean the lower objects of desire as compared with the highest good. The terms used in this passage are partly literal, partly allegorical; thus, while **agevolezze** and **fronte** apply rather to Beatrice's rival, **altri** is used in the allegorical sense for the attractions of human wisdom which led Dante away from the divine wisdom. **passeggiare anzi**: 'pay court to'; if this is the right meaning, it is derived from that of 'to promenade in front of' a lady's window, and so 'to serenade,' 'to court.' According to Blanc, *Vocab.*, the expression refers to a servant walking before his master, and means

'to play the servant,' 'be subservient to'; but the former explanation is preferable.

39. **tal giudice**: God.

42. **Rivolge se**, &c.: 'the wheel (of the whetstone) turns against (and so blunts) the edge (of the weapon).'

46. **Pon giù**, &c.: 'cease from sowing tears'; Dante perhaps had in his mind Ps. cxxvi. 5, 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy,' though sowing tears and sowing in tears are two different things.

51. **e sono**: *che* is to be supplied before **sono** from *in che* of the previous line. **in terra sparte**: 'resolved into earth.' This seems to be the right reading, notwithstanding that the great majority of the MSS. give *sono terra sparte*; see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, pp. 433, 434. This passage, it may be observed, is strongly in favour of Beatrice having been a living woman, and not merely an allegorical figure.

52–4. **ti fallio**: 'failed thee,' 'was lost to thee.' **trarre**, &c.: 'to have induced thee to desire it.'

55–7. **per lo primo**, &c.: 'at the first assault (lit. dart) of the delusive attractions of the world.' **tale**: i. e. *cosa fallace*.

58–60. **Non ti dovea**, &c.: 'no mere girl, nor other vain object of so brief enjoyment, should have depressed thy wings, so that thou shouldst be exposed to more attacks of temptation.'

61–3. **due o tre**: understand *colpi*, i. e. assaults; **si saetta** in l. 63 corresponds in meaning to this. **dinanzi**, &c.: Prov. i. 17, 'In vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird'—in the Vulg. 'ante oculos pennatorum' (**dei pennuti**, 'of full-fledged birds').

66. **sè riconoscendo**: 'realizing their fault.'

69. **riguardando**: i. e. from the sight of my perfections which you have neglected.

70–2. **Con men**, &c.: Dante here describes his reluctance to face the reproving gaze of Beatrice. **nostral vento**: the *tramontana*, or violent north wind of Italy. **quel**, &c.: the south or south-west wind, which was called by the Romans *Africus*. Iarbas was king of the Gaetulians in Africa, and one of Dido's suitors; Virg. *Aen.* iv. 196 foll.

74, 75. **quando**, &c.: 'when, in asking me to lift my face, she said "your beard," I clearly perceived the sting which that implied,' viz. that he was no infant, but a grown man.

76–8. **si distese:** 'uplifted itself,' lit. 'opened itself out to view.' **Posarsi,** &c.: 'I saw that the angels had ceased to scatter flowers'; cp. Purg. xxx. 28–30.

79–81. **sicure:** 'confident in themselves.' **volta:** from standing sideways in the car to face Dante, she had turned towards the front of the car. **fiera:** the gryphon, the two elements in which, the eagle and the lion, represent the two natures in our Lord; cp. Purg. xxix. 108.

84. **Vincer che,** &c.: **Vincer** is here repeated from the preceding line, and *vincea* is understood after **Che**; 'to surpass, I say, her former self more than she surpassed other women,' &c. The form of expression is awkward, and *Che vincer* or *Che vincea* would be preferable readings, but the MS. authority is strongly in its favour.

86, 87. **di tutt' altre,** &c.: 'of all other things, that which most turned me aside (from Beatrice) in my love of it, became most repulsive to me.'

88–90. **riconoscenza:** 'self-conviction'; cp. *sè riconoscendo*, l. 66. **e quale,** &c.: 'and what was my state, when in that swoon (**allora**), she (Beatrice) alone knows, who was the cause of my fainting.' **Salsi:** for *se lo sa*; cp. Purg. v. 135.

91–3. **quando,** &c.: 'when my heart restored power to my outward senses,' i. e. when I recovered from fainting. **La Donna,** &c.: Matelda, the *Donna soletta* of Purg. xxviii. 40. **dicea,** &c.: 'she was saying, "Hold fast to me."' Matelda, who represents the active life of good works, which leads up to the contemplative life (Beatrice), plunges Dante in Lethe, and causes him to drink of its waters, thus taking away from him the recollection of past sin, after which he is allowed to see Beatrice unveiled. In this part of the poem the interest of the story is so concentrated on Dante that we hear nothing of Statius having drunk of the water of Lethe, though in Purg. xxxiii. 134, 135 it is implied that he drank of that of Eunoë. But we may infer that he did so, for it appears from Inf. xiv. 136–8 that all the souls which passed out of Purgatory partook of Lethe.

96. **Sopr' esso:** 'just over,' 'over the surface of'; for **esso** see note on Inf. xxxiv. 41. **spola:** a weaver's shuttle, which is here taken as the emblem of light and swift movement.

98. **Asperges me:** Ps. li. 7, 'Thou shalt purge me with hyssop,

and I shall be clean; thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.' This is sung by the angels, who here, as in Purg. xxx. 82, represent the element of compassion.

100–2. **nelle braccia aprissi**: 'opened her arms'; for the form of expression cp. Purg. x. 49, 'mi mossi col viso.' **mi sommerse, Ove**: 'plunged me to a depth at which.'

104, 105. **quattro belle**: the four cardinal virtues; see Purg. xxix. 130, where they are described as dancing (*facean festa*). **coperse**: in token of protection, signifying that he was thenceforth secure against vice.

106–8. **stelle**: these are the same four stars, which are mentioned in Purg. i. 23. As has been remarked in the note to that passage, they are probably allegorical, and real stars are not referred to. **Pria che**, &c.: allegorically—before the knowledge of the Divine Wisdom was revealed to men, the cardinal virtues were ordained to prepare the way for it.

109–11. **Menrenti**: for *ti meneremo*. **nel giocondo**, &c.: 'the three theological virtues, which are on the other side of the car, as they have greater intuition in spiritual things, will help your eyes to see more clearly in the glad light which shines in those of Beatrice.' Faith, Hope, and Love are the true preparation for the study of divine truth.

114. **volta a noi**: when Dante stood facing the Gryphon which drew the car, Beatrice who was standing on the front of the car would be opposite to him.

115. **Fa che**, &c.: 'be not chary of thy looks.'

120. **Che pur**, &c.: 'which were steadfastly fixed on the Gryphon alone.'

123. **Or con uni**, &c.: 'now with the one, now with the other function.' This is explained by *doppia* in the preceding line. Christ was reflected in the eyes of Beatrice (was revealed in theological truth), at one time in the semblance of an eagle (as God), at another time in that of a lion (as Man).

125, 126. **Quando vedea**, &c.: 'when I saw that the thing (the Gryphon), while it was in itself unchanged (the two elements, the eagle and the lion forming one creature), yet, as seen in its image (as reflected in the eyes of Beatrice), took more than one form (was seen sometimes as an eagle, sometimes as a lion).' Allegorically this means—Christ in himself is one Person, with two natures

inseparably and indivisibly united in that Person; yet in theology he may be regarded sometimes as God, sometimes as Man.

129. **saziando**, &c.: cp. Ecclus. xxiv. 21, where Wisdom says—'They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.' The 'food' is the eyes of Beatrice.

130–2. **tribo**: 'rank,' Lat. *tribus*: 'showing by their bearing that they were of the higher rank,' i. e. higher than the cardinal virtues. **l' altre tre**: the theological virtues. **caribo**: a song to accompany dancing, like *ballata*: Casini refers to D'Ancona, *Antiche Rime Volgari*, vol. i. p. 388, where the word is used in this sense by Giacomo Pugliese, a poet anterior to Dante.

135. **ha mossi**, &c.: 'has journeyed so far.'

136–8. **Per grazia**, &c.: 'of thy grace do us the favour.' **La seconda bellezza**: this is Beatrice's smile, her former charm being her eyes: the eyes represent demonstration, i. e. the statement of the truth; the smile persuasion. Cp. *Conv.* iii. 15. ll. 13–6, 'Gli occhi della Sapienza sono le sue dimostrazioni, ... e 'l suo riso sono le sue persuasioni.'

140–2. **pallido**: pale with study. 'Who ever studied so assiduously beneath the shades (i. e. groves) of Parnassus, or drank such inspiration from its fountain (Castalia), as not to feel his mind oppressed.'

144, 145. **Là, dove**, &c.: 'in the Terrestrial Paradise, where the Heaven envelops (lit. overshadows) thee in its harmonies'; the meaning apparently is, that the revelation of Beatrice's face calls down the music of the spheres; but it is a very obscure passage. **Quando**, &c.: 'when thou didst unveil thyself in the open air.'

CANTO XXXII

ARGUMENT.—The procession moves away from the neighbourhood of the stream, and halts at the foot of a lofty tree, to the trunk of which the Gryphon attaches the pole of the car. Dante now falls asleep, and on waking finds that Beatrice has left the car, and is seated on the ground beneath the tree surrounded by the Virtues, while the Gryphon has ascended into Heaven, accompanied by the remaining figures that formed the procession. In the scene

which follows the principal crises in the history of the Church are allegorically described.

LINES 2, 3. **la decenne sete**: Dante's longing for the sight of Beatrice, which had lasted from her death in 1290 until the date of the Vision in 1300. **spenti**: 'extinguished,' i. e. in abeyance.

4–6. **Ed essi**, &c.: 'and my eyes were restrained by a wall of indifference on either hand,' being concentrated on what was before them. The form of expression was probably suggested by Ex. xiv. 22, 'The waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left.' **l' antica rete**: the attractiveness which won Dante's love on earth.

8, 9. **quelle Dee**: the three theological virtues, which had just invoked Beatrice (Purg. xxxi. 131). As they were stationed on the right of the car (Purg. xxix. 121), they were on the left of Dante, who was facing it. **Troppo fiso**: 'you are contemplating Beatrice's face too attentively'; allegorically—'Do not pry into the mysteries of Revelation.'

10. **a veder**: take with **disposizion**, 'condition of the sight,' lit. 'disposition towards seeing.'

13–5. **al poco**: 'my sight adapted itself once more to the inferior splendour—inferior, I mean, compared with that superior object, from which perforce I turned my eyes.' The inferior splendour is the car and its accompanying pageant, the superior the eyes of Beatrice. **Sensibile**: lit. 'object of the sense of sight'; for the substantival use cp. *visibile*, Purg. xv. 15.

16–8. **Vidi**, &c.: 'I saw that the glorious army (the procession) had wheeled to the right, and were retracing their steps with the sun and the seven flames (the candlesticks) in front of them.' The sun, which was in the east, would now be in front of (opposite to) the procession, because the procession had previously been moving westwards, as is shown from Dante having met it when he was going east ('a levante mi rendei,' Purg. xxix. 12).

19–21. **Come**, &c.: the movement of the procession in turning gradually round is compared to that of a squadron retiring from the field in a similar manner, the fore part of the column with its standard (**col segno**) drawing off, before the centre begins to move. In this movement by the right a retreating force would have the shield-arm towards the enemy (**sotto gli scudi**).

22–4. **Quella milizia,** &c.: the twenty-four elders. **il primo legno:** the pole.

25–7. **alle rote,** &c.: the two bands composed of the theological and cardinal virtues, which had come forward to conduct Dante to Beatrice and present him to her (Purg. xxxi. 109, 131), now return to their original position by the right and left wheels respectively. **il grifon,** &c.: 'the Gryphon drew the car with its sacred burden (Beatrice) onward, yet so that not one of his feathers was thereby moved.' Allegorically—Christ, though He moves the Church, is in Himself immutable.

29, 30. **la rota,** &c.: the right wheel, on which the car was turning, and which consequently described a smaller arc than the other.

31–3. **vota,** &c.: 'uninhabited in consequence of Eve's sin.' **crese:** for *credette*. **temprava,** &c.: 'regulated our steps.'

34–6. **prese:** 'is wont to measure.' **scese:** the descent of Beatrice from the car marks a change in that which is represented: whereas hitherto the glorification of Theology (Beatrice) has been the purpose of the divine pageant, now the main subject is the fortunes of the Church (the car). We learn from ll. 103–5 that the scenes which follow were introduced in order that Dante might record them for the instruction of mankind.

37–9. **Adamo:** the mention of the name is a protest against Adam's sin, as they approach the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil. **cerchiaro:** 'encircled,' in the sense of 'formed a circle round,' cp. l. 46. **pianta:** this tree has already been referred to in Purg. xxiv. 116 as growing on the summit of the Mountain of Purgatory. But we enter here on another system of allegory, for the tree is also symbolical of the Empire. The connexion between these two allegorical interpretations is traceable in two points, viz. (1) that the tree is the symbol of submission to authority; (2) that it cannot be violated with impunity. The former of these applies to the Tree of Knowledge as representing the prohibitive commandment of God, to the Empire as being the institution which embodies the idea of temporal authority. The latter is true of the Tree of Knowledge because its fruit was forbidden to be plucked, of the Empire because it was an ordinance existing under divine sanctions; cp. Purg. xxxiii. 55–63. The views of the Empire here mentioned are everywhere conspicuous in Dante's *De Monarchia*. **dispogliata:** the tree is spoken of as being stripped of

its flowers and leaves, because the Roman Empire before the coming of Christ was destitute of those virtues which are the ornament of a state.

40–2. **coma**: this must mean the branches and twigs, since there were no leaves. **si dilata**: this feature has been already found in the trees in the Circle of the gluttonous (Purg. xxii. 133–5), one of which was derived from the tree spoken of in the present passage (Purg. xxiv. 115–7). In the case of those trees its object is to prevent the branches from being reached; and here in like manner it is intended to signify that no man may lay hands on or tamper with the Empire; cp. Purg. xxxiii. 65, 66, and note. **Indi**: Virgil (*Georg.* ii. 122–4) speaks of the height of the trees in India—'ubi aëra vincere summum Arboris haud ullae iactu potuere sagittae.'

43–5. **non discindi**, &c.: 'dost not pluck aught of this tree,' i. e. dost not appropriate the temporal advantages of the Empire. Christ renounced all temporal power; He said, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' **dolce al gusto**, &c.: cp. Rev. x. 10, where it is said of the little book, 'It was in my mouth sweet as honey, and as soon as I had eaten it my belly was bitter.' **si torce il ventre**: this intimates allegorically the result of the spiritual power interfering with the temporal.

46–8. **robusto**: cp. Dan. iv. 20 (Vulg. iv. 17), 'Arborem, quam vidisti sublimem atque *robustam*,' in which passage the kingly power is spoken of, as here the imperial. **binato**: 'of two natures'; cp. Purg. xxxi. 81. **Sì**, &c.: by abstention on the part of the Church from things temporal. The words are adapted from Matt. iii. 15, 'Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.'

49–51. **volto al temo**, &c.: this implies that the Gryphon turned round and faced the pole of the car. The pole with its cross-piece represents the Cross, by which Christ draws His Church. His attaching this to the stem of the Tree of Knowledge denotes the connexion which exists between the Church and the Empire, though the two act independently. **vedova frasca**: 'leafless tree.' **quel di lei**, &c.: 'left bound to the tree that which proceeded from the tree,' viz. the Cross. Buti gives the story, that when Adam was dying the angel who guarded the gate of Paradise gave to his son Seth a branch from the Tree of Knowledge; this was planted, and from it was taken the wood of which the Cross was made.

52–60. In these lines Dante describes, by the symbolism of the

bare tree bursting into flower, the vivifying effect on the Empire of its contact with the Church.

52–4. **quando,** &c.: in the early spring, when the sun is in Aries; 'when the light of the great luminary descends to earth in combination with that light which beams in the wake of the heavenly Roach,' i. e. with Aries, the sign of the zodiac which comes next to Pisces.

56, 57. **pria che,** &c.: before the sun enters another constellation of the zodiac.

58–60. **Men che,** &c.: 'disclosing a hue intermediate between rose and violet'; this probably means the colour of the imperial purple. **ramora:** archaic plur. from *ramo*. **sole:** 'bare.'

61–3. **qui:** on earth. **soffersi:** 'endured to listen to.'

64–6. **assonnaro:** intrans. 'sank asleep': the reference here, as in Purg. xxix. 95, is to the story of Argus, whom Mercury lulled to sleep by relating to him the history of the nymph Syrinx, and afterwards slew; Ov. *Met.* i. 689–719. **spietati:** 'merciless' in their watchfulness in guarding Io. **a cui,** &c.: 'whose too great watchfulness cost them so dear,' i. e. caused the death of Argus.

67–9. **che con,** &c.: 'who has an original picture from which to copy.' **qual vuol,** &c.: 'he that would describe the process of falling asleep must look to it that he do it well'; lit. 'let it be that (**sia che**) whosoever wishes to attempt it (**qual vuol**) should describe well the falling asleep.' The meaning is, that it is no easy matter to represent the transition state between consciousness and unconsciousness. Philalethes remarks that Dante has been singularly successful in doing this in Purg. xviii. 141 foll.

71. **un splendor:** this arose from the mystic procession departing to Heaven.

73–81. Dante's losing and recovering consciousness is compared to the change which passed over the three Apostles at the time of our Lord's Transfiguration.

73, 74. **a veder:** take with *condotti*, l. 76. **dei fioretti,** &c.: 'some few flowers of the apple-tree,' &c. The apple-tree is Christ, the glory of whose presence was enjoyed in foretaste (as flowers, **fioretti**) by the three Apostles, but is partaken of in its fulness (as fruit, **pomo**) in Heaven. The apple-tree is specially chosen because of Cant. ii. 3, 'As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons.'

76–8. **condotti**: 'led' by Christ; cp. Matt. xvii. 1, 'Jesus bringeth them up into a high mountain apart.' **E vinti**, &c.: 'and having been overpowered by the sight, recovered themselves on hearing the word by which Christ raised the dead.' The word meant is *Surgi*, l. 72. After the Transfiguration Jesus said, 'Arise, and be not afraid,' Matt. xvii. 7.

79–81. **E videro**, &c.: 'and saw their company diminished by (the loss of) both Moses and Elias.' **cangiata**: 'changed,' because it had lost its brightness.

87. **in sulla sua radice**: as the tree is the Empire, and the roots of that are Rome, this means that Christian truth (Beatrice) resides in Rome under the protection of the Empire.

88, 89. **la compagnia**: the Virtues; see ll. 97–9. **sen vanno suso**: 'are ascending to Heaven'; the figure of our Lord (the Gryphon), and the whole of the procession, except the car and the seven candlesticks and the seven Virtues, have disappeared. In other words—the Church no longer enjoys the visible presence of Christ and of those who testified to His truth (the representatives of the Books of the Old and New Testament), but is left to the guidance of the Holy Spirit (the Seven Candlesticks), and is quickened by the practice of virtue (the seven Nymphs). Beatrice (the true Faith) is also present there.

93. **Quella**, &c.: 'Beatrice, the sight of whom had excluded all other thoughts from my mind.'

94–6. **Sola**: this means that Christian truth is self-sufficing, and needs no extraneous support. **terra vera**: 'the very, bare earth.' Allegorically, this is an amplification of what is signified by **sola**, viz. that Theology is absolutely detached from other aids. **alla**: **a** is used here in the sense of 'by' of the agent after a verb of perception; cp. Purg. viii. 106.

100–2. **silvano**: 'a forest-dweller'; Dante would be so while he remained in the Terrestrial Paradise. **quella Roma**, &c.: the kingdom of Heaven, of which Christ himself is a citizen.

109–60. The part of the allegorical vision which here commences relates the principal crises in the history of the Church. The historical sequence of the events referred to affords some help towards the interpretation. The following is a summary of them, according to the explanation which is given below. (1) The persecution of the Church by the Roman emperors, ll. 109–17. (2) The early heresies,

and especially that of Arius, ll. 118–23. (3) The Donation of Constantine, ll. 124–9. (4) The rise of Mahometanism, ll. 130–5. (5) The gifts of land bestowed on the Church by Pepin and Charles the Great, and their effects, ll. 136–47. (6) The relations of the Papacy and the French Monarchy, especially in the time of Boniface VIII, ll. 148–56. (7) The removal of the Papal See to Avignon, ll. 157–60.

109–11. **Non scese,** &c.: the expressions used in this simile are best explained by a reference to Ar. *Meteorol.* ii. 9. 2–4, from which passage Dante has taken his theory of the formation of lightning. This, Aristotle says, is generated in the higher regions of the air (cp. **quel confine che più va remoto**), because, the cold there being most extreme, the clouds are the most dense (cp. **spessa nube**). Lightning, being squeezed out by the density of the cloud, falls downwards (cp. **piove**) instead of ascending, as fire usually does. See Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 130. For **piove** in the sense of 'falls' cp. Inf. xxiv. 122; xxx. 95. **più va remoto**: 'stretches farthest into the distance.'

112–5. **l' uccel di Giove,** &c.: the eagle is the Imperial symbol, and its striking the car (l. 115) signifies the persecutions of the Church by the heathen emperors. And as the flowers and leaves which the bare tree had put forth (ll. 58–60) signify the graces and virtues which contact with the Church had produced in the Empire, the rending of them signifies the diminution of those graces, and the tearing of the bark of the tree the consequent injury to the Empire itself. The description of the eagle rending the tree is from Ezek. xvii. 3, 4.

116, 117. **fortuna**: 'a storm.' **or da poggia,** &c.: 'now to starboard, now to larboard.' **Poggia** is the rope which is attached to the right hand side, **orza** that attached to the left hand side, of the yard.

118–20. **cuna**: 'the body of the car,' lit. 'cradle.' **volpe**: this is Heresy, which treacherously creeps into the bosom of the Church, but is expelled by Theology or sound doctrine. **pasto buon,** &c.: 'starving from wholesome food,' i. e. refusing sound doctrine.

122. **futa**: 'flight,' an archaic word. 'My Lady put him to as swift a flight As such a fleshless skeleton could bear' (Longf.). Dante regarded heresy as unhealthy and contemptible.

125, 126. **arca**: 'the interior of the car.' **di sè pennuta**: the

feathers left by the eagle in the car signify the (fictitious) Donation of the States of the Church by the emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester. This commencement of temporalities Dante denounced in Inf. xix. 115–7 as the origin of the corruption of the Church.

128, 129. **cotal disse,** &c.: the early commentators refer to a legend, that after the Donation of Constantine a voice from Heaven was heard saying—'Hodie diffusum est venenum in Ecclesia Dei.'

131. **un drago:** the figure is suggested by the dragon of Rev. xii. 3, 4, whose tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven. In the present passage it probably signifies Mahometanism, which robbed the Church of a large portion of the world. Some think it is the Iconoclastic controversy; but that was not specially important from a Western point of view, and, moreover, it was a breach within the Church, whereas in what is described here the attack comes from without, and from the powers of Hell. This last objection applies also to the view that the Great Schism is intended; and this too does not suit the historical order, because that event occurred after the time of Pepin and Charles the Great, whereas here they are introduced later.

135. **del fondo:** part of the floor of the car. **vago vago:** 'in devious course'; the original meaning of the word, 'wandering,' suits the irregular, tortuous movement of the serpent. Allegorically this implies the unstable character of a false religion.

136–9. **Quel che rimase,** &c.: 'the remaining part of the car covered itself anew with the feathers, which were presented to it, maybe, with a sound and generous motive.' The feathers, as before, are donations of the emperors, and those here meant are the gifts of land bestowed on the Church by Pepin and Charles the Great.

140, 141. **E l' una,** &c.: by the two wheels and the pole the remaining part of the car is intended. **in tanto,** &c.: 'in less time than it takes for a sigh to pass the lips.'

142–6. **Trasformato così:** 'owing to the change thus wrought,' i. e. under the pernicious influence of temporal possessions. **il dificio santo:** the car. **teste:** in what follows the seven heads and ten horns are evidently taken from Rev. xiii. 1. The meaning, as they are here introduced, has been variously interpreted, but the most probable view is that of Philalethes, that the heads are the seven deadly sins; and that, as the horn is the symbol of strength, the first three of these, Pride, Envy, and Anger, being sins of the spirit,

have two horns each, while the remaining four, Sloth, Avarice, Gluttony, and Lust, being sins of the flesh, have one each.

148–50. **rocca**: 'fortress.' **Seder,** &c.: 'sitting upon the car I beheld an abandoned harlot, with eyes quick to glance around.' The figure of the harlot is from Rev. xvii. 3; here it represents the Papacy in the hands of Boniface VIII and Clement V, while the giant (l. 152) is the French monarchy represented by Philip the Fair.

151–3. **come,** &c.: this explains the position and attitude of the giant; 'as if to prevent her from being taken from him, I saw upright beside her a giant.' **baciavansi,** &c.: this is adapted from Rev. xvii. 2, 'with whom the kings of the earth committed fornication.' The sympathy which existed between the Popes and Philip the Fair in opposition to the Emperors is here referred to.

155, 156. **A me**: Dante introduces himself, because he is supposed to be present at this scene, and the presence of any man is sufficient to excite the desires of the harlot and the jealousy of her lover. The *rapprochements* here intended are those between Boniface and Albert of Austria. **La flagellò**: this means the shameful treatment of Boniface by the agents of Philip at Anagni, which resulted in his death.

158–60. **il mostro**: this expression, and also the 'strange beast' of l. 160, mean the Church in its corrupt and perverted state (*Trasformato*, l. 142). **Disciolse** signifies the removal of the Papal See to Avignon by Clement V, who was the creature of Philip; by this proceeding the Church was detached from the Empire (the tree), and removed to a distance from Rome. The 'wood' is the world with its unprincipled and entangled politics. Observe that both this event and the ill treatment of Boniface were subsequent to 1300, and consequently are mentioned in the form of prophecies from the point of view of that date. **sol di lei,** &c.: 'he made a screen (lit. shield) of it (the wood) alone between me and the harlot with her transformed car'; the interposing trees sufficed to hide these objects from my sight. Dante here speaks in the character of an ordinary pious Catholic of the period, to whom the removal of the Papacy from Rome was an obscuration of the idea of the true Church. At the same time he rejoices that that calamity was partly shrouded from his view by the political complications which accompanied it.

CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT.—Beatrice leaves the tree, accompanied by the seven Virtues, and by Matelda, Statius, and Dante. After bidding Dante to walk beside her, she foretells to him that the troubles which the Church was then passing through would be compensated by the punishment of those who caused them, and orders him to publish this announcement to mankind. At last they reach a fountain, from which the streams of Lethe and Eunoë issue, and flow in different directions; here Matelda, following Beatrice's injunctions, conducts Dante to the water of Eunoë, and causes him to drink of it.

LINES 1–3. **Deus,** &c.: Ps. lxxix. 1, 'O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance'; this is here applied to the havoc wrought in the Church by hostile powers, such as the French monarchs. **Le donne:** the three theological and the four cardinal virtues, singing the psalm antiphonally (**alternando**).

4–6. **pia:** 'compassionate.' **sì fatta:** 'in aspect such.' **si cambiò:** 'changed countenance.'

9. **colorata,** &c.: i. e. blushing with indignation and zeal.

10–2. **Modicum,** &c.: the words are our Lord's, John xvi. 16. The reference in **non videbitis me** is to the removal of the Papal See to Avignon, which from the point of view of that time was a subversal of true Church principles; and that in **vos videbitis me** is to the subsequent restoration of the Papal See to Rome, accompanied by a moral reformation in the Church. Beatrice, who represents true doctrine in general, is here regarded as signifying the right view of God's government in the Church, which would be temporarily obscured and afterwards reaffirmed. The ten-syllable lines here and in ll. 8 and 12 are justified by the rhyming words in two of them being in Latin; the same metrical peculiarity is found in Purg. xxiii. 74 and Par. vii. 1, where the rhyming words, or one of them, are in Hebrew.

15. **il Savio,** &c.: Statius, who remained when Virgil departed.

21. **ben disposto:** 'in a favourable position.'

22–4. **Sì come,** &c.: 'as soon as I was by her side, as was

my duty'—from obedience to her commands. **perchè non,** &c.: 'why dost thou not venture to ask me for explanations?'

34–6. **il vaso:** the car, i. e. the Church, is meant; cp. Purg. xxxii. 131, 132. *Vaso* is similarly used of the Ark in Purg. x. 64; its primary meaning in this metaphorical sense is that of 'receptacle.' **Fu, e non è:** from Rev. xvii. 8. The meaning is, that in the eyes of God the Papacy, which represents the Church, ceased to exist when its seat was transferred to Avignon. **ma chi,** &c.: 'but let him who is responsible for the deed (Philip the Fair, who was the chief agent in bringing about this change) lay this to heart, that the vengeance of God fears not (is not liable to be hindered by) any sop.' The reference in **suppe** is to a certain limitation which existed to the practice of the *vendetta*, viz. that if the murderer could eat a sop of bread and wine at the grave of his victim within nine days from the time of death, he was free from the vengeance of the family. The relations of the murdered man kept watch to prevent this. Beatrice's meaning then is—there are no limitations to hinder the execution of divine vengeance.

37–9. **Non sarà,** &c.: 'the eagle (the Imperial line) which left its feathers on the car (cp. Purg. xxxii. 125, 126) will not be for ever without an heir.' According to Dante there had been no real Emperor since Frederic II (see *Conv.* iv. 3. ll. 38–43), because his successors had neglected the affairs of Italy, which Dante regarded as the most important function of the Emperor, as he says in his appeal to the emperor Albert in Purg. vi. 97–105. **Per che,** &c.: 'owing to which (the dotations) it became first a prodigy (Purg. xxxii. 136 foll.) and afterwards a prey (*ibid.* l. 158).'

40, 41. **io veggio,** &c.: 'I see stars (stellar influences by which the fortunes of men are regulated) even now drawing nigh, to assign us the time, at which (**Nel quale,** l. 43).'

43. **un cinquecento diece e cinque:** the idea of describing a person by a number is derived from the number of the Beast in Rev. xiii. 18. The great majority of expositors regard the number here, which in Roman letters is DXV, as equivalent to DUX by transposition of the last two letters. If we accept this view, we can hardly interpret its significance apart from that of the *Veltro* in Inf. i. 101. It seems probable that in both cases a 'coming man' is intended, to whom Dante looked forward as the regenerator of Italy, and the restorer of the Church and the Papacy to their rightful

position. In the Inferno the person who is darkly hinted at as destined to fulfil this office is Can Grande della Scala, while here men's hopes are turned towards a member of the Imperial line, who is soon to arise (ll. 37, 38). His primary function is to exact vengeance for the iniquitous alliance between the Papacy and the court of France (*anciderà*, &c., ll. 44, 45). According to another explanation, which has been proposed by Dr. Moore in a pamphlet entitled 'The "DXV" Prophecy in the Divina Commedia' (printed for private circulation), the person here intended is definitely the emperor Henry VII. This conclusion he deduces primarily from a careful consideration of the language of the context preceding; but he also thinks that the same result may be obtained by estimating the numerical values assigned to the letters which form his name in the Hebrew alphabet. He has proved that there is a very large amount of mediaeval Kabbalistic literature, in which this method of interpretation by the numerical value assigned to the Hebrew letters is practised; and also, that some of the writers of this class, and certainly the mystical system of interpretation itself, can hardly fail to have been well known to Dante. Now the name *Arrico*—which is a legitimate form of the name of Henry of Luxemburg—when the numerical value of the letters which compose it is estimated according to the Hebrew computation, is equivalent to 511 ($a = 1$, $r = 200$, $r = 200$, $i = 10$, $c = 100$), without taking into account the value of the final letter *o*. This vowel does not appear (like the rest) to have had, at least in mediaeval times, any definitely recognized equivalent in the Hebrew alphabet, and therefore its numerical value requires to be assigned on independent lines; this, according to Dr. Moore, might probably have been taken by Dante as 4, inasmuch as it is the fourth vowel. Thus the total becomes 515, the number which Dante gives.

45. **fuia**: 'robber'; see note on Inf. xii. 90.

46–8. **forse che**, &c.: 'maybe that my dark utterance persuades thee less'; for the use of **forse che** cp. Purg. iv. 98; xxi. 121. **Qual Temi**, &c.: 'like (that of) Themis and the Sphinx.' The riddles of the Sphinx are well known. The enigmatical response of Themis, which is here referred to, is that which she gave to Deucalion and Pyrrha after the Flood, Ov. *Met.* i. 379–89. **attuia**: 'obscures'; the etymology of the word is doubtful; some connect it with Lat. *obturare*, 'to close up.'

49–51. **Ma tosto,** &c.: 'but soon events will be the interpreters'; coming events will furnish the explanation. The history of the meaning here attached to **Naiade** is a curious one. Though it is now known from MSS. discovered since Dante's time that Ovid in the passage here referred to (*Met.* vii. 759, 760) wrote 'Carmina Laiades non intellecta priorum Solverat ingeniis'—where 'Laiades' means Oedipus, who solved the riddle of the Sphinx—yet all the MSS. of Ovid that were known in the middle ages read 'Naiades . . . solvunt'; hence Dante, following his text of Ovid, regarded the Naiads as the interpreters of enigmas. **Senza,** &c.: 'without (as in the case of Thebes) its causing ruin to the flocks'; cp. Ovid, l. 764, 'exitio pecorum.'

52–4. **porte:** 'uttered'; cp. Purg. xxx. 141. **Del viver,** &c.: take with **ai vivi**; 'the living (I mean) who live that life which is a race towards death.' The real life is the eternal life which Beatrice herself enjoys.

56, 57. **qual hai,** &c.: 'in what condition thou hast seen the tree.' **due volte:** very different views exist as to the two occasions which are here referred to; but the special mention of Adam's sin in l. 61 seems to point to that as one of them; and Beatrice's intention that a lesson should be drawn by Dante's readers (l. 55) suggests that the separation of the car from the tree (i. e. of the Church from the Empire), which was effected by the giant (Purg. xxxii. 158), is the other.

59. **bestemmia di fatto:** sacrilege.

62, 63. **Cinquemili' anni e più:** in Par. xxvi. 118–23 Adam is made to say that he spent 930 years on earth and 4,302 in Limbo, i. e. 5,232 years in all. **Colui:** Christ, who paid in His own person the penalty for Adam's sin in eating of the apple.

65, 66. **Per singular,** &c.: i. e. that the grandeur and inviolability of the Empire is ordained by Providence. **travolta:** 'inverted,' because it widened as it ascended, so that its branches might be out of reach of the hands of spoilers; cp. Purg. xxxii. 40, 41.

67–9. **E se,** &c.: 'and, had not your mind been hardened by worldly thoughts, and stained by the pleasure derived from them.' **Elsa:** a tributary of the Arno with petrifying powers. **Piramo:** the death of Pyramus was the cause of the mulberry changing from white to a dark colour; cp. Purg. xxvii. 39.

70–2. **Per tante,** &c.: 'by all these incidents (of the vision)

without further aid thou wouldst recognize the justice of God in the prohibition not to touch the tree, in its moral interpretation.' In other words—the moral of the symbolical occurrences which you have seen is, that no one should put forth his hand to attack the Empire, just as our First Parents were forbidden to pluck the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. **moralmente**: Dante explains in *Conv.* ii. 1. ll. 42–51, that the moral, as distinguished from the literal and the allegorical sense of a statement, is that in which it is regarded in its application to life and practice.

74. **ed, impietrato, tinto**: 'and, in addition to being hardened, stained.'

76–8. **se non**, &c.: 'if not in words, at least in outline.' **per quello**, &c.: 'for the same reason, for which a pilgrim ('palmer') carries his staff girt with palm-leaves,' viz. as a memorial token—in Dante's case, as a remembrance of his visit to the Terrestrial Paradise.

84. **s' aiuta**: 'it applies itself to understand it'; cp. Purg. xii. 130.

85–7. **Perchè**, &c.: 'in order that you may estimate the worth of that school which you have followed, and may see how little its teaching is capable of following in the wake of my discourse.' By the 'school' are meant the disciples of human philosophy, which study Dante had cultivated to the disregard of theology.

88–90. **vostra**: the plural here signifies 'of you and your school.' **si discorda**: 'is separated'; cp. Is. lv. 9, 'as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways.' **più alto festina**: the highest or outermost of the moving spheres, which consequently revolves the most rapidly, is the *Primum Mobile*; cp. *Conv.* ii. 4. ll. 19–21.

91. **mi ricorda**: for this impersonal use see note to Inf. ix. 98, 'se ben vi ricorda.'

92. **voi**: this is the plural of dignity. The other personages in the poem whom Dante addresses in this manner are Farinata (Inf. x. 51), Cavalcante (Inf. x. 63), Brunetto Latini (Inf. xv. 30), Adrian V (Purg. xix. 131), Guido Guinicelli (Purg. xxvi. 112), and Cacciaguida (Par. xvi. 10).

96. **ancoi**: 'but now,' for *anche oggi*.

97–9. **se dal fummo**, &c.: 'just as, when we see smoke, we infer the presence of fire, so your having turned your thoughts to

another than me (**tua voglia altrove attenta**) is shown to have been culpable by your having forgotten it in the water of Lethe,' for it is only of sins that Lethe causes forgetfulness.

100–2. **oramai,** &c.: 'henceforward what I say will be clear, so far as it will be suitable to reveal it to your unpractised view.'

103–5. **E più,** &c.: the time is now midday of the fourth day on the Mountain of Purgatory. At noon the sun is brightest (**più corrusco**), and the imagination naturally conceives that it pauses or slackens its speed (**con più lenti passi**) when it reaches the highest point of its course: thus Shelley in his *Hymn of Apollo* makes the Sun to say, 'I stand at noon upon the peak of heaven,' and Sophocles says (*Ant.* 415, 416), *ἐν αἰθέρι μέσῳ κατέστη λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος.* Dante repeats the idea in Par. xxiii. 11, 12, where he describes the meridian as 'la plaga, Sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta.' **Che,** &c.: 'which, with the point of view, shifts here and there' (Longf.); i. e. the meridian circle, which is crossed by the sun at midday, varies at each place according to its longitude.

108. **novitate a sue vestigge:** 'some strange object in his track.'

109–11. **al fin,** &c.: i. e. where the shadow of the forest came to an end. The reason why the darkness of the forest is noticed especially at this point is the contrast with the light into which they emerge. **Sopra,** &c.: 'above their cold brooks the Alps wear'; **Alpe,** in whatever sense it is used, is always sing. in the *Div. Com.*; cp. Purg. xvii. 1.

112. **Eufrates e Tigri:** Dante could hardly have failed here to be thinking of the description in Gen. ii. 10, 14 of the common source of the four rivers of Paradise, of which the Tigris (Hiddekel) and the Euphrates were two. But the idea of a common source for these two rivers independently of the other two he derived from the classics. It is mentioned by three authors with whom Dante was familiar. Thus Lucan says (*Phars.* iii. 256–9), 'Quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus Euphrates, quos non diversis fontibus edit Persis, et incertum, tellus si misceat amnes, quod potius sit nomen aquis.' Boëthius (*De Cons.* v. Metr. 1) writes 'Tigris et Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt, et mox abiunctis dissociantur aquis.' Isidore (*Orig.* xiii. 21. 10) quotes Sallust to the same effect: 'Sallustius, auctor certissimus, ita asserit Tigrim et Euphratem uno fonte manare in Armenia.' For a possible explanation of

the origin of the fable see H. F. Tozer's *History of Ancient Geography*, pp. 270–2.

113, 114. **Veder mi parve**: 'methought I saw'; he saw what resembled the descriptions of the two rivers. **E quasi amici**, &c.: 'and lingeringly part, like friends, from one another.'

116, 117. **Che acqua**, &c.: 'what stream is this, which here diffuses itself from a single source, and withdraws one portion of its waters from the other?'

119. **Matelda**: Beatrice commissions Matelda to answer this question, because this is her suitable function as being a regular occupant of the Terrestrial Paradise. N.B. This is the only place in which the name of Matelda is given.

121. **Questo**: the source of the two rivers was described by Matelda in Purg. xxviii. 121 foll.

124–6. **maggior cura**: the sights which had been presented to him in the Terrestrial Paradise. **priva**: 'takes away.' **negli occhi oscura**: 'dull of vision.'

127–9. **vedi Eunoè**: the non-elision of the vowel before **Eunoè**, and the similar use before *Eufrates* in l. 112, seem to show that Dante admitted *hiatus* before the diphthong *eu*. **usa**: for *usata*; cp. Purg. xii. 85. 'As thou art wont' seems to imply that this was Matelda's office in behalf of all the souls that had passed through Purgatory.

132. **per segno**: 'by some intimation.'

133. **preso**: 'taken by the hand.'

137, 138. **pur**, &c.: 'I would sing at least in part.' **Lo dolce ber**: the water of Eunoë restores the recollection of every good deed; cp. Purg. xxviii. 127–32.

139, 140. **piene**, &c.: we have here a strong evidence of the symmetry of the plan of the poem. The total number of verses in the *Div. Com.* is 14,233, and of these 4,720 are in the Inf., 4,755 in the Purg., and 4,758 in the Par., so that the number assigned to each part is approximately equal. See Mariotti, *Dante e la Statistica*, p. 25. **Ordite**: 'planned,' lit. 'warped'; the proper meaning of the verb *ordire* is 'to begin a web.'

143–5. **piante novelle**, &c.: 'young trees renewed with fresh foliage.' For the fanciful repetition in **novelle, Rinnovellate, novella** cp. Inf. xxx. 136, 137, and the note on Inf. xiii. 25. **stelle**: see note on Par. xxxiii. 145.

PARADISO

PARADISO

CANTO I

Prefatory Note on Dante's Conception of Heaven.

ACCORDING to Dante's system there are ten Heavens, forming concentric spheres, all of which, with the exception of the tenth or outermost, revolve round the earth, which is at the centre and is stationary. Between the earth and the first of these Heavens the spheres of air and of fire intervene. The velocity of the movement of the spheres increases in proportion to their distance from the earth. This system is based in the main on that of Ptolemy, whose astronomical views were known to Dante through the *Elementa Astronomica* of Alfraganus (Alfergan), the Arabian astronomer of Cent. ix., which is an epitome of Ptolemy's work. Further, in accordance with the views of mediaeval theology, Dante represents each of the first nine Heavens as being regulated by one of the Angelic Orders, and as exercising under their guidance a special influence on the earth and its inhabitants. In the first Heaven, that of the Moon, which is directed by Angels, are seen the spirits of those who failed to keep their monastic vows. In the second, that of Mercury, which is directed by Archangels, are the spirits of those who were incited to noble deeds by the desire of fame. In the third, that of Venus, which is directed by Principalities, are the spirits of lovers. In the fourth, that of the Sun, which is directed by Powers, are the spirits of the theologians. In the fifth, that of Mars, which is directed by Virtues, are the spirits of martyrs and of warrior saints. In the sixth, that of Jupiter, which is directed

by Dominions, are the spirits of those who were pre-eminent in justice. In the seventh, that of Saturn, which is directed by Thrones, are the spirits of the contemplative. The eighth, that of the Fixed Stars, which is directed by Cherubim, has no special occupants, but in it the Triumph of Christ is revealed to Dante. The ninth Heaven, which is called the Crystalline, or *Primum Mobile*, and is directed by Seraphim, is the source of the general motion of the Heavens from east to west. The tenth is the Empyrean Heaven, in which is the visible presence of God; here there is neither motion, nor time, nor place. It is the permanent abode of the Blessed, who only reveal themselves in the lower spheres in order to intimate to Dante their various degrees of felicity, and the celestial influences by which they were affected during their life on earth.

The subject of the Paradiso is one which tasked Dante's poetic skill to the utmost, not only on account of its sublimity and its transcendental character, but because of the uniformity of treatment which it involved. In contrast with the exciting incidents of the Inferno, and the frequent change of scene in the Purgatorio, the accompaniments—the atmosphere, we might almost say—of this part of the poem are light, music and rhythmic movement. The regular recurrence of these, and the absence of variety which results from it, required to be counterbalanced by the introduction of other elements, such as imagination and art can furnish; and of devices of this nature the Poet has largely availed himself. In illustration of this it may be remarked, that the number of the similes which are found in the Paradiso is very large, so that they exceed by one-third those that occur in either of the other two parts of the poem.

ARGUMENT.—This part of the *Divina Commedia* commences with a Prologue, in which the Poet invokes the aid of Apollo to help him in accomplishing this, the most arduous portion of his task. Dante and Beatrice are suddenly caught up from the summit of the Earthly Paradise to the sphere of fire, which intervenes between our atmosphere and the Heaven of the Moon. When Dante is bewildered at finding that he has ascended contrary to the laws of gravitation, Beatrice, in order to explain how this has come to pass, reveals to him the order of the universe.

LINES 1–36. These lines are to be regarded as a Prologue or

Introduction, as Dante tells us in his letter to Can Grande, *Epist.* x. § 17. ll. 287–92.

2. **e risplende**: 'yet it shines'; though the glory of God pervades the universe, yet it is manifested in different degrees in different parts of that universe. Dante himself explains this so in Letter to Can Grande, § 20. ll. 349–52.

4–6. **Nel ciel che più**, &c.: this is the highest Heaven, or Empyrean, where was the immediate presence of God. **Fu' io**: this is almost equivalent to 'I have been.' Dante is apologizing here for the inadequacy of his account of Paradise, and in doing so he says that in one part of his journey through that realm he was in the abode of God's presence, which no mortal can describe. **Nè sa, nè può**: he has not the *knowledge*, because he does not recollect them; he has not the *power*, because human language cannot express them: cp. Letter to Can Grande, § 29. ll. 573–5. **chi**, &c.: one who, like Dante, or like St. Paul (cp. 2 Cor. xii. 2–4), had been in Heaven and had returned to earth.

7–9. **Perchè**, &c.: 'because our intellect, in drawing near to the object of its desire (God), reaches such depths, that the memory cannot follow it,' so as to bring away an account of what it saw; Letter to Can Grande, § 28. l. 530, 'memoria sequi non potest.'

10, 11. **Veramente**: 'nevertheless'; cp. Purg. ii. 98; vi. 43. **far tesoro**: 'store up,' 'treasure up.'

13–5. **Apollo**: in the two other *Cantiche* Dante had invoked the Muses (Inf. ii. 7; Purg. i. 8); here he invokes Apollo himself. **sì fatto vaso**, &c.: 'a fit receptacle of thy power, such as thou dost require for the gift of thy loved bay,' i. e. as a condition of bestowing on the Poet the crown of bay-leaves. **amato** refers to Apollo's love for Daphne; cp. *diletto*, l. 25. According to the story which is given in Ov. *Met.* i. 543–52, Daphne, who was a daughter of the river Peneius, was metamorphosed on its banks into the bay-tree, in order to save her from Apollo who was pursuing her. In consequence of this the bay is called by Dante *fronda Peneia*, l. 32.

16–8. **Infino**, &c.: the general meaning of the passage seems to be:—'Hitherto I have been content with the ordinary measure of poetic inspiration; for the more exalted subject which remains I require a twofold measure.' It is well to notice the origin of the idea concerning the summits of Parnassus, from which Dante's

metaphorical language is drawn. That mountain rises to a single conspicuous summit; and when the Greek poets speak of its two summits (Soph. *Ant.* 1126; Eurip. *Bacch.* 307; cp. *Ion.* 86–8) they mean, not the real summit of the mountain, but the two peaks that rise above Delphi, which are several thousand feet lower. These expressions were misunderstood by the Roman poets, who regularly describe Parnassus as rising to two summits; e. g. Ov. *Met.* i. 316, 'Mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus, Nomine Parnassus'; Lucan, v. 72, 'Parnassus gemino petit aethera colle.' Dante followed them, and naturally fell into the same mistake. Then, as Parnassus is the representative of poetic inspiration, he quaintly regards the two summits as a double portion of that inspiration. There is no sufficient ground for saying, as some commentators do, that one peak was sacred to Apollo, the other to Bacchus and the Muses; and that when the two peaks are named it is implied that Dante, who hitherto has invoked the Muses, now invokes Apollo also. Great confusion existed in the minds of post-classical writers about these two (supposed) peaks of Parnassus, and by some—e. g. Servius (on *Aen.* vii. 641 and x. 163) and Isidore (*Orig.* xiv. 8)—they were identified with Helicon and Cithaeron. But the two divinities to whom they were regarded as being sacred were Apollo and Bacchus; and no writer, so far as we know, with whom Dante was acquainted, regarded one peak as dedicated to Apollo and the other to the Muses. In fact, the only passage which may be taken to imply this is found in the *Scholia in Bucolica et Georgica* attributed to Probus the Grammarian (*Georg.* iii. 43), and there is no reason to suppose that Dante knew that work.

19–21. **spira tue,** &c.: the meaning is:—'Grant me that inspiration which thou didst thyself feel, when thou didst vanquish and flay Marsyas.' Marsyas challenged Apollo to a contest of skill in music, and the god, after he had vanquished him, flayed him alive. **spira** refers to the inspiration of Apollo's music, not to his breathing into the flute, for the instrument which he employed in this contest was the lyre. **traesti,** &c.: the act of flaying is somewhat extravagantly described as drawing the victim forth from the scabbard which encased his limbs. As Dante has borrowed the story from Ov. *Met.* vi. 382 foll., this expression was probably in part suggested by Marsyas' exclamation which occurs in that passage, 'Quid me mihi detrahis?' l. 385.

22–4. **O divina,** &c.: 'O divine inspiration (of Apollo), if thou dost vouchsafe me thyself in such measure, that I may express in words that shadowy image of the blessed realm which is stamped on my brain.'

25–7. **diletto legno:** the bay-tree, as in l. 15. **Che:** 'of which'; cp. Purg. xxi. 53, 'dei tre gradi ch' io parlai.' Instances of the omission of the prep. with the relative, as here, are most commonly found when the same prep. occurs with the antecedent. **la materia e tu:** 'the subject and thy aid.' **farai:** the verb here agrees with the latter of the two subjects; cp. Inf. viii. 28.

29. **Per trionfar,** &c.: 'for (in honour of) the triumph either of an emperor or a poet.' This is an imitation of Statius, *Achill.* i. 15, 'geminae florent vatumque ducumque Certatim laurus.'

31–3. **Che partorir,** &c.: 'that the foliage of the Peneius (the bay-tree) must gladden the heart of the gladsome god of Delphi, when it inspires any one with longing for it.' The epithet **lieta** here expresses the character of Apollo as the god of brightness and joy.

34–6. **Poca,** &c.: 'a tiny spark is followed by a burst of flame'; similarly, Dante implies, greater poets may be inspired by his example. **Si pregherà,** &c.: 'prayer will be made, to evoke a favourable reply from Delphi.' **Cirra:** the name of Cirrha, the port of Delphi, is here used for the oracle itself, as it is by Statius, *Theb.* iii. 106, 455, 474.

37–45. The Prologue having been concluded with the preceding line, the Paradiso proper here commences. Dante begins by stating the time of year, and the time of day, at which his ascent from the Terrestrial Paradise to Heaven took place. The time of year was the Vernal Equinox, which is regarded as the most propitious season because it ushers in the spring. The time of day was noon (see note on ll. 43–5), which is the culminating point of the twenty-four hours. Thus the moment of his ascent was a peculiarly auspicious one.

37, 38. **Surge,** &c.: the meaning is:—'The sun rises at different points of the horizon' according to the time of year. **foci:** lit. 'entrances,' as we speak of the 'gates' of day.

38–42. **ma da quella,** &c.: 'but when he comes forth from that point, which joins four circles with three crosses, his course is most propitious, and he is in combination with the most beneficent

constellation, and modifies and moulds the mass of the earth most after his own fashion.' **che quattro cerchi,** &c.: the point on the horizon (**foce**) here intended is that at which the sun rises at the vernal equinox. At that time the ecliptic, the equator, and the equinoctial colure intersect one another and the horizon, and the intersections of the three former of these circles with the horizon form three crosses. **stella:** the constellation of Aries, in which the sun is at the beginning of spring, when he brings bright weather in his train (**miglior corso**). **suggella:** the formative influence of the sun on the surface of the earth in bringing on vegetation and crops, drying marshes, forming streams, &c., is compared to the impress of a seal on wax.

43–5. **Fatto avea,** &c.: the difficulty of this passage arises from the Poet having introduced into one sentence two times of day, viz. sunrise—which is mentioned in connexion with the preceding six lines in order to determine the season of the year—and midday, which is the time intended in the narrative. This difficulty disappears, if we give due weight to the tenses of the verbs, pluperfect and imperfect respectively. Paraphrase thus:—'It was near this point on the horizon that the sun had risen, making morning there (in the southern hemisphere, where the Mountain of Purgatory was), and consequently evening here (in our hemisphere); and the whole of the southern hemisphere *was now* (at midday) in light, and the whole of the opposite hemisphere in darkness.' **Tal foce quasi:** lit. 'this point of sunrise or nearly this point'; the qualifying adverb **quasi** is added to **tal foce,** because it was now April 13, and the vernal equinox was on March 21. **tutto,** &c.: from what is here said, viz. that the whole of the southern hemisphere was in light, it follows that it was midday at the Mountain of Purgatory, which was its central point, as Jerusalem was that of the northern hemisphere. Consequently Dante's ascent from the summit of the Terrestrial Paradise must have taken place at that hour, and not at sunrise, as many interpreters maintain. To this latter view it is a further objection, that in that case he would without any reason have passed 18 hours on that summit, which he would have reached at noon on the previous day (Purg. xxxiii. 104).

46. **sinistro:** Dante's course from his entrance into the Terrestrial Paradise until he reached its highest point (and consequently that of Beatrice after she joined him) was from W. to

E.; cp. Purg. xxviii. 7–12; xxix. 12. Consequently, in order to face the sun—which at midday was in the N., since they were in the southern hemisphere—she had to turn to the left.

49–51. **sì come,** &c.: Dante compares his action in imitating Beatrice by looking full at the orb of the sun, to the reflexion of a ray of sunlight from a bright surface. **Pur come,** &c.: the ray of light naturally returning to the heaven from which it came is further compared to a pilgrim longing to return when he has reached the term of his journey. For another instance of a simile within a simile cp. Par. iii. 10–5.

52, 53. **Così,** &c.: 'so from her action (of looking at the sun), which passed through the medium of my eyes into my imagination, did my action arise'; cp. ll. 46, 47, where Dante is represented as looking at Beatrice, while she looks at the sun.

56. **loco:** the Terrestrial Paradise; cp. Purg. xxviii. 92, 93.

58–60. **nè si poco,** &c.: 'yet not for so short a space of time that I failed to see the orb of the sun sparkle all round.' **bogliente:** 'molten.'

61–3. **parve,** &c.: 'the light of day appeared to be increased twofold, as if God, who has the power to do so, had adorned the heaven with another sun.' The increase of light was due to Dante's ascent towards heaven, of which at the time he was unconscious.

64–6. **rote:** the spheres of Heaven. **di lassù remote:** 'withdrawing them from above,' i. e. from the sun.

67–9. **Nel suo,** &c.: 'by looking at her I became inwardly such as Glaucus became by tasting of the herb, which made him a peer of the marine divinities.' The story of Glaucus—a fisherman, who in consequence of eating a divine herb which grew near the seashore was changed into a sea-god—is given by Ov. *Met.* xiii. 904 foll. Glaucus there says of himself (ll. 949–51), 'Di maris exceptum socio dignantur honore, Utque mihi quaecumque feram mortalia demant Oceanum Tethymque rogant'; and again (ll. 958, 959), 'alium me corpore toto Ac fueram nuper, nec eundem mente recepi.' Similarly, the effect on Dante of contemplating the eyes of Beatrice, who represents the Divine Wisdom, was to raise him above the level of his humanity.

70–2. **Trasumanar,** &c.: 'to express in words the change from an earthly to a heavenly nature is impossible; wherefore (as an aid to realizing it) let the example (of Glaucus) suffice to him, for

whom the grace of God has the experience of it in store (in the future life).'

73–5. **S' io era,** &c.: the meaning is:—'whether I was at this time in the spirit only, or in the body also, God only knows.' This is an adaptation of St. Paul's words concerning his having been caught up to Heaven—'whether in the body, I know not; or whether out of the body, I know not; God knoweth' (2 Cor. xii. 2). Lit. 'whether I was only that part of me which thou didst last create (i. e. the spirit), thou knowest.' According to the Creationist view of the origin of the rational soul which Dante maintained (see note on Purg. xxv. 67–75), when the *fetus* was formed in the womb, the rational soul was infused by God himself, and consequently came last in the order of creation. **novellamente:** this word properly signifies 'recently'; here it means 'recently as compared with my body,' and so 'last in order of creation.' **Amor,** &c.: God is meant. The expression is from Boëthius, *De Cons.* ii. Metr. 8, 'caelo imperitans Amor.'

76, 77. **la rota,** &c.: 'the motion of the spheres, which thou dost cause to be eternal through their longing for thee,' lit. 'being longed for by them.' The ninth sphere, or *Primum Mobile*, which originated the rotatory movement of the other spheres, was itself set in motion by its longing to approach to the presence of God; hence God is 'colui che tutto move,' *supra*, l. 1. This idea was derived in the first instance from Aristotle, who says (*Metaph.* xi. 7. 2) that the divinity, by being the object of desire, attracts, and thus sets in motion, the universe.' Cp. *Conv.* ii. 4. ll. 19–30.

78. **l' armonia:** this is the 'ninefold harmony' of the 'crystal spheres' in Milton's *Ode on the Nativity*; Dante refers to it also in Purg. xxx. 93. It was supposed to be produced by the spheres of Heaven in their revolution. The idea was of Pythagorean origin, and Dante was acquainted with it through Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*, § 5. **che temperi e discerni:** 'which thou dost modulate and distinguish.' In order for harmony to be produced, there must be a number of different sounds, and these must be made to accord with one another. The former of these conditions is implied in **discerni,** 'dost distinguish,' because God assigns different sounds to the various spheres; the latter is implied in **temperi,** 'dost modulate,' because God regulates or harmonizes these sounds. Cp. *Somn. Scip.*, 'Hic [dulcis sonus] est, qui intervallis coniunctus

imparibus, sed tamen pro rata parte ratione *distinctis*, impulsu et motu ipsorum orbium conficitur, et, acuta cum gravibus *temperans*, varios aequabiliter concentus efficit.'

79. **Parvemi,** &c.: Dante has now been transported, though unconscious of the change, into the region of fire, which intervenes between our atmosphere and the sphere of the moon; the vast extent of this, as it appears to him, he can only compare to a broad lake.

83, 84. **Di lor cagion,** &c.: 'kindled in me a desire to learn their cause, more keen than I had ever felt before.'

85–7. **vedea me,** &c.: 'read my thoughts, even as I did myself.' A similar power of insight has been frequently attributed to Virgil in the earlier portions of the poem, e. g. Inf. xxiii. 25–30. **Pria ch' io,** &c.: 'before I opened my lips to ask the question.'

88–90. **Tu stesso,** &c.: the meaning is:—'Thou art thyself in fault, through obscuring thy mind by the false notion that thou art still on earth.' **se l' avessi scosso:** 'if thou hadst shaken thyself clear (disabused thyself) of that notion.'

92, 93. **Ma folgore,** &c.: Beatrice here informs Dante of the transit which he has made, and of its rapidity. **proprio sito:** lightning descends from the sphere of fire, which is its natural home; Dante is returning to Heaven, the home from which, according to the views of Creationism, his soul originally proceeded.

95. **sorrise:** 'expressed with smiles.'

97–9. **Già,** &c.: 'a moment ago I was satisfied, and had truce from great wonderment; but now I am marvelling how it comes to pass that I rise above these light substances.' The 'light substances' are air and fire, and when Dante rises above them he violates the law of gravitation. In what follows Beatrice proceeds to solve this fresh difficulty in Dante's mind by explaining to him the order of the universe. **requievi:** Lat. form.

100. **pio:** 'compassionate.'

103–41. Beatrice's explanation may be thus summarized. The order of the universe is appointed by God, so that every part of it has its proper function, and is impelled towards the discharge of this function by an instinct implanted in it (ll. 103–14). This principle applies alike to inanimate nature, to the brute creation, and to rational beings (ll. 115–20). The instinct of the last-named class impels them upward towards the presence of God, but this

influence may be interfered with by man's possession of free will, which allows of his being drawn in another direction by lower attractions (ll. 121–35). But when, as in Dante's case, the counter-influence of sin has been removed, the higher instinct reasserts itself, and impels him upward towards Heaven (ll. 136–41).

104, 105. **questo è forma**, &c.: 'this order is the formative principle, which causes the universe to resemble God'; for **forma** in this sense cp. Par. xxxiii. 91.

106–8. **Qui veggion**, &c.: 'in this (the orderly working of the universe) the angels and other higher intelligences trace the footstep (find the evidence) of God's excellence, which is the end, or final object, to correspond to which the system just mentioned is ordained.'

109–11. **Nell' ordine**, &c.: 'in the order of which I am speaking all natures gravitate (towards the divine essence).' **per diverse sorti**: 'variously allotted,' i. e. assigned to different positions, higher and lower, and exercising different functions, in the scheme of the universe. **Più**, &c.: 'some nearer to, some more remote from, him from whom they are derived.'

112–4. **Onde**, &c.: 'hence it is that they shape their course over the ocean of existence to various havens (i. e. their rightful places), each of them impelled by the instinct given it to bear it thither.'

115–7. **Questi ne porta**, &c.: 'this instinct it is which causes the element of fire to rise towards the moon.' The region of fire extended upwards to the limits of the sphere of the moon. **cor mortali**: i. e. all living creatures; in ll. 118–20 Beatrice goes on to say that men as well as brutes are included. **in sè stringe**, &c.: 'this instinct it is, which binds together and unifies the earth.' The instinct in this case is the force of gravitation towards the centre, which causes the earth to perform its appointed function in the scheme of the universe.

119. **quest' arco saetta**: 'does this bow shoot forth,' i. e. 'does this motive power impel and direct.'

121–3. **cotanto assetta**: 'regulates this mighty frame.' From Inf. xvii. 22, 91 it appears that the first meaning of *assettare* is 'to seat,' 'settle'; and so it is probably derived from Lat. *sedere*. **del suo lume**, &c.: 'causes by his light that Heaven to be ever tranquil, within which revolves that which moves most rapidly.' **il ciel,**

&c.: the Empyrean, which does not move. **quel,** &c.: the *Primum Mobile*, which is immediately within the Empyrean. As this is the highest (outermost) of all the spheres which move, it has the most extensive, and therefore the most rapid, revolution.

124–6. **lì**: to the Empyrean. **a sito decreto**: 'to an appointed resting-place.' **quella corda,** &c.: 'the string of that bow (the instinct), which directs to a joyous mark the arrows which it shoots.'

127–9. **Ver' è,** &c.: the failure of human nature to attain to that towards which its higher instinct impels it, is here compared to the failure of human art to realize the conception which it desires to represent, owing to the imperfection of the material which it has to employ. **forma,** &c.: 'the form produced does not correspond to what the artist intends to represent.' **è sorda**: 'is dull in responding to what he demands of it.'

130–2. **questo corso**: its upward course. **ha potere,** &c.: 'has the power (owing to free will), after it has received this (upward) impulse (**così pinta**), to swerve in another direction.'

133. **E sì come,** &c.: this deflection of the soul from its upward course is compared to lightning, which instead of rising, which it is the nature of fire to do (cp. Purg. xviii. 28–30), falls downward.

134, 135. **se l' impeto,** &c.: 'if its original (instinctive) impulse, having been diverted from its course by false pleasure, brings it to the ground.' The instinct to attain the highest good continues to be the moving force, but it is misdirected by a wrong conception of what the highest good is. In l. 135 there is another reading *A terra è torto*, but it has hardly any MS. authority; see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 437.

136–8. **Non dei,** &c.: Beatrice here finally solves Dante's difficulty. 'There is nothing more surprising in your rising upward than in a stream flowing downward'; it is the natural tendency in both cases. **se non come**: 'any more than'; cp. Par. x. 90; xxxii. 54.

139–41. **privo,** &c.: the impediment which would have prevented Dante from rising was the power of sin, and this had been annulled by the water of Lethe. **assiso**: this word implies permanent abode. **come a terra,** &c.: 'just as repose on earth would be strange in a living flame.' 'On earth' is used here in contrast to 'in its own sphere, that of fire,' where it would naturally be at rest.

CANTO II

ARGUMENT.—Dante and his spiritual guide now pass from the sphere of fire into the Heaven of the Moon, in which are seen the spirits of those who having taken monastic vows were forced to violate them. Dante inquires from Beatrice the nature and cause of the spots on the moon's surface; and she in reply first confutes Dante's erroneous view on the subject, and then explains the operation of the heavenly spheres, and the superintendence which is exercised over them by the Intelligences or Angelic Orders, and shows that it is in these influences that the explanation of the spots is to be found.

LINES 1–9. Before commencing his description of the first objects which he saw in Paradise, Dante in these lines warns off those of his readers who had paid no attention to philosophy and theology; in ll. 10–5 he encourages those who had done so.

1, 2. **barca**: the voyager in the 'little boat,' which follows in the wake of the larger vessel, is the uninitiated but inquisitive reader, to whom the mysteries which Dante is about to reveal would be unintelligible. The metaphor in **barca** is the same as in the 'navicella del mio ingegno' of Purg. i. 2; cp. Par. xxiii. 67–9. **seguiti**: take with **siete**, 'have followed (thus far).'

6. **Perdendo me**, &c.: divested of metaphor this means—'if you fail to follow my guidance in philosophical and theological questions, you may lose your way in those subjects.'

8, 9. **Minerva**, &c.: 'the goddess of wisdom wafts me on my course, the god of song is my pilot, and new Muses (a new source of poetical inspiration) give me my bearings.' **nove**: this epithet is introduced because of the unwonted character of the task (**l' acqua che giammai non si corse**). The word is also explained as meaning 'nine,' but it seems unpoetical to give the number of the Muses, even if the object of doing so be to express their collective force. **l' Orse**: the polar stars, by which mariners steer.

10–2. **drizzaste il collo**: i. e. 'have uplifted your minds.' **pan degli Angeli**: the heavenly manna, i. e. the knowledge of higher subjects, and especially of theology; cp. *Conv.* i. 1. ll. 52, 53.

non sen vien satollo: 'does not leave the board sated,' 'ever craves for more.'

15. **Dinanzi,** &c.: lit. 'in front of the water which resumes its calm surface'; in other words, 'following closely to make sure that the track is not obliterated.'

16–8. **Quei gloriosi,** &c.: the Argonauts. **bifolco:** 'ploughman,' Lat. *bubulcus*. One of the labours imposed on Jason by Aeetes, king of Colchis, was to plough the ground with fire-breathing bulls. Dante knew the story from Ov. *Met.* vii. 104–21, but he remembered the passage imperfectly, for, as Mr. Butler has pointed out, Ovid represents the Colchians, and not the Argonauts, as wondering; l. 120, 'Mirantur Colchi; Minyae clamoribus implent, Adiiciuntque animos.'

19–21. **La concreata,** &c.: 'the innate and unquenchable thirst for (i. e. the instinct which impels the soul towards) the Empyrean.' This latter is called **il deiforme regno**, because it exists only in the mind of God; cp. *Conv.* ii. 4. ll. 37–9, 'esso non è in luogo, ma formato fu solo nella prima Mente.' **come il ciel,** &c.: 'as swiftly as ye see the heaven move.' The heaven here is the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, the movement of which we see from the earth; its velocity is the greatest of all after the *Primum Mobile*, to which it is the nearest.

23, 24. **in tanto,** &c.: Dante here describes the rapidity of his passage to the Heaven of the Moon. **posa,** &c.: 'reaches its mark, flies through the air, and is discharged from the peg of the crossbow.' Observe the inverted form of the statement, which is intended to imply that the stages of the process here given were almost simultaneous. **noce:** this 'nut' was a peg or button on the crossbow, to which the cord was attached before shooting; it was so called from its shape. It is erroneously rendered by 'notch.'

27. **mia opra:** 'what was passing in my mind.'

30. **la prima stella:** the Moon, which according to the Ptolemaic astronomy was one of the planets.

33. **adamante:** here used for 'diamond.'

37–45. The reflexions which follow are suggested by the words *permanendo unita*. When Dante's body entered the orb of the moon, it did not displace any of the matter of which that orb is composed; but since the laws of nature do not admit of two bodies occupying the same space, this occurrence was supernatural

or miraculous; hence Dante regards it as a fitting introduction to the cognate, though higher, miracle of the co-existence of two natures, perfect God and perfect Man, in the Person of our Lord.

37–40. **S' io era corpo,** &c.: 'if I was a material body, and here on earth it is impossible to conceive how one corporeal substance could admit the presence of another such—and this must be the case when one body passes (lit. creeps) within another body—we ought to be more than ever fired by the desire,' &c. The doubt on Dante's part whether he was in the body or out of the body, which is expressed by **S' io era corpo,** has already occurred in Par. i. 73. **qui:** 'here on earth'; this is contrasted with *Lì* in l. 43, which means 'in Heaven.' **dimension:** a Scholastic term for 'corporeal substance.'

42. **s' unio:** the singular verb with two subjects expresses the perfect union of the two Natures in one Person in Christ. Cp. Par. xxxiii. 116, 'Parvemi tre giri,' where the Trinity in Unity is spoken of.

43–5. **Lì si vedrà,** &c.: 'there (in Heaven, where Christ is present in His two Natures) that verity which we hold by faith will be seen, not by means of a process of reasoning, but will be self-evident, like the primary truths which man believes.' **per sè,** &c.: it will be known by intuition, like such primary truths as the sense of personality, of right and wrong, &c., which come to us without any conscious process of reasoning. Our knowledge will then be immediate, not mediate.

49 foll. Dante now proceeds to inquire concerning the nature of the spots on the Moon's surface, a question which was much discussed during the middle ages.

51. **Cain:** cp. Inf. xx. 126, 'Caino e le spine,' and note there. **altrui:** 'men,' 'persons'; cp. Purg. xxviii. 128.

52–7. **S' egli erra,** &c.: 'you have good reason now not to be surprised if men's views are at fault in matters which the senses are unable to explain, because you see that reason, even where it has the guidance of the senses, can fly but feebly.' In other words—'If men are in error about a thing which they can see with their eyes, like the spots on the moon, how much more must this happen in spiritual matters, where the senses cannot help them.' **poi** in l. 56 is for *poichè*.

59, 60. **quassù diverso:** i. e. light and dark on the face of

the moon. **i corpi rari e densi**: 'the rarity and density of the materials which compose it.' This explanation was originally given by Averroës, *De Substantia Orbis*, Ch. ii., and was adopted by Dante in *Conv.* ii. 14. ll. 69–76; he now proceeds to retract it by the mouth of Beatrice.

61 foll. The remainder of the Canto is taken up with (1) the refutation of Dante's view (ll. 61–105), and (2) the statement of the true view (ll. 106–48). The refutation takes the form of two arguments—one proceeding on abstract principles, the other derived from observation—viz. (a) that the explanation of the markings on the moon's face by variations of rarity and density is irreconcilable with what we know of God's government of the universe (ll. 64–72); (b) that, if the darkness of certain portions of the moon's orb is due to the rarity of its substance, and consequently inferior power in reflecting the sun's rays, in those parts, this must imply either (α) that the rarity extends right through the orb, or (β) that the denser stratum lies further back in these parts of the orb, and consequently the sun's light is less brightly reflected (ll. 73–8). But both these alternatives are shown by observation to be inadmissible (ll. 79–105).

64–72. These lines contain Beatrice's first argument in answer to Dante's explanation of the spots on the moon. In order to understand it we must remember that in mediaeval theology the fixed stars were regarded as the primary medium through which the celestial influences (**virtù**) were dispensed in various forms to the planetary spheres and the earth; and these influences were regarded as the constituent principles (**principii formali**), which determined the nature both of the different fixed stars and of the planets. This system is explained below in ll. 112 foll. In the present passage Beatrice argues from the analogy of the fixed stars to the case of the moon, assuming that what applies to the one will apply to the other. The fixed stars, she says, are seen to differ from one another in colour and in brightness (ll. 64–6). If in their case the difference were solely due to rarity and density, all of them would exercise the same influence (**virtù**) though in different degrees (ll. 67–9). But where there is a variety of influences (and in the fixed stars this variety is acknowledged to exist), these must proceed from a number of constituent principles (**principii formali**), and not from one only. Consequently, rarity and density are not the sole cause of the difference in

luminousness between the various fixed stars; and in the analogous case of the moon Dante is wrong in assuming this as the cause of the difference of light and dark on its surface (ll. 70–2).

64–6. **La spera ottava:** the sphere of the fixed stars. **quale:** by 'quality' is here meant the colour, by 'quantity' the amount, i. e. intensity, of their light. **Notar,** &c.: 'can be seen to differ in appearance.'

67–9. **ciò facesser tanto:** 'were the only cause of this'; **tanto** here = Lat. *tantum*; cp. Par. xviii. 13. **Più e men,** &c.: 'in some cases more, in some less, in some equally with one another.'

70–2. **convengon:** here used for the impers. *conviene*—a rare use. **principii formali:** 'formal' is here contrasted with 'material,' the *formal* or *formative* principle being that which differentiates a thing from other things, and makes it what it is. N.B. **principii formali** here means 'a *number* of formal principles,' this meaning being given by the plural. **e quei,** &c.: 'according to your line of argument it would follow that all but one of these principles (viz. that of rarity and density) would be annulled.' **Seguiterieno:** 'would consequently be.' **ragion:** for *ragionamento*.

73–8. **Ancor,** &c.: here commences the second argument in refutation. 'Further, if rarity were the cause you are trying to discover of this dimness (i. e. of the spots,) then either this planet would be in certain portions (**in parte**) thus defective in its matter right through (**oltre**), or—in the same manner as the fat and the lean are apportioned in a body—it (the planet) would interchange the leaves in its volume,' i. e. would have alternating strata of rare and dense, like leaves in a book.

79–81. **Se il primo,** &c.: 'now, if the rarity passed right through the moon's orb, this would be apparent in an eclipse of the sun, because (the sun being behind the moon) its light would be visible through it, as when light is allowed to pass through (lit. introduced into) any other thin material.' **ingesto** is the Lat. *ingestus* adapted.

83, 84. **cassi:** 'quash,' 'disprove.' **Falsificato,** &c.: 'then your view (your explanation of the spots on the moon) will have been proved to be wrong,' because both alternatives will have been disposed of.

85–105. The argument is:—If the rarity does not pass right through, there must be a certain point where the density intervenes,

and this dense stratum will reflect the sun's light like a mirror (ll. 85–90). It may be suggested in answer, that the reason of the dimness where the spots are is, that the point at which the sun's light is reflected lies farther back (ll. 91–3); but this can be disproved by the experiment of placing two mirrors at an equal distance from you, and a third between them but farther off. Then place a light behind you as you face them, and you will find that, though the reflexion from the third is smaller in size, it will be equally bright with the others, thus showing that brightness of reflected light is not affected by the distance of the reflecting object (ll. 94–105).

86, 87. **un termine,** &c.: 'a limit, beyond which the dense does not suffer anything to pass.'

88–90. **altrui:** the sun. **come color,** &c.: 'as colours are reflected by a mirror'; the expression *impiombato vetro* is used for a mirror in Inf. xxiii. 25.

91. **tetro:** 'dull,' 'dark.'

94–6. **instanzia:** 'objection'; it is a Scholastic word, corresponding to the Greek ἔνστασις. **Ch' esser,** &c.: 'experiment, which is the usual source from which human arts are derived.'

97–9. **e due,** &c.: 'and place two of them at the same distance from you.' **ritrovi:** 'meet your eyes.'

101. **accenda:** 'illuminate.'

103–5. **Benchè,** &c.: 'though the more distant image (i. e. object of sight) does not present as wide a surface as the other two, yet you will see there (in the instance which it furnishes) that of necessity it shines as brightly as they do.'

106–48. Beatrice, having confuted Dante's erroneous view of the origin of the spots on the moon, proceeds to expound the true view. In order to do this, she explains (1) the operation of the stellar influences which affect the various Heavens or spheres (ll. 112–23), and (2) the functions of the Intelligences or Angelic Orders, by whom those influences are dispensed (ll. 127–38). She then proceeds to prove that the brightness or dimness of the stars is caused by the purity or alloyage of the influence which proceeds from God and is communicated to them by the Intelligences; and that the brightness or dimness of portions of the moon's surface are to be explained in the same manner (ll. 139–48). This is an *a priori* argument, such as the Scholastic philosophy affected.

106–8. **come ai colpi,** &c.: the effect of Beatrice's arguments in clearing Dante's mind from a false view is compared to the sun's rays causing the snow to disappear from the face of the earth. **Della neve,** &c.: 'that which lay beneath the snow (i. e. the face of the earth) remains clear both of the whiteness and the cold which it had before.'

110, 111. **luce sì vivace:** the illuminative power of her exposition. **ti tremolerà,** &c.: 'it will appear to you to sparkle,' lit. 'it will sparkle in the aspect which it presents to you.'

112–23. Summary:—The celestial or stellar influences originate in the ninth Heaven or *Primum Mobile* (ll. 112–4); thence they pass into the eighth Heaven, where they are partitioned among the fixed stars (ll. 115–7); the lower spheres possess distinctive characteristics of their own (ll. 118–20); the celestial influences are transmitted downwards from one sphere to another (ll. 121–3). To this we may add, though Dante does not here state it:—these celestial influences combine with the independent influences of the several spheres, as Aquinas says (*Summa*, i. Q. 115. Art. 3), 'Actiones corporum caelestium diversimode recipiuntur in inferioribus corporibus secundum diversam materiae dispositionem.'

112–4. **ciel,** &c.: the Empyrean. **un corpo,** &c.: the *Primum Mobile*, 'on the beneficent influence of which depends the being or essence of all that is contained within it,' i. e. of the whole universe in its different spheres. The movement which is originated by the *Primum Mobile*, and communicated by it to the other spheres, is to them the source of order and life and distinctions of time; this is explained in Par. xxvii. 106–20; cp. *Conv.* ii. 15. ll. 132–8 and 152–7. Observe that the use of the word **corpo** here shows that Dante regarded the spheres of Heaven as material; cp. *cerchi corporai* in Par. xxviii. 64.

115–7. **Lo ciel seguente:** that of the fixed stars. **vedute:** 'bright lights,' lit. 'objects of sight'; cp. the use of *vista* in Par. xxiii. 30; xxx. 9. **diverse essenze,** &c.: the fixed stars, which are 'contained in that heaven, but distinct from it.'

118–20. **Gli altri,** &c.: 'the other spheres dispose their different inborn characteristics so as to produce the purposes for which they were intended (**lor fini**) and the effects which they are designed to cause (**lor semenze**).'

121–3. **Questi,** &c.: 'these instruments by which the world is

regulated (**organi del mondo**), as thou dost now perceive, proceed in regular gradation in such a manner, that they receive power from above, and exercise it (lit. operate) below,' i. e. communicate it to the lower spheres.

124–6. **Riguarda,** &c.: 'give good heed to me, as I advance by way of this point (viz. the order of the spheres and their influences) to the truth which thou desirest (the solution of the question of the spots on the moon).' **sol tener lo guado:** 'by yourself to hold the passage,' lit. 'ford'; i. e. to explain the matter without my help. **guado** is used of an explanation in Purg. viii. 69.

127–48. Summary:—Having described the working of the spheres, Beatrice now proceeds to speak of the spiritual agencies which regulate them. The spheres, being inanimate, have no active power of their own; the power which they possess proceeds from the Intelligence or Angelic Order which presides over each sphere (ll. 127–9). In particular, the Intelligence of the eighth Heaven communicates its influence to that Heaven (ll. 130–2), partitioning it there among the fixed stars (ll. 133–8). This influence is modified in each star by its peculiar characteristics (ll. 139–41), and it is this mixed or modified influence which causes the brightness of the heavenly bodies, because in the first instance it proceeded from God (ll. 142–4). The greater or less brightness of the stars arises from the greater or less purity in which they possess this influence (ll. 145, 146), and the light and dark portions of the moon's surface are to be explained in the same manner (ll. 147, 148).

127–9. **Lo moto,** &c.: 'just as in the craft of the hammer the moving power proceeds from the artisan, so the motion and power of the spheres must proceed, not from themselves, but from the Intelligences which move them.' For the Intelligences which preside over the several spheres see Canto XXVIII.

130–2. **il ciel,** &c.: the Heaven of the fixed stars. **mente:** the mind of the Intelligence which presides over that sphere. **fassene suggello:** 'makes itself its seal,' i. e. in turn imprints it upon the separate stars.

133–5. **E come,** &c.: 'and as the soul within your dust (bodies) diffuses itself through different members, adapted to various faculties (sight, feeling, &c.).'

136–8. **l' intelligenza,** &c.: the Intelligence of the eighth

Heaven is meant, as in l. 131; the influence of this passes into the stars, but it remains one itself, and revolves with its sphere.

139–41. **Virtù,** &c.: 'each different power forms a different alloy with the precious body (i. e. star) that it quickens, with which it combines, as life does with your bodies.'

142–4. **Per la natura,** &c.: 'owing to the glad nature (of God) from which it is derived, this mingled power shines through the body (i. e. the star), as joy beams through the pupil when the eye kindles.' **lieta:** cp. *lieto fattor* in Purg. xvi. 89, of God rejoicing in His works.

145. **ciò che,** &c.: 'the difference in brightness between one star and another star.'

147, 148. **Essa è,** &c.: 'this is the formative principle, which, conformably to its goodness, produces the dull part and the bright part' in the moon.

CANTO III

ARGUMENT.—Certain of the spirits in this sphere now reveal themselves to Dante; and one of them, Piccarda Donati, converses with him, and satisfies his mind concerning their perfect contentment with the inferior degree of beatitude which they enjoy. She then refers to her own life, and also points out to him the spirit of the empress Constance, who, like herself, had been forced to renounce her vow of chastity.

LINES 1–3. **Quel sol,** &c.: 'that sun (Beatrice), who erewhile (during her lifetime) inflamed my heart with love, had revealed to me the sweet aspect of fair truth (concerning the spots in the moon), proving the true view and refuting my erroneous view.'

4–6. **corretto e certo:** 'corrected in my error and confident in the truth.' **tanto:** take with **Levai;** 'I lifted my head more erect in fitting measure to express myself,' i. e. not over boldly.

7–9. **che ritenne,** &c.: 'which kept my eyes so fixed in contemplation of it.' **per vedersi:** lit. 'that it might be seen by me.' **mi sovvenne:** here used impersonal.

10. **Quali:** in the similes which are here introduced a special point is made of the reflexions being faint (*debili*, l. 14), and **vetri trasparenti** means a pane of glass or other transparent surface of

that material by which objects are faintly reflected, in contrast to a mirror. **per**: 'through'; in reality the reflexion comes from the surface of the glass or the water, but the face thus seen seems to be on the farther side of it, and therefore can be described as appearing *through* it.

12. **Non sì**, &c.: 'not so deep that the bottom is lost to view.' This is another way of saying that the water is not very deep; and the remark is introduced in order to lay stress on the faintness of the reflexions, for reflexions in water are strong in proportion to the depth of the water. **persi** for *perduti*, though it is not found elsewhere in the *Div. Com.*, is not uncommon in other writers, and the perfect *perse* is used by Dante. **persi** is taken by some as meaning 'dark'; but since the adj. *perso* properly signifies 'blue-black' or 'purple-black' (see *Conv.* iv. 20. ll. 14, 15), and is used elsewhere in Dante of a very pronounced hue, it may be doubted whether it would be suitable here.

13–5. **postille**: 'lineaments,' lit. 'marginal notes,' 'jottings,' and so metaphorically 'sketches,' 'traits.' **non vien**, &c.: 'is not more difficult for our eyes to distinguish.'

17. **error**, &c.: the reference is to the story of Narcissus (Ov. *Met.* iii. 407 foll.), who fell in love with his own face reflected in a fountain. Dante's error was the opposite of this, for, while Narcissus mistook his reflexion for a real person (l. 417, 'corpus putat esse quod umbra est'), Dante mistook these real persons for reflexions.

21. **gli occhi torsi**: as the supposed reflexions were in front of him, Dante fancied that the real objects were behind him.

26–8. **appresso**, &c.: 'after (noticing) thy puerile conceit.' **coto**: Lat. *cogitatum*; see Diez, *Wört.*, p. 103, where *coitare*, O. Ital. for *cogitare*, is also given. **Poi**: for *poichè*; 'because it (thy thought) does not yet take its stand on the truth, but, as is its wont, causes thee to turn back ineffectively,' lit. 'in vain.' The meaning is, that Dante was trying to explain the sights which he saw in Heaven by physical causes, such as reflexions, forgetting that these did not apply there. **il vero** is spiritual, and therefore supernatural, truth.

30. **Qui rilegate**: 'assigned to this sphere.' **per manco di voto**: 'on account of broken vows'; hence the 'inconstant' moon is a suitable habitation for them.

32, 33. **Chè**: this gives the reason for *credi*; they are safe guides,

because the light of God's presence, which gives them contentment, leads them infallibly in the way of truth.

36. **ismaga**: 'confuses,' 'overpowers'; cp. Inf. xxv. 146, and note on Purg. x. 106. Dante was 'overpowered by excess of longing' to hold converse with the spirit.

37–9. **ben creato**: 'born in a favouring hour'; cp. 'mal creata plebe,' Inf. xxxii. 13. **a' rai**, &c.: 'in the beams of eternal life dost feel that sweetness, which is inconceivable without being tasted.'

41. **vostra**: of yourself and your companions.

43–5. **non serra porte**: 'does not refuse the request of,' lit. 'deny entrance to.' **se non come**, &c.: 'any more than that Love (God, who is love) does, who desires that all the denizens of Heaven should resemble him in showing love to others.' For **se non come** cp. Par. i. 137.

47, 48. **ben si riguarda**: 'doth well reflect.' **Non mi ti celerà**, &c.: it is to be noticed that in the three lowest spheres of Paradise, to which the spirits which occupy them are relegated on account of some defect of virtue, they are visible in their human aspect. In the remaining spheres their faces and figures are concealed by the light which envelops them. For sphere II cp. Par. v. 107, 108; for sphere III Par. viii. 52, 53, and the notes to both passages.

49. **Piccarda**: sister of Forese and Corso Donati, who, having become a nun of the Order of St. Clare, was taken by violence from her convent by Corso, and forced to marry a Florentine noble called Rossellino della Tosa; in a short time after this she was taken ill and died.

51. **più tarda**: the sphere of the Moon, being nearest to the earth, had the smallest revolution, and consequently the slowest movement.

52–4. **affetti**: 'desires.' **Letizian**, &c.: 'find their blessedness in being disposed according to his order.' The whole universe is constituted according to the design of the Holy Spirit, and the pleasure of each member of it consists in having its appointed place in that order; cp. Par. i. 103–5.

57. **vòti**, &c.: 'in some point imperfect.' In Piccarda's case this arose from her having lost her virginity.

60. **primi concetti**: 'our previous conceptions of you,' i. e. Dante's recollection of Piccarda's appearance.

63. **latino**: 'clear and easy'; cp. *Conv.* ii. 3. l. 1, 'A più *latinamente* vedere la sentenza litterale.' According to Diez, *Wört.*, p. 189, since Latin was regarded as the mother tongue of Italian, *Latino* came to signify any mother tongue; and, since a man's mother tongue is easy to him, it thence obtained the meaning of 'clear and easy,' as in this passage.

66. **Per più**, &c.: 'in order to have a fuller sight of God, or to become more familiar with Him.' Others take it as *Per vedere più amici, o per farvi più*, 'to see more of the friends whom you have known, or to make fresh friends.'

68, 69. **Da indi**: 'thereupon.' **primo foco**: 'the primal fire of love,' i. e. the immediate and nearest presence of God. The Blessed in the Empyrean partook in different degrees of God's presence; cp. Par. iv. 34–6.

70–2. **la nostra**, &c.: 'our wishes are tranquillized by the virtue of love.' **d' altro**, &c.: 'does not cause us to long (thirst) for aught beyond.'

75. **ne cerne**: 'gives us our appointed place,' lit. 'separates us'; cp. Par. xxxii. 34.

76–8. **non capere**: 'finds no place,' 'is inadmissible'; for this use of *capere* see note on Purg. xxi. 81. **necesse**: a word derived from Scholastic Latin; cp. Par. xiii. 98. **sua natura**: the nature of love, which consists in the conformity of wills.

79–81. **formale**: 'essential'; 'it is of the essence of this our blessed state.' **Per che**: 'from which cause our very wills (God's will and our wills) become one.'

82–4. **di soglia in soglia**: 'station above station.' The word is used of the grades of Paradise in Par. xviii. 28; xxx. 113. **ne invoglia**: 'identifies our will with his.'

86, 87. **quel mare**: the open sea is one of the finest emblems that nature offers of the infinity of God. **tutto si move**: this is the principle of the aspiration and attraction of the whole universe towards God, which is described in Par. i. 103 foll. **Ciò che**, &c.: God created immediately the angels and intellectual powers, while the rest of creation, which consisted of matter as well as spirit, is attributed to Nature, which is the handmaid of God. The term 'Nature,' when used thus of an intermediate agency, is only another name for the planetary influences; see note on Par. viii. 112–4.

88–90. **dove**: here a subst., 'place'; cp. Par. xii. 30, 'al suo

dove.' **e sì:** 'and even so,' 'granting that.' **d' un modo,** &c.: 'is not dispensed there in one measure only.'

91–3. **Ma sì,** &c.: Dante, having obtained an answer to his question about the contentment of the spirits in this sphere, proceeds to inquire in what way Piccarda's vows in life had been imperfectly observed; cp. ll. 55–7. **gola:** 'appetite.' **quel si chiede,** &c.: 'we ask for the latter, and decline with thanks the former.'

94–6. **atto:** 'look'; cp. Purg. xxiv. 27. **la tela:** in the metaphorical language which Dante here uses 'the web' signifies Piccarda's religious life, and by her 'not having passed the shuttle through the web to the end' is intended her having failed to observe her religious vows until the end of her life. **co:** for *capo*.

97–9. **Perfetta,** &c.: 'a perfect life and exalted merit place in a higher Heaven a lady, according to whose rule in your world below they wear the habit and the veil.' **Donna:** Santa Clara of Assisi, who founded her Order in 1212 under the direction of St. Francis.

100–2. **Perchè,** &c.: 'in order that till death they may be, waking or sleeping, in the company of that spouse (Christ), who accepts every vow which love renders conformable to His pleasure,' i. e. which is pleasing to Him from being made through love, and not from any lower motive.

104, 105. **chiusi:** 'wrapped me in her habit'; the word gives the force of clothing and concealing. **promisi,** &c.: 'undertook the rule of her Order'; **setta,** Lat. *secta*, is used of a philosophical or religious school in Inf. ix. 128; Purg. xxii. 87.

106–8. **Uomini:** Corso Donati and his followers; see note on l. 49. **usi:** for *usati*. **fusi:** for *si fu*.

109–11. **quest' altro splendor:** the empress Constance, wife of the emperor Henry VI (mar. 1185), and mother of Frederic II. It was believed in Dante's day, though the story is now known to be fabulous, that she was once a nun, and was taken from the convent in order to be married to Henry VI; as this was done against her will, she was regarded as having remained faithful in heart to her vow. **tutto il lume,** &c.: i. e. the highest degree of brightness that our sphere can give.

112–4. **di sè intende:** 'recognizes as applicable to herself.' **così:** 'similarly.' **l' ombra,** &c.: 'the shadow (covering, concealment) of the holy veil'; **bende** is similarly used of widow's weeds in Purg. viii. 74.

115–7. **pur**: the word here has a concessive force, 'indeed,' ''tis true'; 'she was indeed brought back, yet against her will'; cp. Par. xvii. 126. **Non fu,** &c.: i. e. she remained in heart a nun.

119, 120. **vento di Soave**: the three 'winds of Suabia' are the three great Emperors of the house of Suabia, Frederic Barbarossa, Henry VI, and Frederic II; their impetuous careers are effectively likened to the rushing wind. **e l' ultima possanza**: 'who was the last imperial ruler.' Dante regards Frederic II's successors as not being Roman emperors, because they had not visited Italy; cp. *Conv.* iv. 3. ll. 38–43, 'Federico di Soave, ultimo Imperadore de' Romani (*ultimo* dico per rispetto al tempo presente, non ostante che Ridolfo e Adolfo e Alberto poi eletti sieno appresso la sua morte e de' suoi discendenti).'

122. **vanio**: the spirits which thus appear to Dante in the various spheres, when their interview with him is finished resume their accustomed places in the Empyrean; cp. Par. iv. 34–9.

126. **segno,** &c.: Beatrice, who was the object (lit. mark) of Dante's highest longing.

129, 130. **non sofferse**: this was due, not to any change in Beatrice's appearance, but to the contrast in respect of brightness which her face presented to the faces of those whom Dante had lately been regarding. **a domandar**: to ask the questions which are answered in the next Canto.

CANTO IV

ARGUMENT.—Beatrice now solves two difficulties which have arisen in Dante's mind. The first of these, which is suggested by the sight of the spirits in the Moon, relates to Plato's view, that the soul of each man after death returns to the star from which it originally proceeded. The other is suggested by an inferior position in Heaven being assigned to those who had been forced by others to violate their vows—an appointment which seems at first sight not to be reconcilable with the justice of God.

LINES 1–9. In consequence of what he has heard from Piccarda Dante is anxious to propound to Beatrice two questions which have arisen in his mind; but the desire to do so is so equally balanced between the two that he is unable to propound either of them.

This influence of the equipoise of motives in paralysing the will he illustrates by three similar instances, where the same thing applies to appetite, to fear of danger, and to an animal's desire of seizing its prey.

1–3. **Intra,** &c.: 'between two kinds of food, at an equal distance from him, and equally appetizing (lit. exciting to the appetite), a man, though possessing free will, would die of hunger before he could bring either of them within range of his teeth.' This is taken almost literally from Aquinas, *Summa*, i. 2^{dae}. Q. 13. Art. 6, 'Si aliqua duo sunt penitus aequalia, non magis movetur homo ad unum quam ad aliud; sicut famelicus si habet cibum aequaliter appetibilem in diversis partibus, et secundum aequalem distantiam, non magis movetur ad unum quam ad alterum'; and this again is derived from Aristotle, to whom Aquinas there refers; *De Caelo*, ii. 13. 28, [ὁ περὶ] τοῦ πεινῶντος καὶ διψῶντος [λόγος] σφόδρα μὲν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐδωδίμων καὶ ποτῶν ἴσον ἀπέχοντος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἠρεμεῖν ἀναγκαῖον).

4–6. **Sì,** &c.: 'similarly a lamb would stand still (without trying to escape) between two fierce and ravening wolves, from being equally afraid of the one and the other: similarly, again, a hound would stand still between two does (without attempting to attack either of them).'

7–9. **Per che,** &c.: 'wherefore, impelled as I was in an equal degree by my two questions, I neither praise nor blame myself for holding my peace, for it was unavoidable.'

10–2. **Io,** &c.: 'I held my peace, but my longing was expressed in my looks, and, accompanying it, my inquiry, which was far more eager than if uttered in articulate speech.'

13–5. **Fe' sì,** &c.: 'Beatrice acted in the same manner as Daniel did, when he freed Nebuchadnezzar from the wrath which had made him unjustly cruel.' The reference is to Dan. ii., where Nebuchadnezzar orders the Chaldaeans to declare to him the dream that he had forgotten, and to interpret it (v. 5), and when they professed their inability to do so commanded that they should be put to death (v. 12): Daniel appeased him by telling him the dream and the interpretation (vv. 31 foll.). Similarly Beatrice comes to Dante's aid, and calms his excitement, by divining his thoughts and expressing in words what he could not express.

16–8. **tira:** 'forces,' 'impels.' **sì che,** &c.: 'so that your

anxiety (to propound both questions) hampers itself to such a degree, that it cannot declare itself in words.'

19–21. **Tu argomenti,** &c.: Dante's first question is—Why should those whose vows have been broken be assigned to a lower place in Heaven, if this was forced upon them against their will? 'If I continue to desire to observe my vow, on what principle is the estimate of my deserts lowered because others force me to violate it?' Dante, by being represented as using the first person, is supposed to put the case as if it were his own.

22–4. **Ancor,** &c.: Dante's second question is suggested by his meeting this class of spirits in the Moon. He is desirous to know whether the same system prevails in Heaven which is described in the *Timaeus* of Plato, where it is said that the soul of each man proceeds from one of the stars, and that, if his life on earth is virtuous, it returns to that star after death, and spends a blessed existence there; *Tim.* xli., xlii. Dante was acquainted with the *Timaeus*, alone of Plato's works, through a Latin translation. **Parer,** &c.: this infinitival clause is really the subject to **dà**; cp. l. 67.

25–7. **velle**: 'will'; this Lat. infin., and similarly *esse* in the sense of 'existence,' 'being' (cp. Par. iii. 79), are frequently used substantively in Dante's prose works. **Pontano**: 'press,' 'weigh upon'; the word is here used, as in Inf. xxxii. 3, in the architectural sense 'thrust.' **felle**: 'gall,' 'poison,' i. e. dangerous qualities; cp. the similar use of *velen*, *malizia* in l. 65. The dangerous quality is unorthodoxy (cp. ll. 64–6), the risk of which is involved in this question, because it touches on the origin and nature of the soul.

28–32. In the important passage which follows Beatrice explains that all the Blessed have their abode equally in the empyrean Heaven in the presence of God, but that they manifest themselves to Dante in the different spheres in order to enable him to understand more clearly their various degrees of blessedness. From this it is at once seen, that the doctrine propounded in the *Timaeus* of the return of the soul to its proper star from which it originally proceeded is inapplicable to Paradise. **Dei Serafin,** &c.: the negative of l. 31 applies to the whole of this sentence, and is repeated with **Maria** in l. 30. 'Not that one of the Seraphs who is nearest to the presence of God, not Moses, Samuel, or either John (lit. that John whom you prefer to take), I say, nor even Mary (i. e. none of the most exalted spirits), have their seats in any other Heaven

than those spirits have, who but now appeared to you.' **s' india:** lit. 'exists in God'; similar verbs compounded with *in* are of frequent occurrence in the Paradiso, e. g. *intuassi*, *immii* in ix. 81. **quel Giovanni,** &c.: either the Baptist or the Evangelist. **io dico:** this applies to the whole sentence; 'be it known to you,' lit. 'I tell you,' 'understand this.'

33. **Nè hanno,** &c.: i. e. nor do they differ from one another in respect of their immortality.

34–6. **il primo giro:** the Empyrean. **l' eterno spiro:** the divine effluence.

38, 39. **per far segno,** &c.: 'to indicate that sphere in the Empyrean (*spera celestial*) which is least exalted.' The Blessed in the Empyrean are conceived of as seated in successive circular tiers rising one above the other.

40–2. **Così,** &c.: i. e. this mode of manifestation on the part of the spirits is an adaptation to human conceptions. **Perocchè,** &c.: 'because your mind apprehends only from what is perceived by the senses that which afterwards it renders a fit subject for the intellect.' This is in other words the principle, 'Nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu.'

45. **ed altro intende:** 'while it means something different,' viz. the divine powers, which are symbolized by these limbs.

48. **l' altro:** Raphael, who cured Tobit of his blindness, Tob. xii. 14. **Tobia:** Tobias is the Vulgate form of the name Tobit.

49–51. **Timeo:** the character in the Platonic dialogue of that name. **come dice,** &c.: 'he seems to mean what he says'; i. e. his meaning is literal, not allegorical.

53, 54. **Credendo,** &c.: 'believing that the soul was taken (lit. severed) from the star, when nature gave it (the soul) to be the essential part (**forma**) of the man.' Dante refers to this subject again in *Conv.* iv. 21. ll. 17–9.

55–7. **E forse,** &c.: 'and haply his opinion is different from what his words seem to signify, and it may embody a meaning which does not deserve to be lightly treated.'

58–60. **S' egl' intende,** &c.: Beatrice here refers only to that part of the doctrine propounded in the *Timaeus* which relates to the return of the souls to their native stars, because that was the question which Dante originally asked (l. 23); but what she says applies with even greater force to the soul having proceeded from its star

(l. 53). 'If Plato's meaning is, that what returns to these revolving spheres is (not the souls themselves, but) the honour attaching to the good influences, and the blame attaching to the evil influences (which proceeded from the stars and helped to shape the lives of those souls on earth), then haply the arrow from his bow hits an element of truth.' The element of truth here meant is the doctrine of the influence of the planets in directing the destinies and affecting the characters of men on earth, which Dante affirms elsewhere; see Purg. xvi. 73.

61–3. **Questo,** &c.: 'a misunderstanding of this principle (of the influence of the stars) in former days led nearly the whole world astray, so that it erred so far as to call certain stars Jupiter, Mercury, and Mars.' In other words:—The heathen perversely assigned to certain planets the names of certain divinities, whose characteristics corresponded to the influences which, owing to their appearance, were supposed to attach to those stars; e. g. that of Jupiter, the highest god, to the brightest planet; that of Mars, the god of war, to the red planet, &c. In Par. viii. 1–12 Dante shows that this took place in the case of Venus.

64–90. Dante's second question, which Beatrice now proceeds to answer, relates to the justice of lessening the reward of those who have been forced against their will to violate their vows. The answer is, that these spirits, though they were the victims of violence, still were not whole-hearted in resisting that violence, as they proved by not returning to the monastic life when they might have done so.

65, 66. **velen:** 'noxious force'; cp. *felle*, l. 27. **da me altrove:** as Beatrice represents Theology or Divine Truth, this means:—This question is not, like the former one, dangerous to your acceptance of Revealed Truth, for it can at once be remedied by the exercise of faith. How this is so, is explained in the next three lines.

67–72. **Parere,** &c.: 'if divine justice (**nostra,** as it appears to us in Heaven) seems to men to be unjust, this is an argument in favour, not of unbelief, but of belief (because it shows that God's judgements are incomprehensible, and therefore should be accepted without questioning); but in the present case, since the matter is one within the scope of your reasoning powers, I will explain it to you.'

73–8. **Se,** &c.: 'if violence is when the person who suffers violence does not co-operate in the least degree with the person who offers it, these souls (Piccarda and her companions) were not excusable on the ground of being victims of violence, since the power of will cannot be extinguished without its consent, but acts as nature acts in the case of fire, (which finds its way upward) even if it be violently forced out of its natural direction a thousand times.' **torza:** for *torcia*, from *torciare*, an old form corresponding to *torcere*.

79–81. **Perchè,** &c.: 'because, if the will yields in any degree, it follows along with the force; and that is what these souls did, when it was in their power to return to the scene of their religious life.' They accommodated themselves after a while to the life which had been forced upon them, and so were involved in complicity with the force.

82–4. **intero:** 'sound,' 'firm of purpose.' **Come,** &c.: 'as his will held St. Laurence on the gridiron, and made Mucius Scaevola unsparing to his hand.'

85, 86. **Così,** &c.: 'so their will would have forced these spirits to return along the way to the place whence they were dragged, as soon as they were at liberty to do so.'

89, 90. **è l' argomento,** &c.: 'the argument is refuted, which would have given you trouble from time to time in the future.' The argument here meant is that in ll. 19–21.

91. **Ma or,** &c.: Beatrice now replies to a supposed objection on Dante's part, that, whereas Piccarda had spoken of Constance as having always in heart remained a nun (Par. iii. 117), this appears irreconcilable with her having continued to live with her husband in the world. **passo:** 'difficulty'; this meaning is derived from that of 'a difficult passage.'

94. **nella mente messo:** Beatrice had done this in Par. iii. 31–3.

100–14. The answer to the objection is, that though Constance, as Piccarda said, throughout her life preferred and longed for the life of the convent, yet she was prevented from returning to it by the fear of worse suffering. Much of what follows, including the example of Alcmaeon, is taken from Ar. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 1. 6.

102. **Si fe' di quel:** 'a man has done a thing,' lit. 'there has been done of that.'

103–5. **Almeone:** Alcmaeon, in accordance with the injunctions of his father Amphiaraus, slew his mother Eriphyle who had

betrayed his father; cp. Purg. xii. 50, 51. Being influenced by the pressure of counterbalancing motives, he chose the alternative which seemed likely to bring upon him the less severe Nemesis. **Per non,** &c.: 'that he might not fail in filial affection he became merciless.' **pietà,** which refers to Alcmaeon's behaviour towards his father, is used in the sense of the Lat. *pietas*, while **spietato,** 'cruel,' 'merciless,' applies to his treatment of his mother. In Ovid's account of the story, which Dante here had in his mind, the passage occurs, 'Ultusque parente parentem, Natus erit facto pius et sceleratus eodem,' *Met.* ix. 407, 408; the epithets *pius* and *sceleratus* here appear to have suggested **pietà** and **spietato.**

106–8. **A questo punto:** 'in reference to this point.' **si mischia:** the combination of force and the will, so that the two act together, produces 'mixed action,' which is partly involuntary, partly voluntary. **fanno Sì,** &c.: 'they act in such a manner,' &c.

109–14. **Voglia assoluta,** &c.: **assoluta** here means 'absolute' as contrasted with 'relative.' Independently of the circumstances (i. e. of the pressure of fear) the will does not consent to the wrong forced upon it; but when affected by fear of worse suffering in case of withdrawing itself from the pressure of that force, so far it does consent. So Piccarda, when she speaks of Constance's life, does not take into account her yielding to fear, while Beatrice does take it into account, and therefore regards her as defective in the observance of her vows. Thus both their statements are true.

115–7. **ondeggiar:** 'rippling'; the gentle onward movement of Beatrice's argument. **del fonte,** &c.: from God. **uno ed altro:** both the questions mentioned in ll. 19–24.

118. **amanza,** &c.: 'beloved of the primal Lover.'

122, 123. **voi:** dative case, for *a voi*. **grazia per grazia:** 'thanks for favour.' **Ma quei,** &c.: 'but may He who sees (the greatness of the favour) and can (make a return) render you an adequate recompense.'

125, 126. **il ver,** &c.: Divine Truth, which comprehends all other truth. **si spazia:** lit. 'extends.'

127–9. **Posasi,** &c.: 'our intellect reposes in the Divine Verity, like a beast reposing in its lair, as soon as it reaches it.' **Se non,** &c.: this is an application of the doctrine of final causes; the existence of the desire proves the possibility of obtaining the object of desire.

130–2. **Nasce,** &c.: 'owing to this desire of knowing the Divine Verity, doubt arises at the foot of truth, as saplings rise from the foot of a tree.' **Appiè del vero:** this is another way of saying that it springs from the root of truth, that idea being suggested by the metaphor: the doubt is a germ of truth. **è natura,** &c.: 'it is a natural process, which impels us from height to height unto the summit.' By the questions which arise from learning a truth, we are led on to the apprehension of a higher truth, and so onwards till the highest is reached.

133. **Questo:** this desire of knowing the truth.

136–8. **può satisfarvi,** &c.: 'may make satisfaction to Heaven for broken vows with other good deeds, which may be equivalent in your scales.' **satisfarvi: vi** here means 'to you,' i.e. to the heavenly powers, in which sense **vostra** is also used in l. 138. **statera:** the Lat. form of the Ital. *stadera*, 'balance.'

141. **diede le reni:** 'failed me,' lit. 'took to flight.'

CANTO V

ARGUMENT.—Beatrice proceeds to explain that in the case of a broken vow no adequate compensation can be made, but that under certain conditions other services can be substituted for those undertaken in connexion with it. Dante and Beatrice then ascend to the second Heaven, that of Mercury, where the spirits of the ambitious are found; here the Poet is accosted by the spirit of the emperor Justinian.

LINES 1, 2. **S' io,** &c.: 'if I blaze on thee with the heat of love in excess of the measure which is seen on earth.'

5, 6. **Da perfetto veder:** 'from perfect vision,' i.e. the power of seeing the divine light in all its intensity. **come apprende,** &c.: 'in proportion as it perceives the light, makes corresponding advance in respect of the good which it has perceived,' i.e. is itself more illuminated by that light.

9. **vista sola:** 'merely through being seen.'

10–2. **E s' altra,** &c.: 'and if aught else leads men's

(**vostro**, plur.) desires astray, this is nothing but a faint trace of that eternal light, misunderstood, which makes itself seen in the object of desire.' The view here stated is the same which is found in Purg. xvii. 103–5 and 127–9, viz. that both virtue and vice in man proceed from love, or the desire of what is good, only in the case of vice the desire is misled by a false appearance of good.

13–5. **Tu vuoi**, &c.: Beatrice here proceeds to answer Dante's question in Par. iv. 136–8. **se**, &c.: 'whether by other good deeds one can compensate for broken vows sufficiently to secure one's soul from any further claim.' **litigio** is a claim at the bar of God's judgement.

16–8. **Sì cominciò**, &c.: these three lines are introduced to explain that ll. 1–15 are a sort of prologue to the argument which follows. **questo canto**: 'this Canto'; cp. l. 139. **non spezza**: 'does not interrupt.' **processo**: 'train of argument.'

19–33. Beatrice's reply is, that it is impossible to make adequate compensation in this case, because the vow implies the surrender of free-will, which is the greatest gift that man can make to God.

24. **furo e son**: were at the time of their creation, and are so still, even subsequently to the Fall.

27. **Che Dio**, &c.: 'that, when man makes the vow, God approves it.'

29, 30. **Vittima**, &c.: 'a sacrifice is made of this treasure (of the gift of free-will), the value of which I have mentioned (*Lo maggior don* of l. 19), and is made voluntarily,' lit. 'by the act of free-will.'

32, 33. **Se credi**, &c.: the meaning is:—'If, after making an offering of your free-will, you recall it, and then think to use it in God's service, what is this but doing good deeds with ill-gotten gains?' **mal tolletto** is the mediaeval Lat. *maletollettum*, 'extortions.' Some editors read *maltolletto* in one word, but **mal** is here used in contrast with **buon**, and the analogy of *tollette dannose* in the same sense in Inf. xi. 36 suggests that the subst. **tolletto** can also be used separately.

34–63. Having settled the main point, viz. that no equivalent can be given for broken vows, Beatrice proceeds to the question of the substitution of other meritorious deeds under the dispensation of the Church for the service undertaken in accordance with the

vow. Such substitution, she says, is allowable, provided that it is sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority, and that the thing substituted is half as great again as that for which it is substituted.

35. **in ciò dispensa**: 'exercises a dispensing power in that matter.'

37–9. **Convienti**, &c.: ''tis well that thou shouldst sit yet a while at table, because the solid food which thou hast taken requires further aid for thee to digest it.' The 'solid food' is the difficult question under consideration, and 'remaining at table' is waiting for further explanation.

41. **fermalvi entro**: 'store it in your memory.' **non fa scienza**: 'does not constitute knowledge.'

43–5. **Due cose**, &c.: 'two things combine to form,' &c.: the two things are (1) the vow itself (**la convenenza**), involving the sacrifice of free-will; and (2) the things undertaken under the vow (**quella Di che si fa**), such as fasting.

46–8. **non si cancella**, &c.: 'cannot be cancelled except by being observed.' **Sì preciso**, &c.: 'I have stated the rule so strictly above,' in ll. 31–3.

49–51. **Però**, &c.: this is an analogous instance from the Mosaic Law. 'For this reason to the Jews the offering in any case (**Pur**) was indispensable, though some kinds of offerings might be commuted'; see Lev. xxvii., where vows are being spoken of. **offerere**: arch. for *offrire*; cp. Par. xiii. 140.

52–4. **che per**, &c.: 'which is known to you as the matter of the vow,' i. e. the things undertaken under the vow. **Puote**, &c.: 'may easily be such, that it is not amiss if it be commuted with other matter.'

55–60. **Ma non**, &c.: here follow the two conditions under which substitution is permissible, viz. (1) that it should be authorized by the priest; (2) that the thing substituted should exceed in a definite proportion that for which it is substituted. **della chiave**, &c.: for the golden and the silver key as representing the powers of the priest-confessor see note on Purg. ix. 117. **Se la cosa**, &c.: 'if the thing relinquished is not contained in that which is undertaken, as 4 is in 6'; i. e. that which is substituted must be half as great again. The numbers here are sometimes taken as meaning nothing more than an increase generally, but, since in Levit. xxvii., which is here referred to, one-fifth was added in case of commutation

(vv. 13, 15, 19, 31), it is probable that Dante intended to signify a definite proportion.

61–3. **Però,** &c.: the meaning is:—As it is an indispensable condition of commutation that what is substituted should be greater than that for which it is substituted, it follows that no substitution could be made in the case of the vow of perpetual virginity which the spirits in this Heaven had undertaken and had forfeited, because no equivalent could be found for it. **tragga ogni bilancia:** 'outweighs everything that can be placed in the other scale.' **con altra spesa:** 'by means of other outlay' of meritorious actions.

64. **a ciancia:** 'in a spirit of trifling,' lit. 'banter.'

65. **Siate,** &c.: the meaning is:—Be faithful in observing your vows, and at the same time in doing so avoid adopting perverse views of duty (**bieci,** lit. 'squinting'). The point of the two examples which follow consists in the perverted views of duty which were adopted in consequence of a vow, and to this Beatrice draws attention in ll. 67, 68. The connexion of the whole passage with what precedes and follows is found in its incidentally pointing out how much is involved in taking a vow, and consequently how great caution is required in doing so. 'If you take a vow,' she says, 'you are bound to keep it; but in some cases there is a danger in doing so of running into worse sin, and this you must avoid'; and then, considering the risks involved, she repeats in l. 73 the warning which she had given in l. 64, 'Think well before you bind yourself.'

66. **prima mancia:** the offering (lit. gift) of the first object which met him coming out of his house. The story of Jephthah's vow is given in Judges xi. 30, 31, and 34. Observe that in the Vulg., from which Dante quoted, the words are 'quicunque primus egressus fuerit,' where 'primus' has no equivalent in the Engl. Vers.

69. **lo gran duca:** Agamemnon. Dante derived the story of his *vow* from Cic. *De Off.* iii. 25. 95, where it is said that he promised to sacrifice to Diana the most beautiful thing that was born in that year, and found none more beautiful than his daughter. This explains Dante's mention of Iphigenia's beauty as the cause of her death in l. 70. See Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 263.

70–2. **Onde,** &c.: 'in consequence of which (Agamemnon's folly) Iphigenia lamented the beauty of her face, and (by her death) caused all men, whether wise or simple, who heard the tale of so

monstrous a rite, to shed tears for her.' **Ifigenia**: the metre shows that this was pronounced *Ifigénia*.

73–5. **Siate**, &c.: 'be more considerate in proceeding to undertake such vows; be not impulsive in approaching them, like a feather moved by every wind; do not suppose that you can easily obtain dispensation from them.'

76–8. **Avete**, &c.: 'there is no need of vows to insure your salvation; you have sufficient guidance in the Old and New Testament, and in the Pope as the representative of the Church.'

79–81. **se**, &c.: 'if unrighteous covetousness suggests to you a different course, then behave like men and not like silly sheep'; in other words:—'if the hope of gain which the religious life holds out tempts you to take the vows, quit you like men in resisting the temptation, and thus avoid the risk of afterwards breaking your vows.' **Sì che**, &c.: 'so that the Jew who lives in your midst may not have the laugh of you.' The Jews (who are here introduced because of the mention of the vows under the Mosaic Law in l. 49) observe their vows, and therefore have a right to despise those Christians who break theirs.

82–4. **Non fate**, &c.: the meaning is:—Do not by rushing unadvisedly into new engagements ignore the guidance of the Bible and the Church which has hitherto supported you. **e semplice**, &c.: 'and in innocent sportive mood, following its bent, brings itself to harm.'

87. **quella parte**, &c.: the Empyrean is probably meant, because Beatrice was preparing to ascend to the next Heaven, and therefore would be looking upward.

90. **davante**: 'presenting themselves to it.'

92. **sia . . . queta**: 'ceases to vibrate.'

93. **secondo regno**: the second realm is the Heaven of Mercury, in which Dante meets the spirits of the ambitious, i. e. those who had high aims in life for the sake of fame. In consequence of their being influenced by this lower motive they occupy the lowest sphere but one.

98, 99. **che pur**, &c.: 'who merely from being a mortal man am liable to every phase of change.'

102. **Per modo che**: take with **vien**; 'which comes in such sort that they deem it to be their food.'

105. **chi crescerà**, &c.: Dante is referred to; 'one who will

augment in us the feeling of love.' The spirits anticipate an increase of their love, because they know that Dante has a favour to ask of them, and rejoice in the prospect of granting it; cp. ll. 115 foll.

107, 108. **Vedeasi,** &c.: 'the spirit was seen to be full of joy by the brightness which proceeded from it.' This statement implies that the spirit was visible, notwithstanding the light which emanated from it; cp. ll. 136, 137. On this characteristic of the three lowest spheres of Paradise see note on Par. iii. 48. But whereas in sphere I no light emanates from the spirits, this takes place here, and still more markedly in the third sphere, Par. viii. 52.

111. **carizia:** archaic for *carestia*, 'dearth,' 'unsatisfied craving.'

115–7. **bene nato:** 'born in a happy hour'; cp. *ben creato*, Par. iii. 37. **Prima che,** &c.: 'before the warfare of life is concluded.'

120. **Da noi,** &c.: 'to be enlightened by (receive information from) us.'

121–3. **un:** this was the emperor Justinian. **credi,** &c.: 'trust them as if they were divinities.'

124, 125. **t' annidi:** 'art enveloped'; for the metaphor cp. Par. iv. 127, 'come fiera in lustra.' **traggi:** 'that the light proceeds (lit. that thou dost draw it forth) from thine eyes.'

129. **altrui:** the sun, owing to its nearness to which Mercury is seldom visible to the naked eye; cp. *Conv.* ii. 14. ll. 99, 100, where Dante says of Mercury, 'più va velata de' raggi del sole che null' altra stella.'

130. **diritto:** 'facing,' 'turning myself towards.'

133–5. **stessi:** archaic form of *stesso*, used only as a personal pronoun; cp. Inf. ix. 58. **come il caldo,** &c.: 'when the heat has consumed the tempering influence of the dense vapours.'

138. **chiusa chiusa:** 'completely enveloped.'

CANTO VI

Argument.—Justinian first reveals his own identity, and then from the mention of the Imperial office which he held proceeds to sketch the history of the development of the power and majesty of Rome, with the object of incriminating the Guelf and Ghibelline factions, which were now, though in different ways, impairing the

authority of the Empire. Afterwards he relates the story of one of the spirits in this sphere, Romeo, the seneschal of Raymond Berenger, describing the services which he rendered and the ingratitude with which he was repaid.

Lines 1–27. Justinian here answers the first of Dante's two questions (cp. Par. v. 127), viz. who he was. But before mentioning his name he explains that he became emperor of Rome more than 200 years after the transference of the chief seat of the government to Constantinople (ll. 1–9).

1–3. **Posciachè**, &c.: the removal of the administrative centre of the Roman empire by Constantine from Rome to Constantinople is described as his having turned the flight of the eagle (the symbol of Roman dominion) against the course of Heaven, i. e. from W. to E., whereas it had previously flown from E. to W., when Aeneas brought it from Troy to Italy. **Dietro**, &c.: 'following the ancient hero (Aeneas), who took Lavinia to wife'; *tor moglie* means 'to marry.'

4–6. **Cento**, &c.: 'two hundred years and more the bird of God maintained its position at the extremity of Europe.' The accepted date for the foundation of Constantinople, as distinguished from its subsequent dedication, is A.D. 324, and that of Justinian's accession is 527, so that the interval would be 203 years. But there is good reason for thinking that Dante's authority here is Brunetto Latini, and he in his *Trésor* (i. 2. 87) gives the dates as 333 and 539 respectively, in which case the interval would be 206 years. **l' uccel di Dio**: the eagle, which is called 'l' uccel di Giove' in Purg. xxxii. 112; here 'the bird of God,' because the Roman empire according to Dante was a divine institution. **Vicino**, &c.: as Troy was regarded as the birthplace of the Roman empire, 'the mountains from which the eagle first came forth' signify Mt. Ida, which lies behind the plain of Troy. As this is situated at one end of the Sea of Marmora, and Constantinople at the other end, they are relatively near to one another.

7, 8. **delle sacre penne**: 'of its sacred wings.' **di mano in mano**: 'passing from hand to hand,' from one emperor to another.

10–2. **fui, e son**: this is a marked instance of Dante's rule of using the past tense when giving the title of the dignities or offices of his characters, the present when the personal name only is used; see

note on Inf. xxxiii. 13, 14. **per voler,** &c.: 'inspired by the primal Love (the Holy Spirit) whose power I feel.' Justinian's inspiration in this matter is again referred to in l. 23. For 'primo amore' as a title of the Holy Ghost, cp. Inf. iii. 6 and note there. **D' entro,** &c.: 'removed from the body of the laws what was redundant and what was useless.' The reform and codifying of the Roman Law was the great work of Justinian's reign.

14. **Una natura,** &c.: this is the doctrine of the Monophysites, which was condemned by the Fourth General Council in 451. In reality Justinian himself was orthodox in this matter, though his wife, the empress Theodora, inclined towards that heresy. Probably Dante got the view unfavourable to Justinian from Brunetto Latini, who says (*Tesoro*, ii. 25)—'Tutto ch' ei fosse al cominciamento negli errori degli eretici, al fine riconobbe lo suo errore per lo consiglio di Agabito.'

16. **Agapito:** Agapetus, bishop of Rome, was sent in the year 515 by Theodatus, king of the Goths, on an embassy to Justinian at Constantinople; and during his stay there he convicted the Patriarch Anthimus of Monophysite views in the emperor's presence. Dante regards Justinian as having been converted to the orthodox belief on this occasion. Perhaps his reason for introducing this episode in Justinian's history was, that he wished to illustrate his own view of the rightful functions of the Emperor and the Pope as being respectively the temporal and spiritual governors, by showing that it was accepted in Justinian's time.

19–21. **ciò che,** &c.: 'his article of faith (the two Natures in Christ) I now see clearly, in the same way as you see that of two contradictories one must be false, the other true'; i. e. not as a matter of opinion or inference, but with absolute certainty.

22–4. **con la chiesa,** &c.: 'I walked in accordance with the Church's teaching.' **di spirarmi:** 'to inspire me with'; for *spirare* in this sense cp. Purg. xxiv. 53, 'Amor mi spira.' **l' alto lavoro:** the reform of the laws.

25–7. **Bellisar:** Belisarius, who overthrew the Vandal Kingdom in Africa, and reconquered Italy from the Goths. **commendai:** 'entrusted.' **dovessi posarmi:** 'should rest' from military occupations.

28–30. **Or qui,** &c.: 'here then ends my answer to your first question; but the nature of my reply constrains me to pursue

a sequel to it'; i. e. I cannot leave the subject of the Roman empire, to which I have referred, without adding some further remarks.

31–3. **Perchè**, &c.: 'that you may see with how much (meaning 'how little') justification men proceed against the sacred emblem.' **chi 'l s' appropria**: the Ghibellines. **chi a lui s' oppone**: the Guelfs and their supporters; cp. ll. 100–8.

35, 36. **E cominciò**: 'and Justinian commenced.' Justinian now sketches in outline the rise and history of the Roman empire; on this compare *De Mon.* ii. 11, and *Conv.* iv. 5. Observe that the power which is spoken of from here to l. 82—'il segno che parlar mi face'—and is frequently the subject of the verb, is the Roman eagle. **Pallanta**, &c.: Pallas, who was fighting on the side of Aeneas, was slain by Turnus. His death led to that of Turnus, because Aeneas would have spared the latter's life, had he not seen the belt of Pallas which he was wearing (*Aen.* xii. 940–50). By Turnus' death Aeneas became possessed of Lavinia, and of the kingdom of Latinus. Thus the death of Pallas ultimately caused the eagle to obtain the sovereignty.

37–9. **che fece**, &c.: 'that the Roman eagle made its abode in Alba Longa for 300 years and upwards, until at last (lit. until the end when) once more the Horatii and Curiatii contended for it.' The victory of the three Roman Horatii over the three Alban Curiatii finally determined the end of the Alban sovereignty and the commencement of the sovereignty of Rome; up to that time the Albans held the first place, as being the elder branch of the Trojan stock (Liv. i. 23 *ad init.*). Dante's authority for the period of '300 years and upwards' was probably Virg. *Aen.* i. 267–74, where the interval between the foundation of Alba by Ascanius and the birth of Romulus and Remus is computed at 300 years.

40, 41. **dal mal**, &c.: the rape of the Sabines in the time of Romulus and the wrong done to Lucretia by Tarquinius Superbus mark the beginning and the end of the period of the kings.

45. **collegi**: for *collegati*, 'confederates.'

46–8. **dal cirro Negletto**: Cincinnatus. This word, which properly signifies 'curly-haired,' is here taken to mean 'with unkempt locks.' **mirro**: 'embalm,' from *mirra*, 'myrrh.'

49, 50. **Arabi**: an anachronism for 'Carthaginians.' **L' alpestre**, &c.: the chain of the Alps between Piedmont and France; the Po rises in Monte Viso.

52–4. **giovinetti**: Scipio was 24 years old when he commenced his successful campaign against the Carthaginians in Spain, and 32 when he defeated Hannibal at the battle of Zama. Pompey, while quite a young man, was one of Sulla's most distinguished generals in the war against Marius. **a quel colle**, &c.: 'the Roman eagle showed itself harsh towards that hill beneath which thou wast born.' The hill is that of Fiesole, which looks down on Florence. According to the tradition to which Dante here refers, and which is given by Villani (i. 37), Faesulae was destroyed by the Romans after the defeat of Catiline.

55–7. **presso**, &c.: 'when the time was nigh, at which it was the will of Heaven to bring the whole world to its serene mood,' i. e. when the time of Christ's coming approached. The **modo sereno** here recalls 'No war nor battle's sound Was heard the world around,' &c., in Milton's *Ode on the Nativity*. **tolle**: for *toglie*, 'assumes it,' viz. the Roman eagle.

58–60. **E quel**, &c.: these three lines describe the scene of Caesar's campaigns (or, more accurately, the exploits of the Roman eagle in Caesar's hands) in Gaul by an enumeration of the principal rivers of that country—viz. the Var and the Rhine, which were its boundaries on the side of Italy and Germany respectively, and, in the interior, the Isère, the Saône (Lat. Arar, whence **Era**), the Seine, and the Rhone and its tributaries. These river-names are borrowed from Lucan, i. 399 foll., but the mention of them here is a marked instance of Dante's geographical interest in rivers. **ogni valle**, &c.: by 'every valley from which the Rhone is filled' is meant the 'basins' drained by the rivers which feed it.

61, 62. **Ravenna**: this was Caesar's starting-point when he advanced on Rome. **tal volo**: 'so rapid flight' on the eagle's part.

64–6. **In ver**, &c.: 'it wheeled round its host toward Spain.' Caesar's rapid march into Spain, in the course of which he attacked Massilia, has been already noticed as an instance of energetic action in Purg. xviii. 101, 102. **Durazzo**: the ancient Dyrrhachium on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, to which Caesar crossed from Brundisium in pursuit of Pompey. **al Nil**, &c.: because Pompey fled to Egypt and was slain there. The epithet **caldo** is transferred from the country to the river.

67–9. **Antandro**, &c.: the eagle revisited its starting-place, the

neighbourhood of Troy. Antandros is mentioned as being the place from which Aeneas set sail; cp. Virg. *Aen.* iii. 6. **Ettore,** &c.: Hector's tomb is mentioned in *Aen.* v. 371; but probably Dante was rather thinking of Lucan, ix. 976–8, because in the lines that precede that passage Caesar's visit to Troy is described. **mal,** &c.: 'roused itself in an evil hour for Ptolemy.' Caesar took part with Cleopatra against Ptolemy in the matter of the kingdom of Egypt.

70–2. **Juba:** in consequence of Juba, king of Numidia, having protected the Pompeians and Cato and Scipio, Caesar reduced his kingdom to a Roman province. **vostro occidente:** 'the West of your world below.' Spain is meant, where the battle of Munda was fought against the sons of Pompey.

73–5. **baiulo:** 'standard-bearer'; Lat. *baiulus*, 'bearer.' 'The standard-bearer next in succession' is the emperor Augustus. **latra:** take with **Di quel**; 'to that which the eagle did in company with Augustus, Brutus and Cassius direfully testify in Hell.' Brutus and Cassius are in the mouth of Lucifer in the pit of Hell (Inf. xxxiv. 64–7); and, as it is said of Brutus in that passage that he does not utter a word (*non fa motto*), **latra** can hardly be taken here in the sense of 'howls in pain.' It is their sufferings in Hell which bear witness to their overthrow by Augustus, when they were defeated at Philippi. **E Modena,** &c.: 'the eagle caused Modena and Perugia to mourn.' Dante was here thinking of Lucan, i. 41, 'Perusina fames Mutinaeque labores'; and from this we see that what he is referring to is the murderous battle in which Augustus defeated Antony before Mutina, and the straits endured by the inhabitants of Perusia during the siege of that city, when it was defended by Lucius Antonius against Augustus.

78. **atra:** 'dire.'

79. **Con costui,** &c.: the meaning is:—'In Augustus' hands the eagle conquered all Egypt as far as the Red Sea shore.' **lito rubro** is a reminiscence of 'litore rubro' in Virg. *Aen.* viii. 686.

82–4. **il segno,** &c.: 'the Roman eagle, which is the subject of my speech.' **lo regno mortal:** the Roman empire is meant.

86, 87. **Se,** &c.: 'if we fully and fairly regard the Roman authority (the eagle) as wielded by Tiberius,' in whose reign Christ was put to death. The superior position here attributed to the Roman empire under Tiberius arose from this—that it was then recognized by divine sanction as the power which should govern

the world. It was so recognized in the following manner, as Dante argues in *De Mon.* ii. 13. ll. 29–49. The object of Christ's death was that it should be a vicarious punishment for the sins of the whole world; in other words, the whole human race was punished in the person of Christ. But punishment, in order to be rightly so called (as distinguished from vengeance or arbitrary punishment), must be inflicted by one who has lawful authority over those who are punished. Therefore it was necessary that Christ should be condemned to death by one who had lawful authority over the whole human race. Hence, when God willed that Christ should be condemned by Pilate, the vice-gerent of Tiberius, who in turn represented the Roman empire, it was recognized by Him that the empire was *de iure* the governing power in the world.

88–90. **la viva,** &c.: 'the living justice (i. e. the justice of God) which inspires me'; for **spira** cp. l. 23. **Gloria,** &c.: 'the glory of avenging the wrath of God,' i. e. of pacifying God's anger against the sins of men by putting Christ to death who made atonement for those sins. The glory arose from the position thus attributed to the Roman empire, as explained in note to ll. 86, 87.

91–3. **Or qui,** &c.: 'now mark the strangeness of (lit. regard with wonder) my repetition.' The repetition is that of the word **vendetta** in two different applications, corresponding to the twofold mission of the eagle; first it avenged God's wrath against Adam's sin (**vendetta del peccato antico**) by putting Christ to death; then it took vengeance on the Jews for bringing about Christ's death by the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. This point is more fully treated in Par. vii. 19 foll. On Titus as the avenger of Christ see Purg. xxi. 82–4.

94–6. **E quando,** &c.: when Desiderius, king of the Lombards, persecuted the Church, Pope Adrian I called in Charles the Great to its defence. **vincendo**: by his victory over Desiderius. The date of this was 774, and Charles was not crowned emperor of the West until 800, so that at the time when it took place he was not under the protection of the Roman eagle (**sotto alle sue ali**). Dante's error here is of a part with his more serious mistake in *De Mon.* iii. 11. ll. 1–7, where he says that Charles was crowned emperor by Adrian I while the emperor Michael was on the throne of Constantinople—whereas in reality he was crowned by Leo III during the reign of Irene.

97–9. **Omai,** &c.: Justinian's object in extolling the greatness of the Roman empire was, as he stated before beginning to do so (ll. 29–33), to show the sinfulness of those who in Dante's time were endeavouring to lower its position. **quei cotali:** 'those classes of men.'

100–2. **L' uno,** &c.: 'the one (the Guelfs) opposes to the world-embracing standard (the eagle) the yellow lilies (the *fleur-de-lys* of France, i. e. the Angevins); the other (the Ghibellines) appropriates it to a party (treats it as their special emblem).' This passage shows how independent Dante was at this period of his life of both parties in Italy; cp. Par. xvii. 68, 69.

103–5. **faccian lor arte:** 'practise their devices (play their game).' **sempre:** take with **segue.** **la giustizia,** &c.: 'alienates it from justice.'

106–8. **Carlo novello:** Charles II of Apulia, son of Charles of Anjou, now leader of the Guelf party. **più alto leon,** &c.: the statement is probably general; 'have despoiled greater chieftains than him.'

109–11. **li figli:** it is difficult to think that this is only a general statement. Possibly there is an allusion to the misfortunes of Charles Martel, son of Charles II, whom Dante introduces in Par. viii. 31 foll. **non si creda,** &c.: 'let no man think that God purposes to change his own bearings (the divinely appointed eagle) for his (Charles's) lilies,' i. e. that he intends the Angevin emblem to supersede that of the empire.

112–4. Justinian now proceeds to answer Dante's second question (Par. v. 127–9), viz. why he was found in the sphere of Mercury. This, he says, is the place assigned to those who had pursued high aims in life for the sake of honour. **picciola:** cp. *Conv.* ii. 14. l. 92, 'Mercurio è la più piccola stella del cielo.' Mercury is sixteen times smaller than the earth. **si correda:** 'is adorned,' lit. 'equipped,' 'furnished.' **li succeda:** 'may accrue to them.' **li** is dat. case, archaic for *gli*, which latter is used for *loro*, as in Inf. xx. 14.

115–7. **poggian quivi:** 'rise thither,' i. e. towards fame. *Poggiare* is der. from *poggio*, 'a hill.' **disviando:** 'deviating from the right course,' not aiming at the glory of God, which is the true motive. **pur convien,** &c.: 'the rays of the true love (their love for God) must ever (**pur**) rise upwards with less ardour.'

This is the reason why a lower place is assigned to them in the court of Heaven.

118, 119. **nel commensurar**, &c.: 'our joy in part consists in balancing our rewards against our deserts.' **gaggi** is the same word as Engl. 'wages.'

121–3. **Quindi**, &c.: 'hence doth the living justice (God, the fountain-head of justice) so tranquillize our feelings (the desire of a higher place) within us, that they can never be perverted to any unrighteousness'; i. e. to discontent with their lot, or envy of others. For the sentiment here cp. Par. iii. 70–2.

124–6. **Diverse**, &c.: 'as on earth (**giù**) voices of different tone form sweet concord, so in our life in Heaven the different grades (lit. tiers of seats) give forth sweet harmony among these spheres.'

127–9. **margarita**: here used of Mercury; similarly of the moon in Par. ii. 34. **Romeo**: chief minister of Raymond Berenger IV, count of Provence, to whom his services were of great advantage. According to Dante, he became the object of jealousy and misrepresentation on the part of the courtiers, and was banished and died in poverty. This story, which is found also in Villani (vi. 90), is purely legendary. **mal gradita**: 'ill recompensed.'

131, 132. **Non hanno riso**: they suffered at the hands of Charles of Anjou, son-in-law of Raymond Berenger, into whose hands Provence passed by inheritance—'la gran dote Provenzale' of Purg. xx. 61. **e però**, &c.: 'and so it is, that he who (through jealousy) regards others' good deeds as an injury to himself, is following the road to ruin.'

133–5. **Quattro figlie**, &c.: these were Margaret, wife of Louis IX of France; Eleanor, wife of Henry III of England; Sancia, wife of Richard earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans; and Beatrice, wife of Charles I of Anjou. **peregrina**: 'pilgrim'; the story of his having come to the court of Raymond Berenger when returning from a pilgrimage to Compostella arose from his name Romeo (= pilgrim).

136–8. **le parole biece**: the calumnies of the courtiers. **ragione**: 'an account.' **assegnò**, &c.: 'paid over to him 12 for 10'—his own with interest.

140–2. **il cor**, &c.: 'the courage which he showed.' Justinian

speaks as one who knew this in Heaven: the world, as Dante implies, and as Villani states (*loc. cit.*), knew nothing of his subsequent life. **Assai,** &c.: 'much as it praises him, would praise him more.'

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT.—Justinian and the spirits in his company now withdraw, and Beatrice, in order to relieve Dante's mind from certain doubts which had been suggested by Justinian's speech, explains to him the mystery of Redemption. After this she discusses the nature of created things, distinguishing those which are incorruptible from those which are corruptible.

LINES 1–3. **Osanna,** &c.: 'Hosanna, holy God of hosts, who by Thy brightness dost illuminate from above the happy fires of these realms.' These verses appear to have been Dante's own, not a hymn of the Church; but they are in Latin, to correspond to other mediaeval hymns. **malachoth:** as Dante required a rhyme for **Sabaoth**—no easy thing to find—he availed himself of the word *malachoth*, which he met with in St. Jerome's Preface to the Vulgate, where it is translated by *regnorum*. The proper form of this, which is read in modern edd. of the Vulgate, is *mamlachot*, but in Dante's time *malachoth* was the accepted reading.

4–6. **Così,** &c.: 'these words, as it returned to its singing, it appeared to me that spirit chanted.' The singing has not been mentioned before in this connexion; it is here implied that it was the habitual occupation of these spirits. **sustanza:** the 'spirit,' which is the essential part of man; cp. 'forma sustanzial' in Purg. xviii. 49. **Sopra,** &c.: 'on whose head two forms of glory equally rest,' lit. 'over whom a double splendour pairs itself.' The meaning is:—Justinian is dignified in an equal degree by the two glorious titles of emperor and of lawgiver.

7. **danza:** this is the first instance which we meet with in the Paradiso of the rapid and intricate movement, which together with light and music form the most marked characteristics of the spirits in Heaven.

10–2. **Io dubitava,** &c.: 'I was possessed by a doubt, and was

saying to myself, "Tell it to her, tell it to my lady, who quenches my thirst with her sweet drops of wisdom"'; the drops are Beatrice's arguments.

13–5. **s' indonna,** &c.: 'masters me entirely.' **pur,** &c.: 'merely at the sound of BE and ICE.' Some think that 'Bice,' the abbreviation of Beatrice, is meant; cp. 'monna Bice' in *Vita Nuova*, § 24. l. 58; in this case it is better to read B than BE. If, however, the name 'Bice' seems somewhat too familiar under the circumstances, then 'BE and ICE' may mean 'a part (i. e. the mere suggestion) of the name of Beatrice.' **Mi richinava,** &c.: 'caused me to droop my head like one falling asleep.'

19–21. **Secondo,** &c.: 'I am aware, through the guidance of my infallible judgement, that the question, how a just vengeance could be justly punished, has set thee thinking.' The subject of **ha miso** is the clause **Come . . . fosse.** In ll. 20, 21 Beatrice is referring to Justinian's remarks in Par. vi. 88–93 on the sacrifice of Christ by the Jews, and the retributive punishment inflicted on them in consequence. Dante's difficulty is—If Christ was justly put to death, how could it be just to punish those who put Him to death? The answer is—that He was justly punished in His human nature (ll. 40–2), but unjustly as God (43–5). It was from the latter point of view that the Jews justly incurred the punishment which was inflicted on them. This argument is highly Scholastic in its over-subtlety; and moreover it ignores the unity of the Person of Christ.

24. **Di gran,** &c.: 'will give thee largess of (present thee with) a profound doctrine.' The doctrine is that of Redemption. **presente,** as a subst., meaning 'gift,' 'offering' (Engl. 'present'), is from Low Lat. *praesentia*, which is used in the same sense, and is der. from Lat. *praesentare*, 'to exhibit,' 'offer'; Diez, *Wört.*, p. 256.

25–7. **Per non,** &c.: 'owing to his not enduring that a restriction, which was to his advantage, should be imposed on his power of will (**la virtù che vuole**), Adam by bringing damnation on himself brought it also on all his descendants.' The restriction was the command not to eat of the forbidden fruit. **prode:** der. from Lat. *prodesse*; cp. Purg. xv. 42.

28, 29. **inferma:** take with **in grande errore;** 'lay sick in estrangement from God.' **giù:** in the world below.

31–3. **U'**: for Lat. *ubi*; 'to the place (the earth) where he united in one person with himself human nature, which had estranged itself from its Creator, by the sole agency of the Holy Spirit,' who caused the Virgin to conceive. For **amore** as a title of the Holy Spirit cp. Par. vi. 11.

35. **Questa**, &c.: 'as long as human nature was in unison with (not estranged from) its Creator.'

39. **sua vita**: the life of innocence and happiness in Paradise.

40–2. **La pena**, &c.: 'consequently, if the penalty which the cross provided be estimated in reference to the (human) nature which Christ took upon Him, no punishment was ever so justly inflicted.' **nulla** is an adj. agreeing with *pena* understood.

43–5. **così**: 'correspondingly,' 'on the same principle.' **persona**: the divine Person, with which that nature was combined (**contratta**).

47, 48. **Ch' a Dio**, &c.: the same death was a satisfaction to God and to the Jews, but in different ways—to God as an atonement for the sins of mankind, to the Jews as gratifying their malice. **tremò la terra**: the earthquake is mentioned as an evidence of God's displeasure with the Jews.

49–51. **parer più forte**: 'to appear any longer a difficulty.' **Quando**, &c.: see note on ll. 19–21. **giusta corte**: the emperor Titus, who is spoken of as the agent of God's vengeance in Par. vi. 92.

52–4. **ristretta**, &c.: 'entangled by a succession of thoughts within a knot,' i. e. a difficulty; the thoughts are here regarded as the threads which go to form the knot. **solver s' aspetta**: 'it is waiting for deliverance,' i. e. for the solution of the difficulty. The infin. **solver** is here used substantively.

55–7. **Tu dici**, &c.: Beatrice proceeds to explain the mystery of Redemption in answer to Dante's difficulty. The question is—why did God prefer that mankind should be saved by means of the death of Christ rather than in any other way?

59, 60. **il cui**, &c.: 'whose nature has not reached maturity in ardent love.'

61. **Veramente**: 'yet'; cp. Par. i. 10. **questo segno**: 'this question,' lit. 'point.'

64–120. Argument:—Man, inasmuch as his soul proceeded direct from God, possessed the gifts of immortality, free-will, and

likeness to God, and on these depended his high position (ll. 64–78). By the Fall the freedom of his will and his likeness to God were impaired, and his position was lost (ll. 79–81). There were only two ways by which he could recover this, viz. either (1) that he should make satisfaction himself for his sin, or (2) that God in His mercy should pardon him freely (ll. 82–93). The former of these it was impossible for man to do, because he could not render any adequate recompense; it remained therefore for God to guarantee his pardon (ll. 94–105). This God did in a manner at once most consonant with His own nature, as being perfect Goodness, and most advantageous to man, and most in accordance with the demands of justice. He followed both the way of mercy and the way of justice. By the Incarnation and death of Christ He enabled man to regain his lost position, and at the same time made the satisfaction for his sins which justice required (ll. 106–20).

64–6. **La divina**, &c.: 'the divine Goodness, which is ungrudging in its nature, while in itself it burns with the fire of love, sparkles so (is so bright), that it manifests in its creatures its eternal beauties.' **da sè**, &c.: 'removes far from itself (is utterly alien to) all envy (grudging spirit).' It is part of the divine nature to communicate itself to other beings. Cp. Boëth. *De Cons.* Bk. iii. Metr. 9. ll. 4–6, of God creating the universe—'Quem non externae pepulerunt fingere causae Materiae fluitantis opus, verum insita summi Forma boni, *livore carens*.'

67–9. **Ciò che**, &c.: 'whatever emanates directly from God is eternal, because wherever God sets His seal the impression is indelible.'

70–2. **Ciò che da**, &c.: 'that which proceeds directly from Him is wholly free, because it is not subject to the power of things of later birth.' By 'things of later birth' are meant second causes, as distinguished from God, who is the great First Cause. Others interpret the **cose nuove** as being the planetary and other influences.

73–5. **Più l' è**, &c.: 'that which proceeds immediately from God resembles Him more closely than other beings do, and therefore is more pleasing in His sight; for the fire of divine love, which irradiates all things, shines more brightly in that which most resembles it.'

76. **queste cose**: they are (1) immortality, (2) freedom of the will, (3) resemblance to God.

79–81. **disfranca**: 'deprives man of his liberty' by impairing the freedom of his will. **Perchè**, &c.: 'in consequence of which he is but little irradiated by God's light': for **imbianca** cp. Inf. ii. 128.

82–4. **Ed in**, &c.: 'nor can he ever regain his high position, unless by suffering the penalty due to him he makes up the amount which is reduced by sin (lit. unless he fills up where transgression empties), thus counterbalancing his criminal enjoyments.'

85, 86. **tota**: the Lat. word is used for *tutta* for the sake of the rhyme. **seme suo**: 'the seed from which it sprang,' Adam. For the use of *seme* in the sense of 'progenitor' cp. Inf. xxv. 12; Purg. vii. 127. **dignitadi**: the plural is used to signify the three original privileges mentioned above.

90. **Senza**, &c.: 'without passing one or other of the two following fords.' **For guado** in the sense of 'a means of escaping from a difficulty,' cp. Par. ii. 126, where the solution of a difficulty in argument is spoken of.

91–3. **O che**, &c.: 'either that God of His benignity alone should have granted pardon, or that man of himself should have made satisfaction for his folly.' **isso**: Lat. *ipsum*; cp. *issa* for *ipsa* (sub. *hora*), 'now,' in Inf. xxiii. 7; Purg. xxiv. 55.

96. **distrettamente**: 'attentively'; the meaning of *distretto* is the same as that of *stretto*.

97–100. **nei termini suoi**: 'within his limitations,' i. e. as a finite being. **per non poter**, &c.: 'because it was impossible for him to descend so low in humility by subsequent obedience, as he had aimed at ascending high by his disobedience.' The reference is to Gen. iii. 5, where the temptation which Satan presents to Eve is, that by eating of the forbidden fruit they should become as gods; now there is no depth of self-abasement which man can reach equivalent to his sinful aspiration to partake of the divine nature.

102. **Da poter**, &c.: 'rendered incapable of (lit. excluded from the power of) making satisfaction of himself.'

103. **con le vie sue**: 'by the two ways open to him—I mean (**Dico**, &c., l. 105), either by one only, or by both together.' The two ways were, (1) the way of mercy, by granting a free pardon; (2) the way of justice, by requiring satisfaction. God might either have pardoned man without requiring satisfaction, or have pardoned

him and obtained satisfaction at the same time. The latter mode of proceeding was adopted in the vicarious sacrifice of Christ.

106–11. The general meaning is:—It was God's desire to display in the Redemption of man the grandest instance of His goodness by the combined agency of mercy and justice. **Ma perchè,** &c.: 'but because the work of him who works approves itself as more excellent (**è più gradita,** lit. 'is more acceptable') in proportion as it sets forth in larger measure the goodness of the heart whence it proceeds, the divine Goodness—that same attribute which is seen imprinted on the face of the world—was pleased to set on foot your restitution to your high estate by both his methods at once (**per tutte le sue vie**).'

112–4. **Nè,** &c.: 'nor throughout the whole history of the world has there been or will there be any other proceeding equally sublime and magnificent, either through the agency of mercy or of justice.'

115–7. **più largo,** &c.: the sentiment expressed in these lines is that of Aquinas, where he says of Christ's Atonement (*Summa*, iii. Q. 46. Art. 1), 'hoc fuit abundantioris misericordiae, quam si peccata absque satisfactione dimisisset.' **A far,** &c.: by taking our nature Christ enabled us to recover from the effects of the Fall. **dimesso:** 'excused,' 'pardoned.'

118–20. **erano scarsi,** &c.: 'would have failed (lit. fell short) to satisfy justice.' **erano scarsi . . . se non fosse** is an irregular sequence; for other instances see note on Inf. xxix. 38.

121 foll. Beatrice now returns to her remark (ll. 67–9) that what is created immediately by God is in itself eternal; this might seem to imply that the lower material creation is eternal. She explains that the lower material creation was not created by God immediately, but through the intervention of other agencies. The lower material creation is here distinguished from the heavens, which are composed of pure matter.

122, 123. **Ritorno,** &c.: 'I go back to furnish an explanation with regard to a certain point, in order that in that matter (lì) you may see as clearly as I do.'

125. **lor misture:** combinations of the four elements which have just been mentioned.

127–9. **creature:** i. e. created by God. **Perchè,** &c.: 'and consequently, if what I said (ll. 67–9) is true, they should be incorruptible.'

130–2. **il paese sincero**: 'the region of pure matter,' i. e. the heavens. **dir si posson**, &c.: 'may (rightly) be spoken of as created (by God) in the perfect state in which they (now) are.'

135. **Da creata**, &c.: 'are informed by (receive their *forma* or essential part from) a power which was itself created.' The power or influence here meant is that of the stars, and this was a mediate influence between God and the lower material creation, so that the latter was not created immediately by God, and therefore is not incorruptible.

136–8. **Creata fu**, &c.: these three lines are a fuller statement of what precedes. These elements (fire, water, &c.) are derived from what was already created, in respect both of their material and formal constituents, i. e. the matter of which they were made, and the stellar influences which gave them their essence. **che intorno**, &c.: 'which revolve around them.'

139–41. **L' anima**, &c.: from speaking of things without life Beatrice passes to those which possess the sensitive or the vegetative life without the rational soul. These also are not incorruptible, because their life is produced mediately by the influence of the stars, acting on those elements of their nature (i. e. of the matter of which they are composed) which are capable of being affected by them. 'The brightness and the motion of the holy lights (the stars) draws forth the life of brutes and plants from the combination of elements (**complession**) in them, which is endued with power (**potenziata**) thereto,' i. e. to be so affected. **complession** in its technical use means 'a combination of elements,' e. g. of humours of the body, or properties of matter.

142, 143. **Ma vostra**, &c.: in contrast with the preceding, the rational soul of man proceeds directly from God, and therefore is incorruptible. 'But your life is breathed into you immediately by the highest Benevolence'; cp. Purg. xxv. 70–3.

145–8. **E quinci**, &c.: the meaning is:—The resurrection of the body may be inferred from what has been said above (ll. 67 foll.) concerning the immortality of that which has been created immediately by God, for this was the case with the human body when God made Adam and Eve; and consequently our bodies must be immortal. **ancora**: 'further.' **Come**, &c.: 'how the human body was then made, when both our first parents were created.' **intrambo**: cp. Inf. xix. 25.

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT.—Dante ascends with Beatrice to the third Heaven, that of Venus, in which the souls of lovers are found. Here he sees the spirit of his former friend Carlo Martello, son of Charles II king of Naples, who after referring to the countries, of which, had he lived, he would have been the sovereign, explains the origin of varieties of disposition and character in men, and the reason why sons differ in these respects from their fathers.

LINES 1–12. In these lines it is said that the name of the planet Venus was derived from that of the heathen goddess, and that she was supposed to send forth from it the influences of sensual love. Dante himself believed that love was imparted to men by this planet, but through the agency of angels.

1–3. **in suo periclo**: 'to its peril,' because the sin which proceeded from this cause endangered the soul. Others say 'in its time of peril,' i. e. in the time of heathenism, when there was no hope of salvation. With this latter interpretation *nell' antico errore* in l. 6 is a repetition of the same idea. **Ciprigna**: Venus, the goddess of Cyprus, whose temple was at Paphos in that island. **il folle**, &c.: 'beamed forth delirious love.' For **raggiasse** cp. *Conv.* ii. 7. ll. 90–2, 'li raggi di ciascuno cielo sono la via, per la quale discende la loro virtù in queste cose di quaggiù.' **volta**, &c.: 'revolving in the third epicycle.' The term 'epicycle' means a circle, the centre of which is carried round upon another circle; cp. *Conv.* ii. 4. ll. 78–88. To account for the apparent irregularities in the orbits of the heavenly bodies which resulted from the view that they revolved round the earth which was stationary, Ptolemy suggested that each planet moved in such a circle of its own in addition to the revolution of the sphere to which it belonged. In the case of Venus this is called the third epicycle, because the sphere of Venus is the third in order in the heavens.

6. **antico errore**: the errors of heathenism.

9. **ei sedette**: Virg. *Aen.* i. 715–9; Dido's passion is introduced as a typical instance of Cupid's supposed influence.

10–2. **costei**, &c.: Venus, with whom the Canto commences. **Pigliavano**, &c.: 'they derived the name of the star that courts the sun, now following, now in front'; i. e. is in attendance on the

sun, sometimes as the evening star, sometimes as the morning star. **coppa:** 'back of the head.'

15. **ch' io vidi far:** 'whom I saw become,' **far** for *farsi*.

16–8. **E come,** &c.: in both these similes the point is the rapid movement of one object within the other which is at rest. **è ferma:** 'holds the note.'

19–21. **essa luce:** the planet Venus. **Al modo,** &c.: 'in proportion to (according to the measure of) their eternal powers of vision.' **eterne:** 'eternal,' as distinguished from temporal. If *interne* is read, it means 'inner,' i. e. spiritual.

23. **O visibili o no:** this means 'either in the form of lightning or in that of hurricane.' Dante's authority here is Aristotle, who held lightning to be simply wind rendered visible by ignition; cp. *Meteorol.* iii. 1. 6, in which passage cold as the origin of these phenomena, and their downward movement from the cloud from which they proceed, are noticed; cp. *Di fredda nube* and *disceser* in l. 22. See Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 133.

26, 27. **il giro,** &c.: 'the dance, which they had previously commenced in the company of the exalted Seraphim.' The **giro** is that which is mentioned in l. 20. The spirits, before they descended to the Heaven of Venus to speak with Dante, were engaged in this dance together with the Seraphim in the Empyrean; cp. Par. ix. 76–8, where their singing in harmony with the Seraphim is spoken of.

28, 29. **E dentro,** &c.: 'and among the foremost who revealed themselves Hosanna was heard in such tones,' &c.

33. **perchè,** &c.: 'that you may win joy from us.'

34, 35. **principi:** these are the Principalities, as the Order of angels is called, who preside over the Heaven of Venus as Motors (cp. Par. ii. 129) or Intelligences. In *Conv.* ii. 6. l. 109 Dante makes the Thrones the Motors of this Heaven, but this view he now alters. For the succession of the angelic hierarchies, and their correspondence to the nine spheres of Heaven, see Prefatory Note to Canto I. **D' un giro,** &c.: the movement of the spirits corresponds to that of the Intelligences which guide them, (1) in respect of its circular form (**D' un giro**); (2) in respect of its eternity (**d' un girare**); (3) in respect of its intensity, which is caused by its longing (**sete**) for the presence of God.

36, 37. **del mondo:** 'when on earth,' 'as a citizen of earth.' **Voi che,** &c.: 'Ye who by your intelligence move the third Heaven.'

This is the first line of the first Canzone of the *Convito*; Dante explains its meaning in *Conv.* ii. 6. ll. 151–61.

39. **un poco di quiete**: 'a brief repose from our movement.'

42. **di sè**, &c.: 'satisfied and confident of her approbation.' It is to be observed, that, whenever any theological truths are communicated to Dante by other spirits, the permission of Beatrice as representing Theology is required.

43–5. **promessa**, &c.: see ll. 32, 33. **chi siete**: 'who you, the occupants of this sphere, are.' **La voce mia**, &c.: 'the words I uttered, bearing the stamp of deep feeling'; this feeling was caused by the spirit having shown that he was acquainted with him by quoting from one of his poems.

46. **E quanta**, &c.: the light of joy which emanated from the spirit (see ll. 52, 53) caused it to increase (**far più**) in size (**quanta**) and in brightness (**quale**). **far** for *farsi*, as in l. 15.

49. **Così fatta**: 'in such semblance.' **mi disse**: the speaker is Carlo Martello, eldest son of Charles II of Anjou, king of Naples. He married Clemence, daughter of Rudolf of Hapsburg. In 1294 he visited Florence, and he probably met Dante on that occasion. He died in 1295, aged 24.

51. **Molto**, &c.: this stands for *Molto di mal che sarà non sarebbe stato*. The evils here referred to are the disastrous state of the kingdom of Naples under his younger brother Robert.

52–4. **celato**: the brightness which conceals this spirit from Dante, it should be observed, was temporary, for it was caused by its pleasure; under other circumstances it would have been seen in its human form, like those in the two lower spheres; see notes on Par. iii. 47–9; v. 107, 108. **animal**, &c.: the silkworm in its cocoon.

55–7. **Assai**, &c.: the position, character, and prospects of Carlo Martello seem to have made a great impression on Dante, and caused him to regard him as an ideal personage. This view is confirmed by Carlo saying in what follows that, had he lived, he would have justified Dante's hopes in him. **mostrava**: irregular sequence of the indic. after **s' io fossi**; cp. Par. vii. 118–20: strictly the meaning is—'I was intending to show you—and should have shown you, had I remained on earth below.' **più oltre**, &c.: 'not merely the promise of fruit, but the fruits themselves.'

58–60. The passage that follows, down to l. 70, which describes the countries which Carlo Martello either ruled or had the prospect

of ruling, illustrates Dante's love of descriptive and political geography, i. e. the features and boundaries of countries. **Quella,** &c.: the country on the left or eastern bank of the Rhone, below the junction of the Sorgue with that river above Avignon, was the 'gran dote Provenzale' of Purg. xx. 61—embracing Avignon, Arles, Marseilles, and Aix—which Charles of Anjou obtained by his marriage with the daughter of Raymond Berenger, and to which Carlo Martello would have succeeded on the death of Charles II in 1309. **a tempo**: 'at the fitting time.'

61–3. **quel corno,** &c.: 'that horn (i. e. projecting part) of Italy, which embraces the towns of,' &c. The kingdom of Apulia, which Carlo would have inherited from his father, is here accurately described, for Bari lies on the Adriatic coast, Gaëta on the western shore, and the small town of Catona on the Straits of Messina to the northward of Reggio; while the Tronto, which flows into the Adriatic below Ascoli, forms the northern limit on one side, and the Verde—i. e. the Garigliano under a different name—on the other.

64–6. **Fulgeami,** &c.: Carlo inherited the kingdom of Hungary through his mother, and was crowned king in 1290, but he never was more than a titular sovereign. **Poi che,** &c.: this means that Hungary was lower down the course of the Danube than Germany.

67–70. **Trinacria**: one of the classical names of Sicily. The reason of its use here is, that 'king of Trinacria' was the recognized title of Frederic II, the present ruler of that island (1296–1337), because 'king of Sicily' would have implied sovereignty over the two Sicilies; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 537. **che caliga,** &c.: 'which is darkened (overshadowed with clouds) . . . not (as the fable tells) by the agency of the giant Typhoeus, but by that of nascent sulphur.' The reference is to the clouds of sulphureous vapour which hang about the summit of Etna, under which mountain the giant Typhoeus was said to have been placed by Jupiter; cp. Ov. *Met.* v. 346–55, from which passage the names here given are taken. There is something unusual in Dante's thus refuting an old fable by assigning a natural cause to the phenomenon. The explanation of this may perhaps be found in a passage of Isidore, one of Dante's authorities (*Orig.* xiv. 8), where the volcanic fires of Etna are attributed to sulphur which is ignited by currents of air driven by the force of the waves through caves in the side of the mountain. See Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 525. **Tra Pachino,** &c.: this and the following line describe

the eastern coast of Sicily, with its slightly concave outline (**il golfo**), and the headlands of Pachynus and Pelorum at its southern and northern extremities. **Che riceve,** &c.: 'which is most exposed to the onset of Eurus (the east wind).'

71, 72. **Attesi,** &c.: 'would still have been looking forward to her succession of kings, descended through me from Charles of Anjou (my father) and from Rudolf of Hapsburg (my father-in-law).'

73–5. **Se mala,** &c.: 'had not tyranny (lit. bad government), which ever rouses to fury subject peoples, moved the Palermitans to cry "Do them to death."' The massacre of the French at the time of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 is meant.

76–8. **E se,** &c.: 'and if my brother could foresee this (viz. the fatal results of tyranny in his own case), he would at the present time (in 1300) shrink from employing the greedy poverty of the Catalans (the needy and grasping followers whom he had brought with him from Catalonia), that it might not injure his cause.' The brother here mentioned is Robert, who with two others was left in Spain as hostages for Charles II from 1288–95 (cp. Purg. xx. 79); and **L' avara povertà,** &c., refers to the associates whom he brought from that country in 1295, and the Catalan mercenaries employed by him, whose greed and violence exasperated the subject population of the kingdom of Naples. **Se questo antivedesse** is a prophetic anticipation on Carlo Martello's part, since Robert did not come to the throne till 1309.

79–81. **Chè veramente,** &c.: 'for verily there is good need that he should make provision, either himself or by the aid of others, so that an additional freight may not be placed on his bark which is already heavily freighted.' **sua barca** means the kingdom of Naples, and the clause **sì che,** &c., must be taken as referring entirely to the future; 'so that, when at a later time he enters on his kingdom already overtaxed, a still heavier burden may not be laid upon it.' For *barca* in the sense of the 'vessel' of the state or commonwealth cp. Par. xvi. 96.

82–4. **che di larga,** &c.: 'which, being itself avaricious, descended from one that was liberal.' In Par. xix. 128 Dante implies that his father, Charles II, possessed the one virtue of generosity. **avria mestier,** &c.: 'would need such officials as would not be anxious to hoard,' i. e. being avaricious himself he should not make matters worse by employing avaricious subordinates.

milizia perhaps has a special reference to the Catalan soldiers who were in his service.

85–90. These lines are intended to signify Dante's inability fully to express his thanks in words. In default of this, he declares his pleasure at feeling that Carlo—who, like the other spirits in Paradise, can read the thoughts of others in the face of God—is aware both of his sentiments themselves, and of Dante's knowledge that he (Carlo) is cognizant of them. 'Inasmuch as I believe that thou seest in the face of God, who is the source and aim of all good, as fully as I myself am conscious of it, the joy which thy words communicate to me, my lord, my joy is increased; and this also delights me, that thou seest in God that I believe it' (**il** = *ch' io credo*, &c.). For the use of **Perchè** meaning 'that' cp. Purg. vi. 88.

93. **Come**, &c.: the question how it comes to pass that a bad son can be born of a good father is started in Dante's mind by the remark concerning Robert in ll. 82, 83, 'di larga parca Discese.'

94–6. **S' io posso**, &c.: 'if I can make clear to thee a certain truth, thou wilt see the solution of thy difficulty as manifestly as now it is hidden from thee.' The 'truth' is the operation of God's providence through the influences of the stars in directing and modifying the order of nature. This having been established, Carlo proceeds to show how by this means variety is introduced into the characters and lives of men, which variety is the basis of social life.

97–111. The argument is as follows:—God, in creating the universe, provided not only for the existence of things, but for their working in the most perfect manner; and the instrumentality which He appointed for that purpose was the stellar influences, which are directed by the angels or Intelligences who preside over them. Were it not for these, chaos and not order would prevail.

98, 99. **Volge e contenta**: 'causes to revolve and to be satisfied.' **fa esser**, &c.: 'makes his providence to be an active power in these mighty (i. e. heavenly) bodies,' the planets.

100–2. **E non pur**, &c.: 'and not only are the things in themselves (**le nature**) provided in the mind of God, but along with them all that is necessary to their performing their functions rightly' (**la lor salute**, lit. 'that which safeguards them').

103–5. **Perchè**, &c.: 'wherefore everything that is discharged from this bow (from the stellar influences) descends ordained to (accomplish) a foreseen purpose, like a thing (a shaft) directed to its

mark.' **quantunque** is used here and elsewhere in the Paradiso for 'all that,' Lat. *quantumcunque*.

106–8. **Se ciò**, &c.: 'were it not that a divine purpose runs through all creation, the effect of the working of the spheres (lit. of the Heaven through which you are journeying) would be to produce, not a perfect scheme, but a chaos.'

109–11. **E ciò**, &c.: 'and that cannot be, unless we are to suppose (that which is impossible) that the Intelligences which direct these spheres are defective, and also the great First Cause, who (on that supposition) has not created them perfect.' **perfetti**: for *perfezionati*, being adapted from the Lat. particip. *perfectus*.

112–4. **s' imbianchi**: 'should be rendered clear.' **Che la natura**, &c.: 'that nature should tire (fall short) in providing all that is necessary' for the order and perfect working of the universe; cp. *De Mon.* i. 10. ll. 4, 5, 'quum Deus et natura in necessariis non deficiat.' By *natura* Dante generally means the working of the stellar influences; cp. *De Mon.* ii. 2. ll. 36–8, 'a caelo, quod organum est artis divinae, quam Naturam communiter appellant.'

115–35. **Ond' egli**, &c.: having established his primary proposition, Carlo goes on to say that man is a social being, and in order for society to exist it is necessary that various functions should be performed; and for this purpose men of different characters and abilities are required. These differences could not be produced by the ordinary process of generation of son from father, but are introduced by the stellar influences.

118–20. **E può**, &c.: 'can men exist in society, unless on earth there are various modes of life in various functions?' **il maestro**: Aristotle, 'il Maestro di color che sanno,' Inf. iv. 131. The passage here referred to is Pol. ii. 2. 3, *οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων· οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων*. The remarks also in the preceding verses (ll. 113–7) are from Aristotle, for *οὐδὲν μάτην ἡ φύσις ποιεῖ* and *φύσει πολιτικὸς ἄνθρωπος* are commonplaces of that writer.

121–3. **venne deducendo**: 'he proceeded by inference.' **Dunque**, &c.: 'consequently the roots from which your operations arise (i. e. the elements of character) must needs be diverse.'

124–6. **Per che**, &c.: 'for this reason one is born to be a lawgiver, another to be a warrior, another a priest, another a craftsman.' **quello**, &c.: Daedalus, the typical artificer. The story of the

flight of Daedalus and his son Icarus is referred to in Inf. xvii. 109–11.

127–9. **La circular natura,** &c.: 'the nature of the revolving spheres, which, like a seal on wax, imprints itself on mankind, exercises its art well, but does not distinguish one house from another.' In other words:—The stellar influences produce individuality of character in men, but do not favour one family more than another by perpetuating excellence in it. Dante is returning to the question, How can a bad son proceed from a good father?

130–2. **Quinci,** &c.: 'hence, as these influences operate independently of such limitations, two brothers, like Esau and Jacob, may differ in character, and a great king, like Romulus, may be sprung from a mean father.' **Per seme:** 'by birth,' i. e. in his inborn character. **si rende,** &c.: 'he is attributed to Mars'; his successors, to conceal the meanness of his origin, said that Mars was his father: cp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 273, 'regina sacerdos Marte gravis,' &c.

133–5. **Natura,** &c.: 'were it not for the interposition of divine providence (operating through the stars), the nature (i. e. character and ability) of the son would always follow the same course as that of the parents.'

136–8. **retro:** cp. ll. 95, 96. **mi giova:** here used impers.; 'that I have pleasure in thee'; cp. Par. ix. 24. **corollario:** 'corollary' or supplementary statement; cp. Purg. xxviii. 136. **t' ammanti:** 'take to thyself,' lit. 'invest thyself with.'

139–41. **Sempre,** &c.: the corollary here is a practical lesson, to the effect that persons should not be forced into professions for which they are by nature ill-suited. 'Ever doth nature, when placed in circumstances unsuitable to it, fail to prosper, like any other seed, when out of its habitual soil and climate.'

143. **Al fondamento,** &c.: 'to the foundation laid by nature,' i. e. the gifts and character implanted in men.

145–8. **torcete,** &c.: 'ye pervert from its natural bent to the service of religion.' **da sermone:** 'suited to the pulpit.' Carlo is thought to be here alluding to his two brothers—Louis, who became a Franciscan and was made Bishop of Toulouse; and Robert, king of Naples, who took pleasure in composing sermons; some of these have been preserved and published (by D' Ancona). **la traccia,** &c.: 'your course misses the right road.'

CANTO IX

ARGUMENT.—Dante is next addressed by Cunizza da Romano, who discourses of the crimes of the inhabitants of the Marca Trivigiana, the land of her birth; and afterwards by Folco da Marsiglia, the troubadour poet, who, after speaking of his own life on earth, points out the soul of Rahab as one of the denizens of the Heaven of Venus.

LINE 1. **Clemenza**: it has been much debated whether Carlo Martello's wife, Clemence of Hapsburg, or his daughter, Clemence the wife of Louis X of France, is here meant. The expression **Carlo tuo** is more suitable if addressed to the wife; but a difficulty arises from Clemence the elder having died in 1295, and consequently long before the Paradiso was written. This can only be met by the supposition that the address is a rhetorical one, and this use is rarely employed by Dante. In the case of Clemence the younger, Carlo's daughter, there is no such difficulty, for she was living when Dante wrote; so that it seems probable that she is intended.

2. **inganni**: 'treacherous treatment.' Carlo Martello's son, Carlo Roberto, the rightful heir to the throne of Naples and Sicily, was dispossessed by his uncle Robert.

5, 6. **non posso**, &c.: 'I can reveal no more of the prophecy than that righteous punishment (lit. suffering) will follow in the wake of your wrongs.' This appears to be an anticipation in general terms of misfortunes about to fall on the usurper Robert and his family. **vostri**: 'of yourself and your family'; as Clemence the younger was daughter of the eldest son of Charles II, she had herself presumptive claims to the throne of Naples, and her brother, Carlo Roberto, was at the present time unjustly excluded from that throne.

7–9. **la vita**, &c.: the spirit within that light. **al sol**, &c.: to God, the fountain of light. **ad ogni**, &c.: 'sufficient to furnish light to everything.'

10–2. **fatture**: 'creatures.' **sì fatto**: 'such.' **tempie**: here used for 'heads,' 'thoughts.'

15. **nel chiarir,** &c.: 'by brightening outwardly'; cp. Par. v. 106–8.

16–8. **fermi,** &c.: 'fastened on me.' **certificato fermi:** 'assured me.'

19–21. **compenso:** 'satisfaction.' **fammi,** &c.: the meaning is:—'Prove to me (by answering my unspoken question) that thou canst read my thoughts.'

22–4. **nuova:** 'unknown.' **suo profondo,** &c.: 'the depths of its light, from which its chant before proceeded.' **a cui,** &c.: for the construction cp. Par. viii. 137.

25–8. **In quella,** &c.: the place of which Dante speaks in l. 28 as situated on a low hill is the castle of Romano, the patrimony of the Ezzelini. The exact position of this spot is not known, but the part of Italy which is here described as situated between Rialto and the fountains of the Brenta and the Piave is the Marca Trivigiana, which lay between Venice (here represented by the island of Rialto) and the neighbouring part of the Alps, in which those two rivers rise. See also note on ll. 43, 44 below. **prava:** here, as in Purg. vi. 76, Dante includes the whole of Italy in his condemnation.

29, 30. **una facella,** &c.: 'a brand, which fiercely assailed that neighbourhood.' This is Ezzelino or Azzolino III, whom Dante places among the tyrants in the river of boiling blood in Hell (Inf. xii. 110). A story was current, that at the time of his birth his mother dreamt that she was giving birth to a brand, which burnt the whole of the Marca Trivigiana.

32. **Cunizza:** this is Azzolino's sister, Cunizza da Romano. Nothing sufficiently favourable to her character is known, to explain Dante's placing her in Heaven. She was three times married, and carried on various amours, among which was one with the troubadour Sordello.

34–6. **lietamente,** &c.: the meaning is:—'In a glad spirit I look kindly on (lit. pardon to myself) those sins of mine which cause my lot to be in the Heaven of Venus.' The spirits in this Heaven were placed in this lower sphere, like those in the two previous spheres, because of their failings—in this case their proneness to sensual love. **Che,** &c.: 'though this might haply appear a hard saying to your common folk.' The justification of it is given below, ll. 103–5, where see note.

37–40. **questa,** &c.: the spirit by her side which Cunizza here refers to is Folco da Marsiglia (Fulk of Marseilles); see note on l. 67. In what follows she contrasts the duration of his fame on earth with the neglect of the good opinion of posterity which characterized the inhabitants of the Marca Trivigiana. **pria che muoia,** &c.: 'before his fame expires, the century which is now ending (viz. in 1300) will be increased fivefold,' i. e. his fame will last five centuries longer. 'Five centuries' is here used for an indefinitely long time.

41, 42. **Vedi,** &c.: 'consider whether a man ought not to aim at excellence, so that, when his life on earth has passed away, another life (his good name) may remain behind,' lit. 'so that his first life may leave behind another.'

43–5. **ciò:** on leaving a good name behind them. **la turba presente:** 'the present rabble'; the inhabitants of the Marca Trivigiana, which is here said to be bounded by the Tagliamento and the Adige. Its true boundaries at that period were the Livenza towards the NE., and a line drawn between the Adige and the Mincio to the S. (see Spruner-Menke, *Handatlas*, No. 23), so that it nearly corresponded to the modern province of Venetia; but the description which Dante gives is approximately accurate, for the line of the Tagliamento is at no very great distance beyond that of the Livenza, and the Adige might roughly be regarded as the limit in the opposite direction. This district included the cities of Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and Feltro; of their shortcomings Dante now proceeds to speak. **battuta:** 'scourged by tyrants.'

46–8. **Ma tosto,** &c.: 'but soon it will come to pass that the Paduans will discolour with their blood at the marsh the water which laves Vicenza, because the people are stubborn in refusing that which is their duty.' This refers to the resistance of the Paduans to the emperor Henry VII. They were defeated with great slaughter by Can Grande in 1312 near the Bacchiglione, the river of Vicenza and Padua, which there formed a marsh. Others think that the reference is to what happened in a district near the stream of the Bacchiglione called *il Palude*, where the Paduans, finding that the waters of that river had been cut off by the Vicentines, who were at war with them, diverted into it a portion of the Brenta. This interpretation, however, seems to miss the point of the passage, which is to declare that in a number of instances, of

which this is the first, misfortune will follow on the misdeeds of the cities of the Marca Trivigiana. **al palude**: for *palude* masc. cp. Purg. v. 82.

49–51. **E dove**, &c.: 'and where the rivers Sile and Cagnano unite,' lit. 'join company'; the place where they join is Treviso. **Tal signoreggia**, &c.: 'one of such a character lords it and carries his head high, that already the web to catch him is being formed.' This is Riccardo da Camino, son of the 'good Gherardo' of Purg. xvi. 124, and brother of Gaja, *ibid.* 140. He succeeded his father as lord of Treviso, but was murdered by an assassin in consequence of his adulteries.

52–4. **diffalta**: 'treachery.' A Bishop of Feltro in 1314 surrendered to the Guelf governor of Ferrara a number of citizens of Ferrara of the Ghibelline faction, who had sought refuge with him; and they were put to death. **Piangerà** refers to Feltro having subsequently passed under the dominion of the family of Camino just mentioned. **sconcia**, &c.: 'disgraceful beyond any for which criminals have been imprisoned in Malta.' Of several places which bore this name the one which Cunizza, who is speaking, would be most likely to mention was a prison built in the castle of Cittadella by Ezzelino III—'mortalis carcer nominatus la Malta' (Muratori, *Ant. Ital.* iv. 1139, quoted by Casini).

55–60. **Troppo**, &c.: what follows is added to show the enormity of the crime of the Bishop of Feltro. 'The vat which could contain the blood of the Ferrarese refugees shed on that occasion must needs be exceedingly ample, and weary would he be who should weigh it ounce by ounce; which blood this courteous priest (the Bishop of Feltro) will offer as a boon to prove himself a good partisan of the Guelfs; and such like gifts will be in conformity with the usual treacherous conduct of the people of Feltro.'

61–3. **Su sono**, &c.: 'in the Empyrean there are mirrors—ye call them Thrones—by which God's judgements are directly revealed to us.' Cunizza adds this, to assure Dante of the certainty of her prediction. The Thrones are the third Order in dignity of the Intelligences. Aquinas (*Summa*, i. Q. 106. Art. 6) says, 'Throni dicuntur secundum Gregorium per quos Deus sua iudicia exercet.' **Sì che**, &c.: 'so that these utterances (i. e. predictions) of mine seem to us to be true.'

65, 66. **Che fosse**, &c.: 'that she had turned to other thoughts,

judging from the circular movement which she followed, as she had done before.' The circular movement is the rotatory dance of the spirits in this sphere, the *giro* of Par. viii. 20.

67–9. **L' altra,** &c.: Folco da Marsiglia (1180–1231). He was a gay troubadour, and a favourite at the courts of many princes. Later in life he became a monk, and was made bishop of Toulouse, and was a fierce persecutor of the Albigenses—as Longfellow says, 'The nightingale became a bird of prey.' As in the case of Cunizza, it is hard to say why Dante assigned to him a conspicuous place in Heaven. **che m' era,** &c.: 'which was already known to me as an object of admiration'; this was from what Cunizza had said in l. 37. **balascio:** a kind of ruby of especially brilliant hue.

70–2. **Per letiziar,** &c.: 'in Heaven (**lassù**) joy produces additional brightness, just as on earth (**qui**) it produces a smile; while in Hell (**giù**) the outward semblance of the shades is darkened when the thoughts are sad.'

73–5. **tuo veder,** &c.: 'thy sight is in Him'; *inluiarsi* is a verb created by Dante from *in* and *lui*. **nulla,** &c.: 'no wish can be concealed from thee.' Dante implies that Folco was aware of the question which he desired to ask him. **puote esser fuia di sè** means 'can hide (lit. steal, withdraw) itself'; for other instances in which *fuio* occurs cp. Inf. xii. 90; Purg. xxxiii. 44.

77, 78. **col canto,** &c.: 'in harmony with the songs of those saintly ardours (the Seraphim) which covered themselves with six wings'; cp. Par. viii. 25–30. Dante's description of the Seraphim is derived from Isa. vi. 2, 'Above him stood the seraphim: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly.' **cuculla** (Lat. *cucullus*) is a monastic robe; Dante uses the form *cocolla* with the same meaning in Par. xxii. 77. Instead of **facean la cuculla** many editors read *fannosi cuculla*. The imperf. **facean** refers to the occasion mentioned by Isaiah.

80, 81. **Già non,** &c.: 'I should not now be waiting for you to question me, if I could read your thoughts as you read mine'; in other words—'If I were in your place, I should answer without being questioned.' For the formation of the verbs **intuassi, immii** cp. *inluia* in l. 73.

82–93. These lines, in which Folco tells Dante that he was a native of Marseilles, are a typical instance of the Poet's periphrastic

method of description. Here his birthplace is denoted; but instead of giving its name, Dante first describes the Mediterranean Sea, on the shore of which it lay; then he fixes on a point on its northern coast intermediate between a given point in Spain and another given point in Italy; but he is not content with this, but goes on to determine the longitude of that point relatively to a place on the coast of Africa. The result is—Marseilles.

82–4. **La maggior valle,** &c.: the basin of the Mediterranean; **valle** here = 'depression.' **Fuor di,** &c.: 'issuing from (an inlet from) the ocean which surrounds the earth.' This was the view which prevailed in ancient and mediaeval times; cp. Brunetto Latini, *Tesoro*, Bk. iii. Ch. 1., 'il grande mare, il quale è chiamato mare Oceano, dal qual sono istratti tutti gli altri mari, che sono sopra la terra in diverse parti, e sono tutti quasi come bracci di quello.' The Mediterranean was the largest of these inlets.

85–7. The Mediterranean is here described as stretching eastward for 90° between the coasts of Europe and Africa. **Trai discordanti liti:** 'between the contrasted shores.' This was probably suggested by Virg. *Aen.* iv. 628, 'Litora litoribus contraria,' &c., which is said of the Romans and Carthaginians; but the application is different here, the reference being to the contrasts which Europe and Africa present in their temperature, the colour of their inhabitants, and their religion, their populations being Christian and Mahometan respectively. **contra il sole,** &c.: 'it extends so far from W. to E., that it has the sun on the meridian at the place (**Là**) which at its starting-point (**pria**) it regards as its horizon' (i. e. its astronomical horizon). The starting-point from which the Mediterranean '**sen va**' is Gades or the Straits, and the place intimated by **Là** is Jerusalem at its eastern extremity; at the latter it would be midday, when it was sunrise at the former. The distance corresponding to this interval of time, or six hours, would be 90°, or $\frac{1}{4}$ of 360°, the entire circumference of the globe; and this according to Dante's computation was the distance between Gades and Jerusalem, for he regarded the habitable earth as extending from E. to W. over half the circuit of the globe, or 180°, and of this Gades and the mouth of the Ganges were the extreme limits, and Jerusalem was midway between them, or 90° from both. The word **pria** must not be taken as referring to time, but as marking the starting-point in the survey, which is supposed

to be instantaneous; for, in order to give any measurement from the position of the sun, the points where it is sunrise and midday must be regarded at the same moment. To put the same thing in another form:—If one could be suddenly transported from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, the sun which was on the horizon at the one point would be on the meridian at the other: so that, if the sun were rising at Gades, it would be noon at Jerusalem, at the other end of the same inland sea.

88–90. **Iittorano**: 'born on the shores of,' at Marseilles. **Tra Ebro**, &c.: the longitude of Marseilles is just equidistant from that of the mouth of the Ebro and that of the mouth of the Macra. The latter of these streams, though it has a short course (**cammin corto**), was of some importance in Dante's time, because it was the political boundary of the two peoples whom he names.

91, 92. **Ad un**, &c.: Buggea is mentioned by Brunetto Latini, *Tesoro*, Bk. iii. Ch. 4., in his description of N. Africa as one of the towns there; Bougie, as it is now called, is situated on the coast east of Algiers. By saying that sunset and sunrise nearly correspond there and at Marseilles, Dante means, that the two places were almost on the same meridian of longitude. It is true that they are so, but it is surprising at first sight that the Poet should have been aware of it. This difficulty however disappears, when we remember that an extensive commerce existed at that time between Buggea and Marseilles (Reclus, *Géogr. Univers.* vol. xi. p. 440), and that the compass was already employed for purposes of navigation in European seas (see note on Par. xii. 29). Under these circumstances the fact might have been then ascertained, and might have come to Dante's knowledge.

93. **Che fe'**, &c.: the reference is to the defeat of the adherents of Pompey, aided by the people of Massilia, off that city in 49 B.C. by D. Brutus, who commanded Caesar's fleet. The carnage on that occasion is referred to in exaggerated terms by Lucan, *Phars.* iii. 572, 573, 'cruor altus in undis Spumat, et obducto concrescunt sanguine fluctus.'

96. **Di me**, &c.: 'is influenced (lit. stamped) by me, as I was by it.' The influences of Venus affected him on earth, and he now contributes to the brightness of the planet.

97–9. **la figlia**, &c.: Dido, in her passion for Aeneas. **Noiando**, &c.: 'offending thereby both Sichaeus, Dido's former

husband, and Creusa, Aeneas' former wife.' **infin che,** &c.: 'so long as it beseemed my hair,' i. e. before my hair grew grey.

100–2. **Rodopeia:** Phyllis, who lived in Thrace near Mt. Rhodope; she killed herself, after having been deserted by her lover Demophoon: Ov. *Heroid.* ii. 1, 2, 'Hospita, Demophoon, tua te, Rhodopeia Phyllis, Ultra promissum tempus abesse queror.' **Alcide:** Hercules, who plied the distaff for love of Iole. **richiusa:** 'enfolded.'

103–5. **Non però,** &c.: the consciousness of committed sin, and with it the feeling of repentance, had been removed by the water of Lethe in the Earthly Paradise; what is felt by the souls in Heaven is admiration of the scheme of Providence, which had ordained the influences that had affected their lives and had brought them safe to the goal. **valore:** the Power.

106–8. **Qui si rimira,** &c.: 'here (in Heaven), in contemplating the skill by which our souls are perfected (**nell' arte che adorna**), we consider the greatness of the result (**si rimira Cotanto effetto**), and we recognize the highest Good, for the sake of which (i. e. in order to obtain which) the world below returns to that above.' Folco, instead of lamenting the influence of the planet Venus, glorifies it, as being in God's providence a means of bringing men to Him at last. For **Cotanto effetto** others read *Con tanto affetto*, and translate thus—'In Heaven we contemplate profoundly (**si rimira in**) the skill which beautifies the world with so great love.' Also, for **al mondo** some read *il mondo*, and translate—'and we are conscious of the benevolent power (the stellar influences) by means of which the world above guides that below.' It is in favour of this reading as against **al mondo**, that with the latter **torna** is used in the same sense as the rhyming word *torna* in l. 104, which is contrary to Dante's practice, whereas *il mondo* is not open to this objection.

110. **che son nate:** 'the wishes which have arisen in your heart'; this is explained in l. 112.

115–7. **si tranquilla:** 'enjoys perfect peace.' **Raab:** for the story of Rahab see Josh. ii.; for the high position assigned to her, Heb. xi. 31. **congiunta:** 'and being associated with our order (the grade or rank of the spirits in Venus) she contributes in the highest degree to its glory (lit. it receives an impress from her)'; cp. 'Di me s' imprenta' in l. 96. The inversion of syntax which

this involves is awkward. *Di lui* is also read, with the meaning 'she has its seal set upon her'; but *lui* is *facilior lectio*.

118–20. **s' appunta**: the apex of the shadow of the earth was believed to be in the sphere of Venus. Dante's statement to this effect is based on what Alfraganus says in his chapter on the eclipse of the moon, *Element. Astronom.*, cap. 28; but it is intended to have also an allegorical significance, viz. that mundane influences, the effects of which were shown in broken vows, ambition, and unchastity, affected the position of the spirits as far as this sphere. **pria che**, &c.: 'she was taken up and received by this Heaven first of all the souls in Christ's triumph.'

121–3. **Ben**, &c.: 'verily it was meet to leave her in one of the spheres of Heaven as a palm (i. e. trophy) of the mighty victory won by Christ's two palms extended on the cross.' In illustration of the description here given of the Crucifixion by the mention of Christ's hands, cp. the similar one in Par. xx. 105 by the mention of His feet, and that in Par. xxxii. 129 by the spear and the nails. In **vittoria** there is a reference to the *trionfo di Cristo* in l. 120.

124–6. **Perchè**, &c.: as Rahab lent effective aid towards the first triumph of the Chosen People in the Holy Land, the capture of Jericho, she fitly represented the crowning triumph of the sacrifice of Christ. **papa**: Boniface VIII, who took no thought for a Crusade with the object of recovering the Holy Land. Of him Dante says in Inf. xxvii. 85–7, 'Avendo guerra presso a Laterano, E non con Saracin, nè con Giudei.'

127–9. Dante here takes the opportunity of inveighing against the covetousness both of the Florentines and of the Papal court. **colui**: the Devil. Florence is spoken of as 'an offspring of the Devil' on account of the avarice and envy that prevailed there. **Che pria**, &c.: 'who first turned his back on (rebelled against) his Maker.' For the use of **pria** cp. Par. iv. 26. **E di cui**, &c.: 'and whose envy is so much lamented'; the envy felt by the Devil at God's supremacy was the cause of the Fall of man and the miseries which resulted from it.

130–2. **fiore**: the golden florin of Florence, on which the emblem of the lily was stamped. **le pecore e gli agni**: 'the flock, both great and small.' **lupo**: 'it has converted the shepherds (the clergy) into wolves.' The wolf is the emblem of avarice; cp. Inf. i. 49.

133–5. **per questo**: for the sake of the golden florin. **Dottor**

magni: the Fathers of the Church. **Decretali**: the Decretals, or books of Ecclesiastical Law. It was through the study of these that money was to be got. **vivagni**: 'edges,' 'margins'; cp. Purg. xxiv. 127; the margins of the Decretals were well annotated.

138. **Là dove**, &c.: 'the place towards which Gabriel directed his flight' at the time of the Annunciation. Nazareth was one of the Holy Places, which should have been recovered by a Crusade.

139–42. **parti elette**: the Holy Places of Rome, sanctified by the deaths of martyrs. **milizia**: the noble army of martyrs, who followed St. Peter's footsteps. **adulterio**: 'prostitution'; the quest of money on the part of God's ministers is regarded as traffic in what is sacred; cp. **adulterate**, Inf. xix. 4. The impending deliverance from this (**libere fien**) has been explained as referring to the death of Boniface VIII, or the transference of the Papal seat to Avignon in 1305, or to the coming of an unknown deliverer, such as is anticipated elsewhere in the *Div. Com.*

CANTO X

ARGUMENT.—Dante and Beatrice ascend to the fourth Heaven, that of the Sun, in which are seen the spirits of the Theologians. Twelve of the most conspicuous of these form a circle round the Poet and his guide, and one of them, St. Thomas Aquinas, points out to Dante and mentions by name one after another of his companions. In their number are Solomon, Boëthius, Isidore, Bede, Peter Lombard, and Albert the Great.

LINES 1–6. Before proceeding to urge the reader, as he does in ll. 7–27, to pursue the study of the movement of the heavenly bodies as an evidence of the wisdom and love of God, Dante here dwells on the delight of contemplating the system of the universe, which was ordained by the operation of the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. All these introductory remarks (ll. 1–27) are suggested by Dante's ascent to the Heaven of the Sun, and his entering it at the season of the equinox, at which time the Vision took place (ll. 28–36).

1–3. **l' amore**, &c.: by 'the Love which eternally proceeds from the Father and the Son' is meant the Holy Spirit, who is called 'il primo amore' in Inf. iii. 6. For this, and for the co-operation of all

three Persons of the Trinity in the work of creation, cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, i. Q. 45. Art. 6, 'Creare non est proprium alicui personae, sed commune toti Trinitati. . . . Deus Pater operatus est creaturam per suum Verbum, quod est filius, et per suum amorem, qui est Spiritus sanctus.' **Lo primo**, &c.: God the Father.

4–6. **per mente o per loco**: whether in the spiritual or the material world. **gustar di lui**: 'participation in the enjoyment of Him.'

7–9. **alte rote**: 'the spheres on high.' **a quella parte**, &c.: 'to that point in the sky where the equator and the ecliptic intersect one another.' This intersection takes place at the equinox, at or just after which the sun is now supposed to be. The term **moto** is applied to the equator and the ecliptic, because the motion of the fixed stars from E. to W. corresponds to the former, and that of the planets from W. to E. to the latter.

10–2. **a vagheggiar nell' arte**: 'to contemplate with joy the art.' **dentro a sè l' ama**: 'loves this art as it exists within his mind.' **non parte**: God's love for the universe which He has created causes His providence to watch over it constantly.

13–5. **Da indi**: 'from that point,' viz. the point of intersection, *quella parte* of l. 8. **si dirama**: 'branches off.' **L' obbliquo cerchio**: the zodiac, within which, according to the Ptolemaic system, the planets performed their annual revolutions. **Per satisfar**, &c.: 'to minister to the needs of the world which invokes (i. e. requires) their aid.' The planetary influences are referred to, and also the formative influences which the sun exercises on the face of the earth, as is explained in the following lines.

16–8. **E se la strada**, &c.: 'and if their path (the zodiac) were not inflected (i. e. oblique), much influence in Heaven would be fruitless, and almost every agency on earth below would fail.' It is the obliquity of the zodiac which causes the changes of the seasons; without it the sun could not produce the effect for which it was designed, and such agencies as those which originate life and growth in plants and animals, movement in winds and streams, changes of temperature, and the like, would no longer exist.

19–21. **E se dal dritto**, &c.: 'and if the zodiac deviated more or less from (i. e. formed a greater or a smaller angle with) the equator (**il dritto**, lit. the right line, as opposed to the oblique), much would be imperfect in the order of the world, both in the southern and the northern hemisphere.' If the sun's path through

the heavens were other than what it now is, heat and cold, and similar factors, would be differently, and less beneficially distributed than they are at present. For the use of **giù e su** cp. Purg. iv. 63.

22–4. **Or ti riman,** &c.: 'now keep your seat at the feast of reason, and reflect on the subject of which I have given you a foretaste, if you desire to have your fill of enjoyment before your mind is weary.'

26, 27. **a sè torce,** &c.: i. e. 'I can pursue this subject no farther; I must devote myself to that which I have undertaken.'

28, 29. **Lo ministro,** &c.: the sun. **Che del valor,** &c.: 'which stamps on the world the impress of the influence which it (the sun) has received from on high.'

31–3. **Con quella,** &c.: 'being in contact with the point above mentioned (in l. 8),' viz. the point of intersection of the ecliptic and the equator; in other words—the sun being in Aries. **si girava,** &c.: 'was revolving in the spirals, in which day by day he shows his face earlier'; i. e. it was the vernal equinox, when the days were lengthening. The spiral upward motion of the sun according to the Ptolemaic system is mentioned by Dante in still more definite terms in *Conv.* iii. 5. ll. 148–50, where he speaks of the sun rising higher and higher day by day 'like the screw of a press' ('a guisa d' una vite d' un torchio').

34–6. **del salire:** Dante now ascends to the fourth Heaven, that of the Sun. **se non,** &c.: 'any more than a man is conscious of a first thought before it comes'; the meaning is that the process was instantaneous. For **se non come** cp. l. 90.

37–40. **O Beatrice,** &c.: 'O Beatrice—she who is seen (**si scorge**) to pass from good to better (i. e. to increase in brilliancy) so suddenly, that her change of appearance (**l' atto suo**) does not reveal itself in time—how bright must she have been in herself (i. e. when wholly revealed).' In l. 37 both *È* and *E* are read in place of **O**, but the MS. authority for **O** is much greater.

41, 42. **Quel ch' era,** &c.: i. e. the spirits which were seen within the sun. **Non per,** &c.: 'distinguishable, not by difference of colour, but by additional brilliancy.'

43–5. **Perch' io,** &c.: 'however much I may call to my aid genius, art, and practice.' **Sì,** &c.: 'true, I would not say'; *sì* in this use has a concessive force. **di veder,** &c.: 'let a man desire to see it.'

48. **sopra,** &c.: 'never could eye conceive a light superior to that of the sun.'

49–51. **la quarta famiglia:** the band of spirits in the fourth Heaven; these are the Theologians. **che sempre,** &c.: 'who evermore contents them by revealing to them His relation to the Spirit and the Son.' God causes the Theologians to rejoice especially in the manifestation of the relation of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, as being the profoundest Christian mystery.

53, 54. **a questo Sensibil:** understand *sole*; 'to this sun which is perceived by sense,' as contrasted with the **Sol degli Angeli.**

55–7. **digesto:** 'disposed.' **tutto il suo gradir:** 'full satisfaction of heart.'

59, 60. **in lui si mise:** 'was fixed on God.' **eclissò,** &c.: 'was eclipsed in oblivion,' passed out of my mind; for *eclissare* neut. cp. Par. xxv. 119.

63. **Mia mente,** &c.: 'caused my mind, which was occupied with one thing, to contemplate many things.' From an attitude of concentration on one object (the thought of God) Dante's mind was diverted and disposed towards the observation of many (the spirits which now presented themselves).

64, 65. **vincenti:** 'overpowering' to the sight. **corona:** 'circumference of the circle.'

67–9. **cinger:** neut. 'girdled.' The halo round the moon is referred to, the luminous circle of spirits being compared to it; cp. Par. xxviii. 22–4. **la figlia di Latona:** Diana or the Moon; for the other names of the moon in the *Div. Com.* see note on Inf. x. 80. **quando,** &c.: 'when the air is so charged with vapour, that it retains the thread which forms her zone.' The thread is the light of the moon, which, being retained by the vaporous atmosphere, forms the halo. This is called a thread, because it is the material out of which the zone is woven.

70–3. **rivegno:** 'I have returned,' lit. 'I *am* one who has returned.' **trar del regno:** 'be transported from their rightful seat'; this music is one of those things which cannot be described so as to be intelligible on earth.

74, 75. **Chi non,** &c.: 'the man who does not take to himself wings to fly to Heaven, must expect to learn no more of what passes there than if he were questioning the dumb'; in other words—'without going to Heaven oneself one cannot learn aught of it.'

76–8. **Poi**: for *Poichè*. **vicine**, &c.: the stars in the neighbourhood of the poles seem to revolve round the poles. The epithet 'steadfast' (**fermi**) is added, because Dante and Beatrice, round whom these spirits moved, were still.

79–81. **non da ballo**, &c.: 'who have not ceased from the dance, but pause in silence, listening till they catch the recommencement of the music.' In the *ballata* of Dante's time there were pauses both in the singing and the dancing between the stanzas (see Casini's note). The spirits now suspend their dancing that they may accost Dante.

82. **Quando**: 'since.' The speaker is St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–74); he was the greatest theologian of the middle ages, and bore the name of *Doctor Angelicus*.

85–7. **Multiplicato**: take with **cresce amando**, 'through loving makes manifold increase.' **senza risalir**: 'without mounting thither again'; this implies Dante's ultimate salvation.

88–90. **il vin**, &c.: 'the wine from his vial,' i. e. an answer to your questions. **in libertà**, &c.: i. e. must be the victim of constraint, contrary to his natural impulse, as when water is prevented from running downwards. **Se non come** means 'any more than'; cp. Par. i. 137; xxxii. 54.

91–3. **di quai**, &c.: 'of what plants this garland is composed, which contemplates with joy (cp. l. 10) on every side the fair lady who empowers thee to mount to Heaven.' Beatrice, who represents theology, is naturally a subject of joyful contemplation to the theologians.

94–6. **Io fui**, &c.: St. Thomas belonged to the Dominican Order. **U' ben**, &c.: 'where one thrives (lit. fattens, i. e. makes progress in virtue) well, if he does not give himself up to vanity.'

98. **Alberto**: Albertus Magnus (1193–1280), surnamed *Doctor Universalis* on account of his extensive learning; he taught at Cologne, where Aquinas was one of his pupils.

101, 102. **Diretro**, &c.: 'following my words (as I name them) pass your eyes round over the blessed garland.' **su per** here, as often elsewhere, simply means motion over, without any sense of 'upwards.'

104. **Grazian**: Gratian, the canonist of Cent. xii., who in his *Decretum* brought into agreement the secular and the ecclesiastical law. These are the two courts here mentioned (**l' uno e l' altro foro**).

107, 108. **Pietro**: Peter Lombard (middle of Cent. xii.), the 'Master of the Sentences,' so called from his *Sententiarum Libri*, an elaborate system of dogmatic theology. He says in the Preface to that work, that he desired, like the poor widow in the Gospel (**la poverella**) to contribute his mite to the Lord's treasury.

109–11. **La quinta**: Solomon, the question of whose ultimate salvation was much discussed during the middle ages. Hence the craving for information about him which is here mentioned. **tale amor**: the reference is to Solomon's Song.

113, 114. **se il vero**, &c.: 'if the Truth be true'; i. e. as we know on the authority of God's word: cp. 1 Kings iii. 12, 'I have given thee a wise and understanding heart; so that there was none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall any arise like unto thee.' **A veder tanto**, &c.: 'in power of sight (grasp of thought) his equal has not arisen.'

115–7. **quel cero**: the 'taper' is Dionysius the Areopagite, the convert of St. Paul at Athens, Acts xvii. 34. He was erroneously supposed to be the author of the *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, a work which exercised a wide influence on the systematic beliefs of the middle ages, and in particular on the scheme of the Paradiso; see note on Par. xxviii. 130. **più addentro vide**: 'possessed a profound insight into.'

119–20. **Quell' avvocato**: Orosius, whose historical compendium, entitled *Historiae adversus Paganos*, was written in Cent. v., at the suggestion of St. Augustine, as an answer to those who asserted that Christianity had done more harm than good to the world. St. Augustine made use of it in writing his *De Civitate Dei*, and it is frequently employed by Dante for his historical references. **tempi cristiani**: 'the Christian ages.' Orosius repeatedly uses the phrase *tempora Christiana* in this sense. **Del cui**, &c.: 'of whose studied work Augustine availed himself.' **latino** here signifies 'careful composition,' just as it is used in Par. xii. 144 for 'a studied address,' and in Par. xvii. 35 for 'style.'

121–3. **trani**: for *traini*, 'trail,' 'pass on': *trainare* is Fr. *traîner*, and they are der. from Lat. *trahere*; cp. Diez, *Wört.*, p. 324. **con sete rimani**: the meaning is:—'you have now reached in your inquiry the eighth figure.'

124–6. **Per vedere**, &c.: 'within it doth rejoice in the sight of the Highest Good that saintly soul, who demonstrates the vanity of

the world to those who listen aright to him.' This is Boëthius, the author of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which was a favourite book with Dante. He lived in the latter part of Cent. v. and the beginning of Cent. vi. A.D., and held the office of consul at Rome, but fell under the displeasure of Theodoric, and was imprisoned at Pavia, and finally put to death by torture. By 'those who listen aright to him' are meant those who learn the lesson contained in his book.

128. **Cieldauro**: the church of San Pietro in Cieldauro in Pavia, which now is partly ruined. Philalethes describes the tomb as existing in his time—'a marble urn supported on four columns.'

131, 132. **Isidoro**: Isidore, bishop of Seville at the commencement of Cent. vii., a man of extraordinary learning for his age. His *Origines* are one of Dante's authorities on geography and scientific subjects. **Beda**: the Venerable Bede, the ecclesiastical historian of Britain, who lived at the end of Cent. vii. and beginning of Cent. viii. **Riccardo**: Richard of St. Victor; he and his master Hugo of St. Victor (for whom see Par. xii. 133), were mystical theologians of the early part of Cent. xii., and lived in the monastery of St. Victor near Paris. Dante in his letter to Can Grande (*Ep.* x. 28. ll. 552–4), when justifying himself for dealing with transcendental subjects in the Paradiso, appeals to Richard's work *De Contemplatione*. **a considerar**: 'in contemplation.'

133–5. **onde**, &c.: 'from whom your eyes come back to me.' The meaning is:—'after whom I shall be the next object that meets your eyes, now that you have made the round of the circle of spirits.' Sigier was next to Aquinas on his left hand. **uno spirto, che**, &c.: **che** here stands for *tal che*, 'such that,' as in Par. xxiii. 47; 'a spirit so lofty, that in his grave meditations death seemed to him to come all too slowly,' lit. 'it seemed to him a long delay (**tardo**) to come to die' (or, 'it seemed to him that he came slowly to death'). For the expression **venir a morir** cp. Inf. xxvi. 84, 'a morir gissi.'

136–8. **Sigieri**: philosopher and theologian of Cent. xiii. **leggendo**, &c.: 'when lecturing in the Street of Straw.' This is the *Rue du Fouarre* at Paris, which was the centre of the famous University. **Sillogizzò**, &c.: 'drew true conclusions which brought odium upon him.' He was prosecuted for heretical teaching, and met his death at the hand of a mad clerk at Orvieto between 1277 and 1284.

139–41. **Indi,** &c.: in what follows the rhythmical movement of the dancing spirits is compared to the working of the striking apparatus of a clock which served to call the brethren in a monastery to prayers; and their harmonious singing is compared to the sound of the notes. 'Then, even as a clock, which summons us at the hour when the bride of God (the Church) arises to serenade her bridegroom that she may win his love,' lit. 'in order that he may love her.' The word **mattinar** bears the two meanings of 'to say matins' and 'to serenade a person at daybreak.'

142. **Che,** &c.: 'in which one part pulls and impels the other.' The words **tira** and **urge** express two different movements, and—as far as our imperfect knowledge of the striking clocks of Dante's time allows us to speak on the subject—they mean, that the mechanism first pulls back the hammer (**tira**), and then impels it (**urge**) against the bell. Or, possibly, **tira** refers to the action of the weight or spring in moving the wheel, and **urge** to that of the wheel in starting the hammer. The point of the comparison is the regularity of the movement and the interdependence of the parts—not the circulation of wheels or any such detail.

146–8. **in tempra:** 'in harmony'; cp. Par. xiv. 118. **dove,** &c.: 'where joy becomes eternal.'

CANTO XI

Argument.—St. Thomas discourses in rapturous language on the life of St. Francis of Assisi, and on the foundation of the Franciscan Order.

Lines 1–12. The revelation of the joys and the glory of the life of spirits in Heaven which has just been presented to Dante, causes him to turn his thoughts downwards to earth, and to reflect on the paltriness of men's occupations there.

2, 3. **Quanto,** &c.: 'how weak are the reasons (lit. arguments) which make thee wing thy course downwards,' i. e. 'pursue low aims.' For **sillogismi** cp. *sillogizzò* in Par. x. 138.

4, 5. **aforismi:** the study of Medicine is meant, the 'Aphorisms' (medical precepts) of Hippocrates being taken to represent it. In this and the following line the three learned professions of Law,

Medicine, and the Church are described. The Ministry of the Church (**sacerdozio**) is here regarded, like the other professions, as a means of worldly advancement.

6–9. **E chi regnar,** &c.: the construction of the remainder of the sentence is not clear. It is possible, with Scartazzini, to make **regnar** and **rubare** depend on **S' affaticava,** but then there is no government for **civil negozio;** and, moreover, **Chi** in l. 8, not being introduced by a conjunction, appears to be the commencement of a separate statement. It seems preferable to understand *sen giva a* (supplied from what precedes) with the three clauses in ll. 6, 7 (**E chi sen giva a regnare,** &c.), and to start afresh in l. 8. **sofismi:** 'false claims,' as a Pretender. **nel diletto,** &c.: 'was wearying himself by being absorbed in the pleasures of the flesh.'

15. **come,** &c.: the point of the comparison is, that a candle in a candlestick, unlike a swinging lamp or a taper carried in a procession, is fixed.

16. **senti':** the suppression of the predicate after this verb, notwithstanding that **sorridendo** and **facendosi** refer to it, aptly suggests that the spirit concealed within its own light was invisible.

19–21. **suo raggio:** that of the **luce eterna,** God. 'My own brightness is derived from the face of God; and, in like manner, when I look into His face, I read there the origin of what is passing in your mind,' lit. 'your thoughts, whence you derive (cause) them.' For the statement that the Blessed in Heaven read the thoughts of others in the mind of God, cp. Par. viii. 85–9; xv. 61–3.

22–6. **hai voler,** &c.: 'you desire that my words, where I said above **U' ben s' impingua,** &c., should be sifted anew in language so clear and so explicit, that they may be brought down to the level of your perception.' **U' ben,** &c.: Par. x. 96. **Non nacque,** &c.: Par. x. 114. **nacque** here has a great preponderance of MS. authority over *surse*, which is often read. The latter was probably introduced because it is the actual word used in x. 114.

27. **che ben,** &c.: 'that we should make the points under discussion quite clear.' St. Thomas now addresses himself to Dante's first difficulty, which relates to the two great Orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The other difficulty, which relates to the wisdom of Solomon, he recurs to in Par. xiii. 31 foll.

31–4. **Perocchè**, &c.: 'in order that the spouse of Him who to the sound of a loud cry espoused her with His precious blood (the Church), might follow the path which leads to her Beloved One (might make progress in the Christian life), confident in herself, and withal more faithful to Him.' **ad alte grida**: 'uttering loud cries,' Matt. xxvii. 46, 50.

35, 36. **Due Principi**: St. Francis and St. Domenic. Observe how, to exclude the idea of rivalry between the founders of the two Monastic Orders, and between their followers, St. Thomas, a Dominican, here sings the praises of St. Francis, while in Canto XII St. Bonaventura, a Franciscan, celebrates St. Domenic. **quinci e quindi**: 'on either side'; **quinci**, meaning the latter, refers to *a lui più fida*, love being the bond of conjugal faithfulness; **quindi**, meaning the former, to *In sè sicura*, orthodoxy being the guarantee of the Church's safety: the applicability of this to the **Due Principi** is explained in the next three lines.

37–9. **L' un**, &c.: St. Francis was distinguished by the intensity of his love and devotion both to God and to his fellow men, while St. Domenic (**L' altro**) was conspicuous as a champion of orthodoxy in doctrine. The Seraphim were regarded as embodying love, the Cherubim knowledge; hence the application of the epithets **serafico** and **cherubico** to these two saints.

40 foll. St. Francis (1182–1226), who is here spoken of, was the son of Pietro Bernardone, a wool merchant of Assisi. At 24 years of age he devoted himself to a religious life, and took upon him vows of poverty, which also he established as the rule of the Order which he founded. This Order received the sanction, first of Innocent III, and afterwards of Honorius III. In 1219 he went to Egypt with the object of converting the Sultan of that country, but his preaching was unsuccessful. Towards the end of his life he retired to the monastery of Alvernia in the Apennines, where he is said to have received the 'stigmata' or marks of our Lord's crucifixion in his hands and feet and side.

43–5. **Intra**, &c.: Assisi, which is here described, is situated on the lower slopes of the Monte Subasio (**alto monte**), an outlier of the Apennines, with the river Tupino flowing on its southern side, and the Chiascio on the western. These join their waters at some distance below the town, and then flow into the Tiber. The Chiascio rises near Gubbio, of which place St. Ubaldo was

bishop, and where he had his hermitage; it is rather this latter point which is referred to in **eletto del beato Ubaldo.**

46. **Perugia:** this city is situated on high ground fourteen miles to the westward of Assisi, and separated from it by the valley of the Tiber. It can with truth be said to get its cold—especially on its eastern side, on which the gate of Perugia called the **porta Sole** stands—from the Monte Subasio, because the cold winds blow off the Apennines from that quarter. What is meant by its getting its heat from thence, it is not so easy to say, for the distance is too great for Perugia to be affected by the reflexion of heat from those mountains (though possibly Dante thought that this was the case). Perhaps it means that the sun rises in that quarter.

47, 48. **diretro,** &c.: the towns of Nocera and Gualdo lie on the opposite side of the Monte Subasio to Assisi. They are said to 'groan under a heavy yoke' because they were oppressed by the people of Perugia.

50, 51. **un sole:** St. Francis. **Come fa,** &c.: 'as the sun in which we are (**questo**) rises at times from the Ganges,' i. e. from the east, the mouth of the Ganges being to Dante the limit of the habitable world in that direction; cp. Purg. ii. 4, 5. **Tal volta** ('at times') means in the summer season, and thus enhances St. Francis' meed of praise, since it implies that it is only when the sun is brightest that it can be compared to him. For the use of **tal volta** here cp. Par. xii. 51.

52–4. **Però,** &c.: 'wherefore let him who speaks of that place not call it Ascesi ("I rose"), which would give an inadequate meaning, but Oriente ("the East"), if he would give it a suitable name.' Ascesi was in Dante's time the popular name of Assisi; playing on this, St. Thomas says that 'I rose' insufficiently expressed its dignity, and that 'the East' should be substituted for it, since it was the place where a Sun (*un sole*, l. 50, i. e. St. Francis) had risen.

55–7. **Non era,** &c.: 'this Sun was not far distant from his rising,' i. e. St. Francis was not far advanced in years. He was 24 years old, when he was seized with the desire of renouncing the world. **Ch' ei,** &c.: 'when he began to cause the earth to feel some comfort from his mighty influence'; **terra** is here used instead of *mondo*, because the metaphor of the sun is still maintained.

58–60. **Chè**, &c.: 'since while yet a youth he incurred his father's wrath for a lady's sake, to whom, even as to death, no one doth unlock the gate of pleasure.' The lady is Poverty (see l. 74), who, like death, is an unwelcome guest where pleasure dwells. The biographers of St. Francis dwell on his father's strong opposition to his desire of embracing a life of poverty.

61, 62. **Ed innanzi**, &c.: St. Francis renounced all right to his inheritance in the presence of his father and of the Bishop of Assisi, even giving up his clothes, and putting on those of an artisan which the Bishop gave him; see Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, iv. pp. 172, 173. **sua spiritual corte**: the court of the bishop of his native city. **Et coram patre**: the words are in Lat. as being a legal form, the marriage between St. Francis and Poverty being regarded as a formal contract. **unito**: 'joined in marriage'; this is represented in a fresco by Giotto in the church at Assisi.

64–6. **primo marito**: Christ, who lived a life of poverty. **mille cent' anni e più**: this represents the interval between the death of Christ and the vow of St. Francis. The date of the latter was 1207, and consequently more than 1100 years after the death of Christ. The round number is used, as in Par. vi. 4 and 38, because exact dates are inadmissible in poetry. **senza invito**: 'without courtship,' 'without a suitor.'

67–9. **Nè valse**, &c.: 'nor did it avail aught (in her behalf) that men heard (lit. for men to hear) how that Caesar, who inspired the whole world with terror, found her, in company with the fisherman Amyclas, unmoved at the sound of his voice.' In describing two typical instances of the moral grandeur of poverty, which nevertheless the world had ignored, Dante follows the method which he has observed elsewhere, of taking one instance from the classics, the other from Scripture. The story of the poor fisherman Amyclas, whom Caesar visited by night in order that he (Amyclas) might convey him across the Adriatic, is given by Lucan, v. 504 foll. The moral of this, relating to the independence and confidence of poverty, which Lucan draws, is as follows:—'O vitae tuta facultas Pauperis angustique lares! O munera nondum Intellecta deûm! Quibus hoc contingere templis Aut potuit muris, nullo trepidare tumultu, Caesarea pulsante manu? (ll. 527–31).' These lines are translated by Dante in *Conv.* iv. 13. ll. 110–21.

70–2. **Nè valse esser**, &c.: 'nor did it avail her (Poverty)

that she was enduring and courageous—so much so, that where Mary remained at the foot of the cross, Poverty was elevated on the cross itself with Christ.' Thus Poverty was more closely associated with Christ in His dying hour even than His Mother. Christ hanging naked and destitute on the cross is the instance taken from Scripture of the moral grandeur of poverty. **feroce:** the word is here used in the proper classical meaning of Lat. *ferox*, viz. 'high-spirited,' 'courageous.' **salse:** others read *pianse*.

73–5. **troppo chiuso:** 'in too obscure terms.' **parlar diffuso:** 'prolonged discourse.'

76–8. **La lor,** &c.: 'their unanimity and the gladness of their looks (i. e. the perfect resignation and cheerfulness with which St. Francis led a life of poverty) brought it to pass that the love and admiration and sympathy (which they excited in men's minds) produced thoughts of saintliness;—to such a degree that (**Tanto che**),' &c. The sight of St. Francis' self-sacrifice caused others to follow his example.

79–81. **Bernardo:** Bernard of Quintavalle, a wealthy man, who was the first follower of St. Francis. **Si scalzò:** 'went barefoot,' according to St. Francis' example, which was adopted by his Order.

82–4. **ferace:** 'productive,' because of the rapid increase of disciples. **Egidio:** another wealthy man, who became St. Francis' third disciple. **Silvestro:** a priest at Assisi. **sì la sposa piace:** 'such are the charms of the bride,' i. e. the attractions of poverty.

85–7. **sen va:** 'goes on his way,' to Rome; this is seen to be the meaning from ll. 91, 92. **legava,** &c.: 'was girding on the humble cord'; it was from this cord that the Franciscans obtained the name of Cordiglieri.

88–93. **Nè gli gravò,** &c.: 'nor was he depressed (lit. forced to cast down his eyes) with shame, either at being the son (**fi'** for *figlio*) of Pietro Bernardone, or at being an object of unutterable contempt.' This must be taken in connexion with ll. 91, 92, where he is spoken of as presenting himself before the Pope. On that occasion he was not shamefaced on account of the meanness of his origin or his contemptible appearance, but 'like a prince declared to Innocent his stern intention' of founding his Order. It is a little difficult to reconcile the statement about the meanness of his origin with the fact that his father was a well-to-do merchant;

but this appears to be the meaning, for St. Bonaventura in his Life of St. Francis says that, when the epithets 'boorish' and 'mercenary' were applied to him, the Saint was wont to reply, that such reproaches were suitably addressed to Pietro Bernardone's son ('Talia enim licet audire filium Petri de Bernardone'). **Innocenzio:** Pope Innocent III, who signified to him in 1214 his approval of the Order. **sigillo,** &c.: 'seal of approval of his monastic rule.'

96. **Meglio,** &c.: 'better in high Heaven' than by unworthy Franciscan friars on earth. That this is the meaning is rendered probable by the following passage in an early life of St. Francis by Prudenzano, which Dante may well have seen:—'Dai Serafini (tanta era stata la virtù del Santo) le Salmodie in onore di lui *meglio e più degnamente sarebbersi cantate nella gloria del cielo*, anzichè da' suoi frati degeneri in coro.' See Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 86, where the authority is the *Studi Danteschi* of da Carbonara.

98, 99. **per Oncrio,** &c.: 'by the eternal Spirit speaking through the mouth of Honorius.' Pope Honorius III approved the Order in 1223. **archimandrita:** this title, which is in use in the Greek Church, originally signified the Head of a monastery (*μάνδρα*, 'sheepfold'); hence it is suitably employed here of the founder of a monastic Order. In *De Mon.* iii. 9. l. 123 Dante applies it to St. Peter.

101, 102. **Soldan:** the Sultan of Egypt in his camp before Damietta; see note on l. 40. **gli altri:** the lives of his apostles and saints.

103–5. **acerba:** 'unripe'; cp. Purg. xi. 117. **per non,** &c.: 'that he might not tarry unavailingly.' **Reddissi:** from *reddire*, arch. form of *riedere*, here used as a reflexive verb. **al frutto,** &c.: 'to the harvest of the Italian crop' (Butler); i. e. to minister to the faithful in Italy.

106–8. **sasso:** the Monte Alvernia in the Casentino, between the upper waters of the Tiber and the Arno, where St. Francis founded his monastery, and where he is said to have received the *stigmata*. These were the **ultimo sigillo,** or 'final seal of approval,' in which expression **ultimo** is used in reference to the *primo sigillo* of l. 93, and the *seconda corona* of l. 97. **portarno:** for *portarono*.

112. **erede:** 'heirs'; see note on Purg. vii. 118.

115–7. **del suo grembo:** 'from her (Poverty's) bosom.' **Ed al,** &c.: 'and for his body desired no other bier' than the bosom

of Poverty, i. e. than the bare ground on which he lay. When he felt his end approaching, he desired that he should be conveyed to his chapel of the Portiuncula (Santa Maria degli Angeli) near Assisi, and should be laid on the ground; and there he died.

118–20. **Pensa**, &c.: St. Thomas now returns to the point from which he originally started, the solution of Dante's difficulty raised by the words 'U' ben s' impingua se non si vaneggia' (l. 25; cp. Par. x. 96), which refer to the original excellence and subsequent corruption of the Dominican Order. Having described the life of St. Francis, he turns to his compeer St. Domenic, and remarks on the degenerate condition of his followers. **a mantener**, &c.: 'to keep the bark of Peter (the Church) safe in the open sea (where storms prevail) by directing it to its proper destination (the kingdom of Heaven).' **segno**: lit. 'a mark for which to steer.'

121–3. **nostro**: St. Thomas being a Dominican. **qual segue**, &c.: 'when a man follows faithfully in his wake, you can be sure that he is freighted with good merchandize.' **carca**: for *carica*.

126. **salti**: 'mountain pastures'; the eagerness of the Dominicans to obtain high offices in the Church is here censured.

128, 129. **esso**: their leader, St. Domenic. **latte**: spiritual nutriment for others.

130–2. **Ben**, &c.: 'true it is that there are some among them.' **le cappe**, &c.: 'it requires little cloth to make their cowls.'

133. **fioche**: 'weak,' 'vague in meaning.'

136, 137. **In parte**: because one of your two difficulties will have been explained. **la pianta**, &c.: 'the tree from which the splinter is broken,' i. e. the fact from which the deduction is made; the fact being the corruption of the Dominican Order, the deduction St. Thomas's remark upon it in Par. x. 96, 'U' ben,' &c. Other interpreters say 'the plant that is chipped away,' i. e. the Dominican Order that is being corrupted.

138, 139. **E vedrai**, &c.: **coreggier** here is taken to mean 'the wearer of a strap or thong (*coreggia*),' a title invented by Dante for the Dominicans, to correspond to *Cordigliero*, the name of the Franciscans. 'And you will see what the Dominican friar means, when he uses the words, "where one thrives well, if he does not give himself up to vanity."' The Dominican friar here is St. Thomas himself, and the meaning is—'you will understand what I as a Dominican friar meant by what I said above (in Par. x. 96).'

Corregger is sometimes read in place of **coreggier**, and it is impossible from the MSS. to decide between them. With regard to this point Dr. Moore writes to me:—'"I" is so often inserted in MSS. between "g" and "e" (e. g. "*scorgier*," "*leggie*," "*reggie*," &c.), and also the double consonant is so habitually neglected, that unless one were dealing with a MS. which was quite unusually careful in its orthography, one could never feel very confident in respect of such evidence.' With this reading the passage is best translated thus:—'you will see the reproof (*il corregger*) implied in the words,' &c.

CANTO XII

ARGUMENT.—The band of spirits which has hitherto appeared to Dante in this Heaven is now joined by another band, who form a second circle round them. One of these, St. Bonaventura, a Franciscan, sings the praises of St. Domenic. After this he enumerates the names of those who form his own company, among whom are found St. Chrysostom, St. Anselm, and Hugo of St. Victor.

LINES 1–3. **l' ultima**, &c.: 'the saintly flame took up the final word to give it utterance.' **mola**: the circle of saints is compared to the millstone in respect of its rotatory motion; perhaps also it indicates that the movement was not vertical but horizontal; cp. *Conv.* iii. 5. l. 176, where the motion of the sun is said to be 'non a modo di mola, ma di rota.'

4–6. **nel suo giro**, &c.: 'had not completely described its circle.' **un' altra**: from l. 96 we learn that the two circles were composed of twenty-four spirits in all. **E moto**, &c.: 'and danced and sang in corresponding measure'; lit. 'took up its movement by the other's movement, and its singing by the other's singing.'

8, 9. **Sirene**: 'sweet singers.' **tube**: 'instruments,' i. e. the spirits who sang. **quel ch' ei refuse**: 'the light which it gives by reflexion'; 'as much as the original ray surpasses in brightness the reflected ray.'

10–2. **Come,** &c.: 'as through a filmy cloud two arcs are described, corresponding in lines and colours.' **per tenera nube** means, that the rainbow is formed by the sunlight passing through a fine cloud dissolving in rain. Note the three similes, one within the other: (1) the two circles of saints are like the double rainbow; (2) the formation of the second rainbow is like that of the echo; (3) the death of the nymph Echo through pining for love is like vapours being dried up by the sun. **sua ancella:** Iris, the rainbow, was the handmaid of Juno.

14, 15. **quella vaga:** 'that wandering sprite.' **Ch' amor,** &c.: Echo wasted away through love of Narcissus until only her bones and her voice remained. The story is given in Ov. *Met.* iii. 356 foll., where her death is thus described—'Attenuant vigiles corpus miserabile curae, Adducitque cutem macies, et in aëra sucus Corporis omnis abit; vox tantum atque ossa supersunt (ll. 396–8).'

16–8. **E fanno,** &c.: 'and (the rainbows) cause mankind to augur . . . that the world will not henceforth be destroyed by a flood'; cp. Gen. ix. 12–5.

21. **estrema:** the outermost. **ultima:** the innermost.

22–4. **tripudio:** 'dance,' Lat. *tripudium*. **Luce,** &c.: this is a pendent clause, though perhaps the words may be in apposition to **tripudio** and **festa** ('consisting of lights,' &c.). Scartazzini removes the comma after **fiammeggiarsi,** and brings the clause under its construction.

25, 26. **Insieme,** &c.: 'paused correspondingly in time and in accord'; at the same moment and unanimously. **al piacer,** &c.: 'in accordance with the volition which moves them.'

28–30. **una:** St. Bonaventura; on him see note on l. 127. **che l' ago,** &c.: 'which caused me in turning towards its position to resemble the magnetic needle turning towards the pole-star.' For the substantival use of **dove** cp. **ogni dove** in Par. iii. 88. The point of comparison is the instantaneousness of the responsive movement. The magnetic needle is shown to have been used before this time to indicate the pole-star by the mention of it in Brunetto Latini's *Tesoro*, Bk. ii. Ch. 49; and other evidence to the same effect has been collected by Humboldt in his *Cosmos*, vol. ii. pp. 629, 630, Otté's trans.

32. **altro duca:** St. Domenic (1170–1221). He was born at Calahorra in Old Castile in Spain, and was noted from an early

period of his life for his self-denial and charity. In his maturer years he was distinguished as a champion of orthodoxy, and he took an active part in combating the doctrines of the Albigenses. The preaching Order of the Dominicans, which he founded, received the formal sanction of Pope Honorius III in 1217.

33. **Per cui,** &c.: 'by reason of whom such praise is accorded to my leader,' St. Francis. Cp. Par. xi. 118–20, where it is seen that the praise of St. Francis was intended to lead up to that of his compeer, St. Domenic.

35. **ad una**: 'together,' i. e. in the same service; cp. Purg. ix. 63.

38, 39. **riarmar**: 'to arm afresh' against the assaults of the Devil; this was effected by Christ's death. Man at his creation wore the armour of innocence; he lost this at the Fall, but was regenerated by Christ's death, and so was provided with fresh armour. **Si movea**: 'was moving'; this refers to the period preceding the establishment of the two Orders. **suspiccioso**: 'without confidence.'

41. **alla milizia,** &c.: 'for his soldiers who were wavering.' For other instances of **in forse** in the sense of 'in doubt' cp. Inf. viii. 110; Purg. xxix. 18.

43–5. **com' è detto**: cp. Par. xi. 31–6. **sua sposa**: the Church. **si raccorse**: from *raccorgersi*, 'bethought them of their errors.'

46. **quella parte**: Spain, the land from which the West wind comes.

49–52. **Non molto,** &c.: 'not far removed from the beating of the waves, behind which, to repose from (lit. because of) his long impetuous course (**la lunga foga**), the sun at times hides him from men, lies Calahorra the fortunate.' By **la lunga foga** is meant the sun's course in summer, when it is longest; **tal volta** ('at times') signifies 'in the summer season'; and by **onde** the Bay of Biscay is intended, because in the summer the sun sets to the W. of N., which is the direction of that bay from the point of view of Italy. This interpretation suits the position of Calahorra (**Calaroga**), which lies near the upper waters of the Ebro, and is 'not far removed from' the Bay of Biscay, whereas it is at a great distance from the Atlantic. For the use of **tal volta** cp. Par. xi. 51. **fortunata**: as being St. Domenic's birthplace.

53, 54. **scudo,** &c.: 'shield,' 'coat of arms.' In one of the quarterings of the arms of Spain the Lion is above the Castle, in another beneath it. These emblems represent the kingdoms of Leon and Castile.

55–7. **l' amoroso drudo: 'the passionate lover.' crudo:** 'harsh,' 'severe,' as being a strong opponent of heretics. It is not certain whether he encouraged the persecution of the Albigenses, but he undoubtedly took part against them.

58–60. **come:** 'as soon as'; cp. Par. xv. 74. 'His spirit, as soon as it was created, was so replete with living power, that while he was in his mother's womb it caused her to be prophetic.' Before the birth of St. Domenic his mother dreamed that she had brought forth a dog, spotted black and white, which bore a lighted torch in its mouth. The figure of the spotted dog was emblematic of the black and white dress of the Dominican Order, and in that connexion was frequently at a later time introduced in art with a play on *Domini canes*, the Dominicans being regarded as the Lord's watchdogs.

61. **le sponsalizie:** 'the espousals' are his baptism, when he plighted himself to the Christian faith.

64–6. **La donna,** &c.: his godmother dreamed that he bore a star on his forehead, which illumined the world. **erede:** his followers; cp. Par. xi. 112.

67–9. **perchè,** &c.: 'that he might be in name what he was in reality.' **costrutto:** 'the form of his name'; similarly in Purg. xxviii. 147 *costrutto* means 'a form of words' or 'sentence'; and in Par. xxiii. 24 *senza costrutto* is 'without putting it into words.' **Quinci,** &c.: the meaning is:—'An inspiration from Heaven (**Quinci**) was communicated to his parents to name him by the possessive adjective (viz. *Dominicus*) derived from the name of the Lord (*Dominus*) who possessed him entirely.'

71. **CRISTO:** observe that here and elsewhere no other word is allowed to rhyme with the name of Christ.

75. **primo consiglio:** 'prime counsel,' i. e. counsel of perfection; Matt. xix. 21, 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor,' &c. For St. Domenic's observance of this rule see note on l. 32.

76–8. **Spesse fiate,** &c.: these are instances of his early renunciation of everything temporal for Christ. He was found by his nurse awake and kneeling on the earth in silent prayer. **Io**

son, &c.: 'I have come into the world for this,' viz. to watch and pray and renounce enjoyments.

79–81. **veramente**: 'rightly named.' **Giovanna**: 'favoured by God,' according to its meaning in Hebrew. In the next line Dante confesses his ignorance of that language. He may have got the interpretation from Isidore, *Orig.* vii. 9; or from the *Magnae Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 277.

83. **Ostiense**: Henry of Susa, Cardinal, and Bishop of Ostia, d. 1271. He wrote a commentary on the Decretals. For the study of these as a worldly pursuit cp. Par. ix. 134, 135. **Taddeo**: Taddeo Alderotti of Bologna, a celebrated physician, d. 1303. In this line and l. 92 the pursuit of preferment or gain in the three learned professions is referred to, as above in Par. xi. 4, 5.

86, 87. **la vigna**: the Church. **imbianca**: 'is bleached,' i. e. fades and withers.

88–90. **alla sedia,** &c.: governed by *Addomandò* (l. 94); 'he requested of the Holy See . . . not opportunities of enriching himself (*Non dispensare*, &c., ll. 91–3), but,' &c. **già fu,** &c.: 'aforetimes was kinder,' i. e. is now less kind than of old. **non per lei,** &c.: this is a comment on the preceding clause; 'not by its own doing, but by his who occupies it, who goes astray': the Pope is meant, and Boniface VIII in particular.

91–3. **dispensare,** &c.: 'the power of giving away (lit. distributing) one-third or one-half (of moneys bequeathed for benevolent purposes),' and keeping back the rest. **la fortuna,** &c.: 'the opening offered by the first vacant benefice'; **prima** probably agrees with *ecclesia* understood. The reference is to the *expectationes*, or nominations to posts not yet vacant, which the Popes of that time used to make. **decimas,** &c.: 'the tithes which rightly belong to God's poor'; the words are in Latin, because that is the language of the Church or of Canon law.

94–6. **contro,** &c.: St. Domenic visited Rome in 1205, and in 1207 commenced preaching against the Albigenses. **lo seme,** &c.: 'the seed from which are sprung the twenty-four plants which encircle thee,' i. e. the Faith, by which the theologians who form two circles round thee were nurtured.

97–9. **volere**: i. e. zeal. **l' offizio apostolico**: 'his apostolic office,' i. e. the authority conferred upon him by Innocent III. **ch' alta,** &c.: 'bursting from an elevated source.' As a 'torrent' is

being spoken of, and its impetus is the point of the comparison, **alta** seems to mean 'elevated' rather than 'deep-seated,' as some explain it. Moreover Aristotle, who on points like this is Dante's usual authority, remarks on the high position of the sources of rivers; *Meteorol.* i. 13. 11, *αἱ κρῆναι αἱ πλεῖσται ὄρεσι καὶ τόποις ὑψηλοῖς γειτνιῶσιν.*

101. **quivi**: in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, which was the chief centre of the Albigenses.

103. **diversi rivi**: the followers of St. Domenic. They were the streams, which proceeded from the torrent, and fertilized the garden of the Church (**l' orto cattolico**).

106–8. **biga**: Lat. for 'two-horsed car'; here used by Dante for 'two-wheeled car.' The Church has already been represented by this emblem in the triumphal procession in Purg. xxix. 107. In the present passage the two wheels are the founders of the two great Orders. **civil briga**: 'civil war,' i. e. the contest with heresy, which was a struggle within the Church itself.

110, 111. **dell' altra**, &c.: of St. Francis, who was lauded by St. Thomas Aquinas in the preceding Canto.

112–4. St. Bonaventura now proceeds to denounce the degeneracy of his own Order, the Franciscans, as in Par. xi. 124 foll. Aquinas had denounced that of the Dominicans. **orbita**: Lat. for 'wheel-track.' **la parte somma**, &c.: 'the topmost part of the circumference of the wheel'; by this expression St. Francis himself is meant. His followers had forsaken his track. **la muffa**, &c.: the metaphor is taken from a cask of wine; 'where once the crust was, there is now the mould.'

117. **quel dinanzi**, &c.: 'his family (the Franciscan Order) sets (**gitta**) the point of the foot (**quel dinanzi**, the forepart) upon the heel (**quel diretro**, the hinder part); i. e. they follow their leader's footsteps in the exactly opposite direction.

118–20. **E tosto**, &c.: 'and soon there will be evidence of the harvest (i. e. result) of this bad husbandry, when the tares complain that they are excluded from the granary,' i. e. when the unprofitable brethren complain that they are excluded from the Church. The reference is to the sect of the Spiritualists, or rigid maintainers of the Franciscan rule, who separated from that Order and from the Church; see note on ll. 124–6. This schism, St. Bonaventura says, was the result of previous corruption in the Order. Another

and simpler interpretation of the passage would make it refer to the Judgement, when the tares shall be burnt and the wheat gathered into the barn (Matt. xiii. 30); but this is hardly admissible, for in that case **tosto** would imply that Dante believed the end of the world to be close at hand.

121–3. **Ben dico,** &c.: the Saint guards against too sweeping a condemnation by saying that there are exceptions. 'Doubtless I would affirm that, should one examine our volume leaf by leaf, he would still find pages where he could read the words "I am as I am wont."' Some members of the Order maintain their profession still unchanged.

124–6. **Ma non,** &c.: 'but such an instance will not be derived from Casale, nor from Acquasparta, the representatives of which places so interpret the rule of the Order (**la scrittura**), that while the latter shirks it, the former makes it more stringent.' In 1289 Matteo d' Acquasparta, general of the Franciscans, relaxed the rule; but, in reaction from this, Ubaldino di Casale insisted on a stricter interpretation, and headed the sect of the Spiritualists.

127–9. **vita:** 'spirit.' **Bonaventura:** he was called the *Doctor Seraphicus*, and was born in 1221 at Bagnoregio (now Bagnorea, near the lake of Bolsena), and became general of the Franciscan Order. His views were Platonist and mystical, and in this respect he formed a strong contrast to Aquinas, who was Aristotelian and logical. Dr. Liddon has suggested, that the fact that the two died within four months of one another may have had much to do with the position assigned to Bonaventura in the Paradiso (*Essays and Addresses*, p. 199). **la sinistra cura:** the desire of temporal advantages; cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, i. 2^{dae}. Q. 102. Art. 4, 'Sapientia pertinet ad dextram, sicut et caetera spiritualia bona; temporale autem nutrimentum ad sinistram, secundum illud Prov. iii. 16, in sinistra illius divitiae et gloria.'

130–2. St. Bonaventura now proceeds to name the spirits who form the outer circle, as St. Thomas had named those of the inner circle. **Illuminato ed Augustin:** two early followers of St. Francis. **scalzi:** 'barefooted friars'; cp. Par. xi. 80. **capestro:** *ibid.* l. 87.

133–5. **Ugo,** &c.: Hugo of St. Victor, a mystic and theologian; see note on Par. x. 131. **Pietro Mangiadore:** Petrus Comestor (Cent. xii.), so called as being a devourer of books. **Pietro Ispano:**

Petrus Hispanus; he became Pope John XXI in 1276. The **libelli** here mentioned are his *Summulae Logicales*. **giù**: in the world below.

136–8. **Natan**: Nathan, who rebuked David; 2 Sam. xii. 7 foll. He is supposed to be introduced here as a companion to St. Chrysostom, because both rebuked kings. Chrysostom opposed the emperor Arcadius. **il metropolitano**: he was Patriarch of Constantinople. By his homilies he deserved a place among the theologians. **Anselmo**: St. Anselm (Cent. xii.); Archbishop of Canterbury; author of the *Cur Deus homo*. **Donato**: Donatus, the grammarian of Cent. iv., and author of the Latin grammar. St. Jerome was one of his pupils. **prim' arte**: Grammar, which was the first in order of the seven sciences of the Trivium and Quadrivium; see *Conv.* ii. 14. ll. 55–7.

139–41. **Rabano**: Rabanus Maurus (Cent. viii. and ix.), theologian, and Bishop of Mainz. **Gioacchino**: the Abbot Joachim of Calabria (Cent. xii.), mystic and theologian. After his death he was credited with numerous visions and prophecies.

142–5. **Ad inveggiar**, &c.: 'to celebrate this mighty champion of the Faith.' St. Domenic, of whom Bonaventura has been speaking, must here be meant, and this determines the meaning of **inveggiar**. From signifying 'to envy' it seems to be used in the favourable sense of 'to hold up to wondering admiration.' **cortesia**: this was shown by St. Thomas, a Dominican, singing the praises of St. Francis. **il discreto latino**: 'his discreet address'; for **latino** see note on Par. x. 120. **mosse**, &c.: the outer circle danced and sang at the conclusion of St. Thomas's address, as described in ll. 5, 6.

CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT.—After the two circles of spirits have sung and danced round Dante and Beatrice, St. Thomas resumes the office of speaker, and solves the difficulty which had arisen in Dante's mind in consequence of his saying that Solomon had no equal in wisdom. In conclusion, he enters a warning against hasty judgements, in respect of theological and philosophical doctrines, and of the characters and future prospects of men.

LINES 1–24. In these lines the Poet compares the appearance of the twenty-four spirits of the Theologians, as they dance around him, to that of twenty-four of the brightest of the fixed stars, if grouped into two concentric circles. The construction of ll. 1–13 is as follows:—*Immagini . . . Quindici stelle . . .* [*e*] *quel carro . . .* [*e*] *la bocca di quel corno . . . aver fatto di sè due segni in cielo.*

1. **cupe**: from Lat. *cupere*; 'desires.'

4–6. **Quindici**: the 24 required stars are made up of 15 taken from various parts of the sky, 7 from the Great Bear, and 2 from the Little Bear. **plage**: from Lat. *plaga*; 'regions' of the sky. **sereno**: here used substantively; 'serenity,' 'clear light'; cp. Purg. xxx. 24. **compage**: Lat. *compages*; 'density'; 'light so clear that it overpowers all density of the atmosphere.'

7–9. **quel Carro**: our 'Charles's Wain.' **a cui**, &c.: 'to which suffices (i. e. which never goes beyond) the vault (lit. bosom) of our (the northern) heaven both by day and night, so that no part of it disappears (beneath the horizon) as its pole (the pole of the car) turns.' The meaning is, that the Great Bear never sets to us.

10–2. **quel corno**, &c.: the Little Bear is here compared to a horn, the mouth of which is formed by the two stars most distant from the pole-star, while the orifice to which the lips are applied is the pole-star itself. **punta dello stelo**: the pole-star is described as 'the point of the axle round which revolves the first circle of the heavens.' The first circle of the heavens is the *Primum Mobile*; and this revolves round the earth's axis, of which the pole-star in the heavens is the extreme point.

13–5. **segni**: 'constellations'; the comparison that follows shows that circles of stars are meant. **la figliuola**, &c.: Ariadne, from whose head at the time of her death Bacchus took the garland which she wore, and placed it among the stars, where it is known as Ariadne's Crown, or Corona Borealis; Ov. *Met.* viii. 174–82.

16–8. **E l' un**, &c.: the meaning is, that the two circles were concentric, and moved in opposite directions to one another. **al prima**: 'towards the front,' while **al poi** is 'towards the rear,' i. e. one forwards, the other backwards.

22–4. **è tanto**, &c.: 'surpasses the range of our experience as far, as the motion of the heaven which exceeds in speed all the others (the *Primum Mobile*) surpasses the movement of the Chiana.'

In other words:—'Our conceptions of speed no more bear comparison to the rapid movement of the circling spirits, than the motion of the sluggish stream of the Chiana does to that of the swiftest of the heavenly spheres.' For the Chiana see note on Inf. xxix. 47.

25–7. **Peana:** the hymn which was sung in honour of Apollo. **Ed in,** &c.: 'and it (the divine nature) joined with the human nature in one person' (the Person of our Lord).

28–30. **sua misura:** 'their measure,' i. e. their appointed duration. **attesersi:** 'gave heed to us.' **Felicitando sè,** &c.: 'joyfully passing (lit. making themselves happy in passing) from one employment to the other,' i. e. from singing and dancing to answering my question.

31–3. **numi:** 'divinities,' i. e. blessed saints. **in cui:** 'by the spirit within which light'; St. Thomas Aquinas is meant, who had related the life of St. Francis (**il poverel di Dio**).

34–6. **Quando,** &c.: 'now that one ear of corn has been threshed; now that the grain from it has been garnered, kind love induces me to thresh the other.' St. Thomas, having fully discussed (threshed out) one of Dante's difficulties—viz. that suggested by the words, 'U' ben s' impingua' (Par. x. 96)—now proceeds to discuss the other—viz. that arising from the statement, that Solomon had had no equal in wisdom (Par. x. 114). It had occurred to Dante's mind that Adam and Christ ought to be preferred before him in that respect.

37–9. **nel petto,** &c.: 'in Adam's breast, whence the rib was taken to form Eve's fair cheek, whose palate (taste) costs all the world so dear,' i. e. whose eating of the apple caused the Fall of man.

40–2. **in quel,** &c.: 'in Christ's breast, which, when transfixed by the spear, made so full satisfaction for all sins, past and future, that it outweighs in the scale the transgressions of all mankind.'

45. **Da quel valor,** &c.: 'by that Power, which created both Adam and Christ's human body.'

48. **Lo ben,** &c.: Solomon; cp. Par. x. 109–14.

50, 51. **vedrai,** &c.: 'you will see that what you think and what I said correspond as exactly in stating the truth as the centre (is the meeting-point of the radii) in a circle.' The meeting of the radii in the centre of a circle is taken as an illustration of exact

correspondence. Dante has here expressed himself—to say the least—very succinctly.

52–87. The general argument is:—What is created directly by God is perfect, whereas that which is created indirectly by Him through intermediate agencies and materials is imperfect; and therefore Dante is right in thinking that Adam, and Christ in His human nature, who belong to the former class, must have been superior in wisdom to all men, and therefore to Solomon.

52–4. **Ciò che,** &c.: 'all things, whether incorruptible or corruptible, emanate like a bright ray from the thought of God, which is generated by His love.'

55–7. **quella viva luce,** &c.: the work of creation is here asserted to be the work of all three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. 'That living light (the Son), which proceeds from its source of light (the Father) in such a manner that it cannot but be in Unity both with Him and with the Love (the Holy Spirit) which forms with them a Trinity.' **s' intrea:** for the compound with *in* cp. *immiarsi*, Par. ix. 81; *inluiarsi*, Par. ix. 73.

58, 59. **Per sua,** &c.: 'out of his good will (i. e. of free grace) focuses his rays, as in a mirror, in nine subsistences,' i. e. the nine Intelligences that preside over the nine Heavens; see Prefatory Note to Canto I. These are called 'subsistences,' because this is the Scholastic term for that which exists by itself, and not in anything else; cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, i. Q. 29, Art. 2, 'Illa enim subsistere dicimus, quae non in alio sed in se existunt.'

61–3. **Quindi,** &c.: 'from these the creative energy (*il raggiar della viva luce*) passes downwards to its last stage of working, descending so far (**Giù tanto divenendo**) through successive phases of action, that at last it only produces imperfect and perishable results.' 'Contingency' is the Scholastic term for that which may be and may not be, and therefore is not incorruptible; cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, i. Q. 86, Art. 3, 'Contingens est quod potest esse et non esse.'

64–6. **E queste,** &c.: 'and by these "perishable results" are meant things generated (animals, plants, &c.), such as the heaven by its rotation produces either with or without seed.' Some plants and animals were believed to grow without seed: for plants cp. Purg. xxviii. 109–17; for animals the bees in Virg. *Georg.* iv. 197–201; see also Ar. *Metaph.* vi. 7. 4.

67–9. **La cera,** &c.: 'both the matter (lit. wax) of which the things generated are formed, and the stellar influences which affect it, are variable, and consequently, when the wax has received the imprint of the divine idea (**il segno Ideale**), it has varying degrees of brilliancy.' In **traluce** the force of the preposition is lost; cp. Par. xxi. 28.

70–2. **Onde,** &c.: 'hence arise the differences in quality between the fruits produced by trees of the same kind (**un medesimo legno Secondo specie**), and between the characters of individual men.' On these effects proceeding from the stellar influences cp. Par. viii. 97–105, 127–35.

73–5. **Se fosse,** &c.: 'if the wax were moulded in perfection, and the stellar influences were in complete activity, the brilliancy derived from the seal would appear in full.'

76–8. **Ma la natura,** &c.: 'but nature ever supplies this brilliancy in diminished measure, thus resembling in (the imperfection of) her work the artist, who, while he possesses experience in his art, has an unsteady hand'; cp. Par. i. 127–9.

79–81. **Però,** &c.: 'yet, if the fervent Love (the Holy Spirit) disposes and seals the clear Vision (the Son) of the primal Power (the Father), in that case the greatest possible perfection is the result'; in other words—'when all the Persons of the Trinity combine to operate immediately, there can be no imperfection.' The terms in which the Trinity is here described correspond to those in ll. 55–7. **Però** expresses the contrast between the perfection here mentioned and the imperfection spoken of in the previous tercet. For **però** = 'yet' cp. Inf. xxii. 143; xxxiii. 19.

82–4. The meaning of the three lines is—'It was by the immediate action of the Blessed Trinity that Adam and Christ's human body were formed.' **la terra**: the earth from which Adam's body was made; 'thus once the "dust of the ground" was made worthy to form a living being in all respects perfect.'

88–111. St. Thomas now explains, that in thus affirming that Adam and Christ were superior to Solomon in respect of wisdom, he does not contradict his previous statement that Solomon had no equal in wisdom, for that was made in reference to his wisdom in discharging the kingly office, and not in respect of knowledge in general.

89. **costui**: Solomon; cp. ll. 46–8.

92, 93. **che il mosse,** &c.: 'which moved him to make his request, when it was said to him, "Ask."' See 1 Kings iii. 5, 'God said, Ask what I shall give thee.'

94–6. **Non ho,** &c.: 'I have not spoken so vaguely that you should fail to see clearly that he was a king, who asked for wisdom in order that he might be a competent king.' Solomon said (v. 9), 'Give thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people,' &c. **posse**: archaic for *possa*.

97–102. In these lines four branches of speculative knowledge are mentioned; viz. (1) speculative theology; (2) dialectic; (3) metaphysic; (4) geometry. Solomon did not desire speculative, but practical wisdom, which is necessary for kings that they may rule aright.

97–9. **enno**: for *sono*, as in Inf. v. 38; cp. *en*, the abbreviated form in Purg. xvi. 121. **Li motor,** &c.: the celestial Intelligences, who move the spheres. Dante himself discusses the question of their number in *Conv.* ii. 6. **se necesse,** &c.: whether from two premisses, one of which is necessary, the other contingent, the conclusion can be necessary. This question is discussed by Aristotle in *Analyt. Pr.* i. 16.

100–2. **si est dare,** &c.: 'whether we must grant that motion had a beginning,' the alternative being to go back *ad infinitum* in seeking for the origin of motion; see Ar. *Phys.* Bk. viii., *ad init.* The words **si est dare,** &c., and *necesse* in the two preceding lines, are borrowed from Scholastic Latin. **O se,** &c.: 'or whether it is possible to inscribe in a semicircle a triangle which should not have a right angle.' This is impossible.

103–5. **Onde,** &c.: 'whence, if you give heed to what I said before (Par. x. 114, 'A veder tanto non surse il secondo') and what I have just said (viz. that Solomon desired practical wisdom), that unrivalled insight (i. e. grasp of thought) to which I desire to refer (lit. on which the shaft of my intention strikes) is kingly prudence (i. e. the prudence which a king requires).' **impari** here means 'that which has no equal,' 'unrivalled,' and thus corresponds to *senza pare* in l. 89. If, however, *e* be read instead of è after **prudenza, impari** must be a verb, and the passage must be rendered, 'You come to understand kingly prudence and that insight to which I desire to refer,' i. e. you learn that they correspond one to the other. The meaning is the same in either case.

106. **Sursa**: here taken in the sense of 'rose above others.' St. Thomas further justifies his original statement, because, he says, this word implies that kings are being spoken of.

109–11. **Con questa**, &c.: 'if you accept my remark about Solomon with this limitation (i. e. that he is spoken of as a king), then it is reconcilable with your view about (the superiority in wisdom of) the first father (Adam) and our Joy (Christ).'

112 foll. In the remainder of the Canto Dante warns his readers through the mouth of St. Thomas against hasty and over-confident judgements. Dr. Liddon remarks in this connexion on the intellectual caution which Aquinas himself displays in his opinions and writings (*Essays*, &c., p. 125).

114. **Ed al sì**, &c.: 'whether in the direction of affirmation or of negation, concerning which you are not clear.'

117. **Nell' un**, &c.: 'as well in the one case as in the other'; as well in affirming as in denying.

118–20. **egl' incontra**, &c.: 'it is the case that an opinion hastily formed commonly inclines to the wrong side, and subsequently personal feeling hampers the judgement.' **corrente** here is used to contrast with *mover lento* in l. 113. The 'personal feeling' is the *amour propre* which makes a man unwilling to renounce an opinion which he has already expressed.

121–3. **Vie più**, &c.: the meaning is:—'The man who speculates without adequate preparation not only gains nothing by loosing his moorings, but suffers from being involved in strange and erroneous opinions.'

125. **Parmenide**: Parmenides, the founder of the Eleatic school of philosophy; Melissus was one of his disciples. Mr. Butler remarks (p. 178) that these two are constantly coupled by Aristotle as examples of bad reasoners. **Brisso**: Bryson attempted to square the circle; Aristotle (*Sophist. Elench.* xi. 3.) condemns his method of proof as sophistical.

127–9. **Sabellio ed Arrio**: Sabellius maintained that the Father himself became man in Christ. Arius denied the divinity of our Lord. **quegli stolti**: i. e. other heretics. **Che furon**, &c.: 'who in their treatment of the Scriptures resembled the blade of a sword, which distorts the natural face' which is reflected in it. **diritti**: lit. 'with the features straight.'

130 foll. From the hasty formation of opinions St. Thomas turns

to hasty and premature judgements of our fellow men in respect of their final acceptance or rejection by God.

131. **stima**: 'estimates,' 'puts a value on.'

134. **Il prun**: 'the brier.' **rigido e feroce**: 'stiff and rude.'

138. **foce**: 'harbour.'

139–41. **donna Berta o ser Martino**: ordinary persons. **Per vedere**, &c.: 'let them not think that, when they see one man steal and another make offerings, they read their lives as God reads them.' **offerere**: for *offrire*; cp. Par. v. 50.

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT.—Solomon explains to Dante certain points relating to man's glorified body after the resurrection. Other spirits now appear, and form a third luminous circle of lights around the other two. Dante and Beatrice then pass upwards to the fifth Heaven, that of Mars, in which are the souls of Warrior Saints and Martyrs; these are arranged in the form of a cross, in token of the Faith for which they died.

LINES 1–3. **Dal centro**, &c.: after St. Thomas is silent Beatrice commences speaking; and as she is with Dante at the centre of the circle of spirits among whom is St. Thomas, the movement of their voices in opposite directions is compared to the waving motion of water in a bowl, which moves outward or inward according as it receives an impulse from within or from without.

4–6. **caso**: for *caduta*; 'of a sudden dropped into my mind.' **vita**: 'spirit.'

7, 8. **Per la**, &c.: 'owing to the resemblance to which his and Beatrice's discourse gave birth.'

10–2. **e nol**, &c.: 'though he tells it not to you.' **nè pensando ancora**: Beatrice perceives the thought, which was forming, but had not yet come to the birth, in Dante's mind. The thought related to the nature of the glorified body after the resurrection, concerning which the questions arose, (1) Would the bodies of the saints be luminous? (2) If so, could their eyes endure so brilliant a light?

13, 14. **onde**, &c.: 'which emanates from your substance,' lit.

'with which your substance blossoms': the 'substance' or 'essence' is the spirit.

18. **ch' al veder,** &c.: 'that the sight of it should not harm you,' lit. 'that it should not harm you at the sight of it.'

19–21. **pinti e tratti:** these words describe how, in moving round in a ring, each dancer impels the one before him, and draws the one that follows him. **Alla fiata:** 'all at once,' 'all together'; Fr. *à la fois*. **vanno a rota:** 'are dancing in a round'; **rota,** like 'round' in Engl., was a kind of dance; Benvenuto says, 'faciunt tripudium, quod appellatur rota more romano.'

25–7. **Qual,** &c.: 'he that laments because death in this world is the condition of living in the world above (lit. because one must die here, in order to, &c.), has not seen there (**quive** for *quivi*, in Heaven) the refreshment of the eternal rain,' i. e. the quickening influence of the love which proceeds from God. Otherwise expressed, the meaning is:—'No one who has been a spectator of the joys of Heaven could lament that death is the condition,' &c.

28. **Quell' uno,** &c.: their song is of the Trinity in Unity. **due** signifies the Father and the Son, from whom the Holy Spirit proceeds; from this point of view they are regarded apart from him.

33. **giusto muno:** 'full recompense'; **muno** is Lat. *munus*.

34–6. **luce più dia:** the spirit of Solomon; cp. Par. x. 109, where it is called 'luce più bella.' This was in the inner ring of spirits (**minor cerchio**), which first appeared to Dante. **fu:** at the Annunciation.

39. **cotal vesta:** the envelopment of light: 'our love will radiate around us such a vesture.'

40–2. **La sua,** &c.: 'the brightness of our garb of light will correspond to the fervour of our love, and that to our power of seeing God, and that power is in proportion to the free grace which is bestowed on each in addition to his natural gifts.' For **seguirà** some read *seguita*. **Quanta** is for *Quanto*, attracted to the gender of **grazia.**

43–5. **Come:** 'when.' **Più grata:** 'more acceptable to God.' **tutta e quanta:** 'complete.'

46–51. **Per che,** &c.: the order of statement which is followed in ll. 40–2 is here inverted. 'Owing to this (viz. to our persons being more acceptable to God) God's gift of free grace (**gratuito lume**), which renders us capable of seeing Him, will be increased;

and consequently our vision of Him must increase, and with it the fervour of love which is kindled by it, and the brightness of our enveloping light which proceeds from that fervour.'

52–4. **Ma sì,** &c.: 'but, just as is the case with (a live) coal which sends forth flame, yet through the intensity of its brightness so far overpowers it, that it maintains its own appearance,' i. e. is clearly visible in the midst of the flame.

56, 57. **in apparenza:** 'in the clearness of its aspect,' lit. 'visibility.' **Che tutto dì,** &c.: 'which (now) the earth doth ever hide.'

59, 60. **saran forti,** &c.: 'will avail for (i. e. will be strong enough to bear) every object that can give us pleasure.' This is the answer to the second question, which is stated in ll. 16–8.

62, 63. **l' uno e l' altro coro:** the two circles of saints. **Amme:** 'Amen.' **disio:** 'desire to regain.'

64–6. **per le mamme,** &c.: for their relations and friends, that they also might win the full measure of heavenly bliss. **Anzi che,** &c.: 'before they (the spirits in this Heaven) became eternal flames.'

67, 68. **di chiarezza pari:** 'equal in brightness to what was already seen.' If any difficulty is found in reconciling this with what Dante says in ll. 76–8 of his eyes being overpowered by this new apparition, which had not been the case with the former ones, **pari** may be explained as 'equally brilliant in all its parts.' **sopra:** 'in addition to.'

71, 72. **Comincian,** &c.: 'new objects begin to appear in the sky, so that the sight seems real, and yet unreal.' The stars peep out, disappearing and reappearing.

73, 74. **Parvemi,** &c.: 'methought I began to see': for this impersonal use of *parere* with the infin. cp. Purg. xv. 85, 'mi parve esser tratto.' **sussistenze:** 'spirits'; see note on Par. xiii. 59. The revelation of numerous other spirits, which form a third ring outside the other two, seems to be intended to show that the 24 saints who have hitherto appeared are only the more conspicuous occupants of this Heaven.

80, 81. **tra quelle,** &c.: 'her appearance must be left undescribed as one of those sights which have passed out of my mind'; cp. Par. i. 9. **seguir:** for *seguirono.*

82–4. **Quindi:** from the sight of Beatrice. **salute:** 'blessedness.'

86, 87. **stella**: the fiery planet, Mars, which Dante and Beatrice now enter. **che l' usato**: 'than its wont,' i. e. than what we on earth are wont to see it to be.

88. **quella favella**, &c.: the language of the heart, not expressed in words, which is common to all mankind.

93. **Esso litare**: 'this offering of mine'; **litare** is Lat. for 'to sacrifice.'

94–6. **Chè con tanto**, &c.: 'for splendours appeared to me so luminous (**con tanto lucore**) and so ruddy within two rays.' The spirits are grouped in two luminous stripes or bands, which are placed transversely to one another, so as to form a cross. **robbi**: from adj. *robbio* (Lat. *rubeus*), 'ruddy.' **O Elios**, &c.: 'O Sun, who dost thus adorn them.' The name of the sun in Greek (Helios), and its fancied derivation from the Hebrew *Elî*, which would justify Dante in using it in addressing God, may have been known to him from the *Magnae Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, where it is said, 'Ab *ely*, quod est deus, dictus est sol *elyos*, quod pro deo olim reputabatur.' See Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 213.

97–9. **Come**, &c.: the points in respect of which the Milky Way is compared to the cross in Mars are, that the stars which compose it form a band of light, and (especially) that they vary in magnitude. **distinta**, &c.: 'variegated by greater and lesser lights.' **che fa**, &c.: 'that it causes men exceedingly wise to doubt.' The doubts here referred to relate to the nature of the Milky Way; cp. *Conv.* ii. 15. ll. 45–7, 'Perchè è da sapere che di quella Galassia li filosofi hanno avuto diverse opinioni'; see also Ar. *Meteorol.* i. 8.

100–2. **Sì costellati**, &c.: 'with lights thus grouped (the greater with the lesser) did those two rays (bands) form in the depths of Mars the venerable sign (the Cross), which quadrants joining in a circle make.' The quadrants are the four equal parts into which the area enclosed by a circle can be divided; and the **giunture** are the meeting-points of these—or, in other words, two diameters of the circle, intersecting one another at right angles. The cross in this case is the Greek cross, the limbs of which are equal.

103–5. **Qui vince**, &c.: 'here my memory overcomes my genius (i. e. I remember what I saw, but it defies my power of description); for that cross beamed forth Christ in such a manner,

that I can find nothing adequate to illustrate it.' **CRISTO**: for the uniform rhyme cp. Par. xii. 71–5.

106–8. **Ma chi**, &c.: 'but the man who takes up his cross and follows Christ will hereafter (in the future life) pardon me for my omission, when he sees Christ shine forth in the brightness of that cross (**in quell' albor**).' In the figure of the cross in Mars Christ crucified is shown forth and reproduced in the lives of Crusaders (i. e. those who bore the badge of the Cross), and of martyrs and others, who in the metaphorical sense conspicuously bore the cross after Him. Dante, being incapable of describing this figure himself, holds out to his readers the hope of seeing Christ crucified thus revealed in it, if they in like manner observe Christ's injunction to take up their cross and follow Him, and thus win eternal life. For **ancor** in the sense of 'hereafter' cp. Purg. viii. 75; Par. xvii. 86. **lasso**: for *lascio*.

109–111. **Di corno**, &c.: 'from one arm of the cross to the other, and from the summit to the base.' **lumi**: the spirits within the cross. **nel congiungersi**, &c.: 'as they met and passed one another'; they then 'sparkled' from mutual love.

112–7. **Così**, &c.: the movement of these spirits within the limbs of the cross is compared to that of motes in a sunbeam seen in a darkened room. 'In like manner here on earth motes of all sizes (lit. the particles of bodies, long and short) are seen to move—level and aslant, swiftly and slowly, changing their appearance—within a ray of light, wherewith at times the shade is streaked, which to ward off the sun men contrive for themselves with cunning art,' i. e. by blinds, shutters, &c. The correspondence between these lines and the description of the same objects which is given in Lucretius, ii. 113 foll.—especially in the words **Le minuzie dei corpi** when compared with ll. 116, 117, 'Multa minuta modis multis per inane videbis Corpora misceri radiorum lumine in ipso'—is too strongly marked to be the result of accident. Since, however, Dante appears to have been otherwise unacquainted with Lucretius' poem, it seems likely that he got this passage at second hand. See Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 295.

118–20. **giga**: 'violin'; Germ. *Geige*. **in tempra**, &c.: 'tuned in harmony with many strings.' **tintinno**: 'tinkling,' i. e. an indefinite melodious sound. **la nota**: 'the tune.'

121–3. **apparinno**: for *apparirono*; cp. *uscinci* for *ci uscinno*

(= *uscirono*) in Inf. xiv. 45. **S' accogliea:** 'there gathered,' the sounds combining. **rapiva:** 'enraptured.'

125, 126. **Risurgi e vinci:** these words are addressed to Christ, whom the warrior spirits in Mars are specially represented as celebrating as a conqueror. They appear to be a fragment of a hymn. **che non,** &c.: 'who, though he hears, does not understand.'

129. **vinci:** 'bonds,' for *vinchi*.

131. **Posponendo,** &c.: 'because I account less even the joy of seeing Beatrice's eyes.'

133–9. **Ma chi,** &c.: 'but he who bethinks him that the quickening seals of every form of beauty (the planetary spheres) work with greater force as they ascend (i. e. cause more delight according as they are higher), and that I had not there (in the Heaven of Mars) turned towards *them* (the eyes of Beatrice, l. 131), may excuse me for that whereof I accuse myself in order to exculpate myself, and may see that I speak the truth, because the holy joy (of Beatrice's eyes) is not ignored (**dischiuso**) in what I say (**qui**), since their beauty is intensified (**si fa più sincero**) as she rises from sphere to sphere.' Dante here justifies himself for having said that the melody which he had just heard delighted him more than anything he had hitherto met with in Paradise, by doing which he had assigned the second place to the joy of seeing Beatrice's eyes. In order to justify himself (**Per escusarmi**), he accuses himself of not having looked at Beatrice's eyes since his arrival in the Heaven of Mars (l. 135); and his excuse for this (**Escusar puommi**) is that he was attracted by the delights of that Heaven, which surpassed those of the previous Heavens, according to the system of Paradise, in which the beauty and joy increase in ascending from sphere to sphere (ll. 133, 134). Consequently, what he had said about the delight of the melody of this Heaven surpassing all previous delights was true, inasmuch as it is reconcilable with the superior attractions of Beatrice's eyes, for their beauty had increased since the Heaven of Mars had been reached, but Dante was not aware of this because he had not seen them (ll. 138, 139); cp. Par. xv. 32, 33. **i vivi suggelli,** &c.: the planetary spheres are called 'the quickening seals of every form of beauty,' because it is by their impress, as exercised by the Intelligences, that the order of Nature is regulated. **dischiuso:** lit. 'excluded'; for this meaning of the word cp. Par. vii. 102.

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT.—Dante's ancestor Cacciaguida, who had been a Crusader, descends from his station in the right limb of the Cross, and welcomes Dante on his arrival in this Heaven. He then contrasts the simplicity and morality of Florentine society during his lifetime with the display and immodesty which now prevailed.

LINES 1–4. The spirits, perceiving that Dante is desirous of expressing a wish, cease from their singing. **Benigna,** &c.: 'a benevolent will (on the part of the spirits) into which the love which inspires righteous feelings resolves itself (lit. is liquefied), in like manner as cupidity resolves itself into an unjust will, caused that sweet harmony to cease.' The desires or feelings are here described as passing into, taking form in, the action of the will. **si liqua** is from Lat. *liquare.*

5, 6. **corde**: the spirits, who combine to produce the harmony, which is expressed by **lira.** **Che la destra,** &c.: 'which are pulled and slackened (i. e. caused to sing and to cease from singing) by the right hand of Heaven,' i. e. by the will of God.

7–12. Dante takes the opportunity of enforcing the duty of invoking the intercession of saints, whose willingness to listen was thus exhibited; and of justifying the eternal punishment of those who for the sake of temporal and transitory pleasures fail to attain to the love which the saints display. **per darmi voglia**: 'to encourage me.' **Ben è**: ''tis right.'

13–5. **seren**: here used for 'the clear sky' in the plur., as it is in Purg. v. 38 and xxix. 53 in the sing. In the former of these passages he explains, what he only implies here (cp. *s' accende,* l. 17), that he regards shooting stars as ignited vapours; see note there. **movendo,** &c.: 'causing the eyes which before were fixed to move,' in following it.

19. **corno**: the limb of the cross.

22–4. **la gemma**: the 'jewel' is the spirit, the 'ribbon' the figure of the cross; the spirit in its movement kept within the outline of the cross. **per la lista radial**: 'along the brilliant stripe.' **Che,** &c.: 'so that it resembled a flame seen through alabaster.' The point of the comparison is, that the star was visible as it passed

along the bright cross, in the same way as a moving light is seen behind transparent alabaster, though the alabaster itself is illuminated by it.

25, 26. **Sì pia,** &c.: 'so affectionately did the shade of Anchises reach out towards Aeneas,' when he met him in the Elysian Fields; cp. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 684–6, 'Isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit, Effusaeque genis lacrimae.' **nostra maggior Musa:** Virgil.

28–30. **O sanguis meus,** &c.: the Latin language is used in these three lines as a sign of dignity in the speaker. At the same time, the expression **sanguis meus** is borrowed from Virg. *Aen.* vi. 836, where Anchises says to Julius Caesar, 'Proiice tela manu, sanguis meus.' The speaker is Cacciaguida, Dante's great-great-grandfather. His existence is attested by documentary evidence; see Toynbee's *Dict.*, p. 107: beyond this nothing more is known of him than what we learn from this and the following Cantos. 'O my offspring! O grace of God shed over thee! to whom, as to thee, has the gate of Heaven ever been twice opened?' 'Twice,' because he would be admitted to Heaven again after death.

33. **quinci e quindi:** both at the increased beauty of Beatrice, and at being addressed by the unknown spirit as being his descendant.

35, 36. **io pensai,** &c.: 'methought with my own eyes I had fathomed the depths both of the grace allotted to me and of my blessedness.' For **Paradiso** in this sense cp. Par. xviii. 21, 'Che non pur ne' miei occhi è Paradiso.'

38. **al suo principio:** 'to his opening words.'

40–2. **Nè per,** &c.: 'nor was it from choice that he concealed his meaning from me.' **Al segno,** &c.: 'rose above the mark of mortal men'; in the spirit he spoke mysteries.

43, 44. **E quando,** &c.: 'and when the impulse (lit. bow) of his burning love was so far moderated (lit. cooled).' The metaphor in **sfocato** is suggested by **ardente.** If *sfogato* is read, the meaning is 'discharged,' 'slackened,' referring to **arco.**

48. **nel:** 'towards,' lit. 'in dealing with.'

49–51. **lontan digiuno:** 'desire of long standing' to see Dante. **lontan,** lit. 'dating from far back.' **Tratto,** &c.: 'contracted by reading in the book of God's foreknowledge, in which the record of men's deeds, whether good or evil, is never erased.'

52–4. **Soluto,** &c.: 'thou hast (by thy coming) appeased in me,

robed as I am in this light.' **ti vestì le piume:** 'hath invested thee with wings.'

55–69. Cacciaguida tells Dante that he understands the reason why he does not inquire his name and the cause of his interest in him, which is, that he (Dante) is aware that the denizens of Heaven see the thoughts of others through the medium of the mind of God, which reflects them in every detail; and consequently that it is unnecessary for him to state in words what he wishes to be told him, because his wishes are already fully known to Cacciaguida. Still, he encourages Dante to speak, because his (Cacciaguida's) love will be increased by complying with his request.

55–7. **che:** the *hiatus* after this word, which elsewhere is infrequent when it is used as a relative, is found both here and in l. 60, *Che* | *alcun*, and in l. 64, *Che* | *io*. **mei:** 'passes'; from Lat. *meare*. **Da quel,** &c.: 'from Him who is the first Existence,' i. e. God. **così come,** &c.: 'just as in arithmetic the unit, when it is once known, is the starting-point from which all other numbers are calculated.' **raia:** lit. 'radiate.'

60. **Che:** take with **più gaudioso.**

61–3. **minori e grandi,** &c.: 'all, whether great or small, in the life in Heaven look into that mirror (the mind of God), in which your thought is made manifest even before it is formed in your mind.'

64, 65. **in che io veglio,** &c.: 'in which I watch, perpetually gazing'; **veglio** expresses the unchanging nature of the rapturous love in Heaven.

69. **a che,** &c.: 'which I am already prepared to answer.'

71. **arrosemi:** 'bestowed on me'; from the archaic *arrogere*, 'to add.' Witte's MSS. strongly favour this reading, but many edd. read *arrise*, 'smiled me an approval.'

73–84. Dante here excuses himself for being unable to thank Cacciaguida as he would wish to do for his benevolence. The ground of his excuse is that, whereas in Heaven a feeling (**affetto**) is accompanied by an equivalent power of thought (**senno**), through which that feeling can find expression, this is not the case with mortal men, for in them the means (**argomento**) of expressing feeling fall short of the wish to do so (**voglia**).

74, 75. **Come:** 'as soon as,' 'from the time when'; cp. Par. xii. 58. 'From the time when the first Equality was revealed to you,' i. e. from the time when you entered the Kingdom of Heaven.

God is called 'the first Equality' because all attributes equally exist in Him. **D' un peso**, &c.: 'feeling and power of thought were balanced,' i. e. existed side by side and in equal force.

76–8. **Perocchè**, &c.: the reason why the spirits in Heaven possess a power of expression equal to their feeling is, that they draw their inspiration from God, in whom all such powers are equal. **v' allumò**, &c.: 'enlightened your minds with His wisdom and kindled your hearts with His love.' **è sì iguali**, &c.: 'is so equally balanced in His attributes, that all human comparisons fail to describe it.' **iguali** is arch. for *eguale*. Others for **è** read *en* (abbreviated for *enno* = *sono*), and *al* for **il** in the preceding line: the meaning then is—'in the presence of the divine Sun (*al sol*) they (i. e. your feeling and your thought) are so equally balanced, that,' &c. This however is little more than a repetition of what has been said in ll. 73–5.

79–81. **Ma voglia**, &c.: 'but in mortal men the wish and the means of giving effect to that wish are developed (lit. are feathered into wings, i. e. have their wings grow) in different degrees.' The power of expressing the feelings (through the medium of thought and language) lags behind the wish to do so. For **argomento** in the sense of 'means' cp. Purg. ii. 31. **la cagion**: the cause which is here intimated seems to be the limited nature of the human faculties. **a voi**: because you know all things.

82–4. **in questa Disagguaglianza**: 'in this disparity of powers.' **non ringrazio**, &c.: 'I cannot return thanks for your paternal welcome except by the (unexpressed) feeling of my heart.'

86. **Che questa**, &c.: 'that dost adorn as a gem this precious jewellery.' **gioia** (lit. 'jewel') is here used of the whole cross; 'art one of the gems that form the cross.'

88, 89. **compiacemmi**: for *mi compiacei* (= *compiacqui*), 'I delighted.' **Pure aspettando**: 'even in waiting for thee.'

91–3. **Quel da cui**, &c.: 'he from whom thy family takes its name.' This was Cacciaguida's son, Aldighiero, from whom the Alighieri obtained their name. What is here said of him implies that he died before 1200; but as there is documentary evidence to show that he was alive in 1201 (see Casini *ad loc.*), Dante must have been inexact in his date. **la prima cornice**: the first Cornice of the Mountain of Purgatory, in which the sin of pride was expiated.

95, 96. **fatica**: the weariness of bearing the heavy weight which formed the punishment of that Cornice. **opere**: 'good offices,' i. e. intercessions in his behalf. This passage is a clear proof that Dante believed that the duration of purgatorial sufferings might be shortened by means of the prayers of the living.

97–129. Cacciaguida now describes the society and life of Florence, as it was during his lifetime, i. e. in the first half of Cent. xii.

97–9. **cerchia antica**: the old line of walls dated from 1078 A. D. (Villani, iv. 8); it was now 'old,' because the wall of Dante's time was commenced in 1284. **Onde**: 'from which she still takes both tierce and nones.' The Badia, the chimes of which are here referred to, stood just within the ancient walls; the Florentines took their time from these. **terza** = 9 a.m.; **nona** = midday, on which see note on Purg. xxvii. 4. **in pace**: the factions and civil dissensions in Florence did not commence until 1177. For the society of Florence previous to that date read Villani, vi. 69.

100–2. **Non avea**, &c.: 'Florence had not the spectacle of fine chains or coronets, no ladies gaily sandalled, no belt that attracted the eye more than the figure did.' **contigiate**: Buti says that *contigie* were shoes ornamented in patterns with leather soles.

104, 105. **il tempo**: the age at which marriages were contracted. This and the amount of the dowry did not transgress the suitable limits (as they did at a later period), the former in respect of defect (**quinci**), the latter of excess (**quindi**). Buti and Benvenuto speak of girls as being married as early as nine or ten years of age.

106–8. **Non avea**, &c.: the subject is Florence, resumed from l. 100. There were then no childless families in Florence, childlessness being the result of corrupt living. **Sardanapalo**: Sardanapalus, king of Assyria, was the typical representative of effeminacy and luxury. His character is described by Orosius, i. 19. 1; but Dante's authority here was probably Aegidius Romanus, *De Regimine Principum*, who in his account of Sardanapalus uses the same phrase 'in cameris' which Dante does here; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 482.

109–11. **Montemalo**: now Monte Mario, the hill from which Rome is first seen in coming from Viterbo on the northern side, as Uccellatoio is that from which Florence is seen in coming from Bologna. The points of view are here taken to represent the aspect

of the two cities, and the meaning is—'then Rome was not yet surpassed in splendour by Florence.' **Uccellatoio**: observe that the last three vowels form metrically one syllable; see note on Inf. vi. 79. **nel calo**: 'in its decadence'; the downfall of Florence will exceed that of Rome.

112, 113. **Bellincion Berti**: this personage is here mentioned as a type of the worthy citizen of Florence in the good old time. Villani (iv. 1) speaks of him in similar terms. He was father of the 'good Gualdrada' of Inf. xvi. 37. **Di cuoio e d' osso**: 'with leather belt and clasp of bone.'

115–7. **quel de' Nerli**, &c.: the heads of the noble Florentine families of the Nerli and the Vecchietti. **pelle scoperta**: 'undraped suits of buff' (Longf.), i. e. leathern jerkins without any drapery. **al fuso ed al pennecchio**: 'with the spindle and the flax on the distaff,' lit. distaff-full.

118–20. **ciascuna**, &c.: this refers to the wives in Dante's age being taken abroad with their husbands when they were driven into exile, and dying in foreign parts. **per Francia**: the Florentine merchants betook themselves to France for purposes of trade.

122, 123. **E consolando**, &c.: 'and in her lullaby used the language that first delights fathers and mothers.'

124–6. **la chioma**: 'the tresses,' i. e. the thread on the distaff. **De' Troiani**, &c.: stories relating to the three cities from which Florence was descended. The population of Florence was regarded as having been originally composed of a Roman colony (whence the descent from the Trojans comes in) with an admixture of people from Fiesole; see note on Inf. xv. 61.

127–9. **Saria**: for *saria stata*; cp. Inf. xxiv. 36; Par. xxxiii. 77. **Cianghella**: she and Lapo Salterello were persons of dissipated habits, who were contemporaries of Dante in Florence. **Cincinnato**: he and Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, are mentioned as Romans conspicuous for virtue.

132, 133. **ostello**: 'abode.' **chiamata**, &c.: 'when invoked in the pangs of childbirth'; cp. Purg. xx. 19–21.

134, 135. **Batisteo**: the baptistery is the same building which now bears that name, and was the cathedral of Florence (San Giovanni), before the present cathedral was erected; cp. Inf. xix. 16–8. **Insieme**, &c.: i. e. 'I was at once baptized and named.' Here Cacciaguida for the first time mentions his name.

137, 138. **val di Pado**: the place meant is probably Ferrara, where there was a family of Aldighieri or Alighieri. Cacciaguida's son (ll. 91–4) received the name of his mother's family.

139, 140. **Corrado**: the emperor Conrad III of Swabia. He undertook the Second Crusade in 1147 in conjunction with Louis VII of France. **mi cinse**, &c.: 'made me one of his belted knights' **milizia** is 'knighthood'; cp. Par. xvi. 130.

143, 144. **quella legge**: 'that rule'; the Mahometan religion. **dei pastor**: of the Popes, who neglected to preach a Crusade; cp. Par. ix. 126. **giustizia**: 'just rights'; the possession of the Holy Land, which rightfully belonged to the Christians.

146. **Disviluppato**: 'freed from the trammels of.'

CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT.—In compliance with a request on Dante's part Cacciaguida discourses, first concerning his own date and ancestry, and afterwards about the population of the city of Florence, and the leading families who inhabited it, during his lifetime.

LINES 1–6. Dante recognizes that the pride of ancestry which he feels in his relationship to Cacciaguida is unsuitable to Heaven; yet, not being himself a beatified spirit, he does feel it, and thus can understand how it affects men on earth even more strongly. **O poca**, &c.: 'alas, our noble birth, unworthy possession!' The topic of the valuelessness of noble birth is further pursued in ll. 7–9. **dove l' affetto**, &c.: 'where our longing for what is truly good is faint.' **dove appetito**, &c.: 'where desire is not directed to false objects.'

7–9. **raccorce**: 'shrinks.' **Sì che**, &c.: 'so that, unless something is added to thee day by day, thou art constantly being diminished by time,' lit. 'time goes about thee with his shears.' Family dignity is constantly on the wane, unless it is maintained by successive generations.

10, 11. **Voi**: the plural of dignity; see note on Purg. xxxiii. 92: previously to this Dante had addressed Cacciaguida as 'tu,' Par. xv. 85. **sofferie**: 'permitted,' 'allowed to be used.' The use of *vos* and *vester* instead of *tu* and *tuus* in addressing persons of

high rank arose at a late period of the Roman Empire. In the *Relationes* of Symmachus (Cent. iv.) the emperor is regularly addressed in this manner; and in the Letters of Apollinaris Sidonius (Cent. v.) the following may serve as instances—Lib. ii. Ep. 7; Lib. iii. Epp. 5, 6, 7. **In che,** &c.: Landino (circ. 1500) says that the Romans of his time universally used *tu*.

13–5. **scevra:** 'apart,' 'at a distance from us.' **Ridendo:** Beatrice intimated by her smile that she was noticing Dante's pride in his ancestor. **parve quella,** &c.: 'resembled that lady,' &c. This is the Lady of Malehault, Guinevere's lady-in-waiting in the story of Lancelot of the Lake, who coughed when she first perceived the familiarity between her and Lancelot; see note on Inf. v. 128, and Toynbee's *Dict.* there referred to. The comparison is hardly a happy one; it is put in the most favourable light by Mr. Gardner, who says (*Dante's Ten Heavens*, p. 118), 'Theology in the person of Beatrice stands apart, since matters are to be discussed which do not come within her province, and smiles in kindly superiority at this little exhibition of human weakness.'

18. **io son più ch' io:** 'I rise above myself'; cp. Inf. iv. 120, 'in me stesso n' esalto.'

20, 21. **di sè,** &c.: 'it takes pleasure in itself at being able uninjured to contain so much joy,' lit. 'to endure so much joy without bursting.'

23, 24. **quai fur gli anni,** &c.: 'what years were marked in your boyhood?' Dante asks of Cacciaguida in general terms, 'What was about your date?' Cacciaguida replies in ll. 34–9 by giving the exact date.

25–7. **dell' ovil,** &c.: 'what was the size of the sheepfold of St. John,' i. e. what was the number of the inhabitants of Florence, which city was under the protection of the Baptist. The answer (ll. 46 foll.) shows that the number of inhabitants is meant. **più alti scanni:** the highest dignities.

33. **Ma non,** &c.: some take this as implying that Cacciaguida spoke in Latin, and refer to his use of that language in '*O sanguis meus*,' &c., in Par. xv. 28–30. Others think that it is meant that he used the old Florentine dialect. The latter of these appears more suitable than the former; but perhaps it is still better to interpret it of his 'mode of speech,' i. e. pronunciation, which was archaic, and for that reason dignified.

34 foll. In what follows Cacciaguida, in answer to the four questions which Dante has put to him in ll. 23–7, speaks of (1) the date of his birth (ll. 34–9); (2) his ancestors (ll. 40–5); (3) the number of the inhabitants of Florence in his time (ll. 46–8); and (4) its principal families (ll. 49–154). It will be observed that he answers Dante's second question first.

34. **quel dì**: the day of the Annunciation; hence **Da quel dì**, &c., means 'from the Christian era.'

37–9. **Al suo Leon**, &c.: 'this planet (Mars) came 580 times to the Lion, its proper sign of the zodiac, to renew its fires beneath his paw.' **suo**, because in mediaeval astrology Mars was one of the Lords of the Lion. **sotto la sua pianta**: for the form of expression here cp. Purg. viii. 133–5 of the Sun under the feet of Aries. According to Ptolemy (as interpreted by Alfraganus, cap. 17), the revolution of Mars occupied about 687 days; 580 such revolutions, calculated from the Christian era, would give the year 1090 or 1091 for the date of Cacciaguida's birth.

40–2. **Gli antichi**, &c.: 'my ancestors and I were born in the place, where the last ward is first reached (lit. found) by him who runs in your annual sports.' In order to explain this we must understand that the *sesti* were the Wards into which the city of Florence was divided, and that the annual races, which took place on June 24th, the festival of St. John the Baptist, were run through the city from west to east. Hence the last ward which was reached in the race (**l' ultimo sesto**, &c.) was the easternmost, that of San Piero, and the part of this which was first reached (**Dove si trova pria**, &c.) was its western limit. Here was situated the Mercato Vecchio, where Cacciaguida's ancestors dwelt. As this was one of the oldest parts of the city, it is intended to be inferred that Dante's family was old. **nacqui**: a marked instance of a sing. verb agreeing with the latter of two subjects.

43–5. **udirne**: 'for us to hear.' **Più è tacer**, &c.: this means, not that they were unworthy of mention, but that modesty forbids speaking of them.

46–8. Cacciaguida now proceeds to speak of the number of the population of Florence, and of the chief families. **Da poter arme**: 'capable of bearing arms.' **Tra Marte e il Batista**: between the Ponte Vecchio, where stood the statue of Mars, and the church of St. John the Baptist, which is now the Baptistery. These

formed the northern and southern limits of the city. The Ponte Vecchio was just outside the Porta S. Maria. **il quinto,** &c.: in Dante's time the population of Florence who could bear arms amounted to 30,000; hence in Cacciaguida's days they were 6,000.

49–51. **è or mista,** &c.: 'is now mixed with families from Campi,' &c. These three places lay at some distance from Florence, Campi in the direction of Prato, Certaldo towards Siena, and Fighine in the valley of the Arno above Florence towards Arezzo. The immigrants from the country districts are the 'gente nuova' of Inf. xvi. 73. **nell' ultimo artista:** 'even to the lowest artisan.'

52–4. **vicine:** neighbours, not citizens. **Galluzzo:** this and **Trespiano** were villages within a few miles of Florence, the former on the road to Siena, the latter on the road to Bologna.

55–7. **lo puzzo,** &c.: 'the offensiveness of the churl of Aguglione.' This was Baldo d' Aguglione, who took part in the decree of perpetual banishment against Dante in 1311. It is his act of dishonesty in tampering with the public ledger, which is referred to in Purg. xii. 105. **quel da Signa:** perhaps Bonifazio da Signa, a lawyer, who went over from the White to the Black Guelfs. Aguglione and Signa were places in the neighbourhood of Florence.

58. **la gente,** &c.: the clergy; cp. Purg. vi. 91. The meaning of what follows apparently is:—If the clergy had not set themselves in opposition to the Imperial power, there would not have been those feuds between the small Italian towns, which ruined them, and caused their inhabitants to take refuge in Florence, where they became traders.

61–3. **Tal,** &c.: the construction in this line and the next is inverted. 'Some who have turned Florentines and discount and trade, would have returned to Simifonti.' **Simifonti:** a castle in the Val d' Elsa. **alla cerca:** 'a-begging.'

64–6. **Conti:** the Conti Guidi, who sold the castle of Montemurlo to the Florentines, because they could not hold it against the people of Pistoia. **nel pivier d' Acone:** 'in the parish of Acone'; this was in the valley of the Sieve, one of the affluents of the Arno. When the castle of Monte di Croce in that neighbourhood was taken by the Florentines in 1153, the family of the Cerchi migrated to Florence, where they became leaders of the White Guelfs. **Buondelmonti:** from a similar cause to the Cerchi this family left their

possessions in the valley of the Greve to the S. of Florence, and came to live in that city.

67–9. **la confusion,** &c.: 'the intermingling of persons.' **il cibo che s' appone:** 'superfluity of food,' lit. 'food eaten in addition to what has been taken before,' and which consequently does not assimilate.

70–2. The meaning of the two comparisons here introduced, as applied to a city, is (1) that increase in size is a source of danger; (2) that increase in numbers is an impediment to action. The principle involved is very nearly that of Ar. *Pol.* vii. 4. 13, 14, that the city-state should be of such a size that the citizens might be acquainted with one another. **cieco toro:** the blind bull here represents the force of numbers without reason. **avaccio:** 'suddenly'; cp. Inf. x. 116. **cinque:** this number is selected because of what Dante had said in l. 48 of the number of citizens bearing arms having been multiplied fivefold.

73–5. **Luni:** this city and **Chiusi** were in Tuscany, **Urbisaglia** and **Sinigaglia** in the March of Ancona. **son ite:** 'have passed away'; all the four places here mentioned were in a state of decadence in Dante's time.

76, 77. **le schiatte:** 'families.' **forte:** 'strange'; cp. Par. ix. 36.

80, 81. **celasi,** &c.: in some instances—e. g. in some great cities which have a long existence—the downfall is not seen, and men's lives are short, so that the cities outlive them.

82–4. **E come,** &c.: the ebb and flow of the tide, to which the changing fortunes of Florence are here compared, and the influence of the moon in producing it, were well known to Dante and his contemporaries, though there are no tides, except locally, in the Mediterranean; cp. the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, § 7, ll. 1–3; Brun. Lat. *Tesoro*, Bk. ii. Ch. 47. **Così fa,** &c.: 'so does Fortune deal with Florence.'

87. **Onde:** 'of whom.'

88–90. **Ughi:** these and the names which follow are mentioned among the old Florentine families by Villani, who notices both their former grandeur and their fallen estate (iv. 10–4). **Già nel calare,** &c.: 'I saw them already in their decline, illustrious citizens.'

92. **quel della Sannella:** 'him of (the representative of the family of) la Sannella.'

94–6. **la porta**: the Porta San Piero, where the Cerchi now lived, whose treacherous dealing is the **fellonia** here mentioned. **di tanto**, &c.: 'of so great burden, that soon it will cause the loss of the vessel (Florence).' As the Cerchi were the heads of the White faction when the feud between the White and Black Guelfs commenced, Cacciaguida regards them as the originators of the evils, which, he foresaw, would ere long be the cause of the ruin of Florence. The metaphor derived from the overloading of a vessel is the same which is found in Par. viii. 80, 81, 'sì ch' a sua barca Carcata più di carco non si pogna.'

97–9. **ond' è disceso**, &c.: Bellincion Berti (cp. Par. xv. 112) was of the family of the Ravignani, and through his daughter Gualdrada was progenitor of the Conti Guidi. **qualunque**: the descendants of Ubertino Donati, son-in-law of Bellincione, took his name.

100–2. **Quel della Pressa**, &c.: 'he of the family of La Pressa already understood the art of ruling.' **l' elsa e il pome**: 'the hilt and the pommel'; these were the *insignia* of knighthood.

103–5. **la colonna del vaio**: 'the column vair.' **vaio** (Engl. 'vair') is from Lat. *varius*, 'variegated,' and was used of ermine spotted with the fur of the grey weasel. In heraldry the term was used of a variegated decoration of this character. See Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. vv. 'Vair,' 'Meniver.' The family of the Pigli bore on their shield a column thus ornamented. **quei che arrossan**, &c.: 'those who blush by reason of the bushel'; the Chiaramontesi, one of whose members had brought disgrace on the family by falsifying the bushel measure; cp. Purg. xii. 105.

108. **curule**: 'the highest offices,' the 'curule chairs' of the ancient Romans.

109–11. **quei che son**, &c.: the Uberti, of whose pride Farinata (Inf. x. 35, 36) was a characteristic example. They were expelled from Florence together with the rest of the Ghibellines. **palle**: the Lamberti had balls of gold on their arms. **Fiorian**, &c.: 'embellished Florence in all their mighty deeds.'

112–4. **coloro**: the Visdomini and Tosinghi, who were custodians of the bishopric of Florence. The present representatives of the family, unlike their noble ancestors, when a vacancy occurred in the office of bishop, appropriated the episcopal revenues

until the successor was appointed. **stando,** &c.: 'abiding in their assembly.'

115. **L' oltracotata schiatta:** the Adimari. One reason of Dante's bitterness against them was, that a member of this family, Boccaccio Adimari, got possession of his property at the time of his exile, and always strongly opposed his return. Filippo Argenti, the ungoverned spirit of Inf. viii. 61, was another of them. **s' indraca:** lit. 'takes the form of a dragon,' the verb being compounded in the same way as *immiarsi*, *inluiarsi*, &c., in Par. ix. 73, 81; 'which pursues with the ferocity of a dragon one who flies.'

119, 120. **non piacque,** &c.: 'Ubertin Donato was ill-pleased by his father-in-law afterwards making him their relation.' Ubertin Donato, who had married a daughter of Bellincion Berti, was displeased by his giving another of his daughters to one of the Adimari, because by that means he himself became a connexion of theirs.

121. **nel mercato:** the Caponsacchi, whose origin was from Fiesole, took up their abode in the Mercato Vecchio.

124–6. **cosa incredibile:** the thing so hard to believe was the fact that the Peruzzi, who were now forgotten, should ever have been sufficiently important to give their name to one of the gates. **picciol cerchio:** the narrow area of the older city.

127–30. **Ciascun,** &c.: 'every one who shares the honour of bearing the fair ensign (arms) of the Great Baron.' *di* in **della** is partitive. The Great Baron is the Marquis Hugo of Brandenburg, viceroy of the emperor Otho III in Tuscany. Five Florentine families bore his arms, as having received their nobility from him. **il cui nome,** &c.: 'whose name and honour the festival of Thomas renews'; he died on St. Thomas' day 1001 A.D., and was buried in the Badia of Florence, where the monks kept the anniversary of his death. **milizia:** 'knighthood'; cp. Par. xv. 140. **privilegio:** the privileges of nobility.

132. **colui:** Giano della Bella, a member of one of the five families referred to above; he espoused the popular side, and ultimately went into voluntary exile in 1294. **la fascia col fregio:** 'binds it with a fringe,' i. e. surrounds it with a border. The arms of the Della Bella were the same as those of Hugo of Brandenburg with the addition of a border of gold. This may be seen in the figures of the arms given by Philalethes, p. 216.

134, 135. **Borgo**: the Borgo Santi Apostoli, where these two families lived. This would have remained more tranquil, if these old inhabitants had lacked new neighbours; i. e. if the Buondelmonti, who previously lived in the Oltrarno, had not migrated into this quarter.

136–9. **La casa,** &c.: 'the house which gave birth to your lamentation'; the family of the Amidei, whose quarrel with the Buondelmonti was the origin of the Guelf and Ghibelline factions in Florence, and of the subsequent unhappiness which they caused. **giusto disdegno**: the cause of the quarrel was, that one of the Buondelmonti deserted a lady of the Amidei, whom he had promised to marry; hence the indignation of the Amidei is spoken of as just. **morti**: 'slain'; cp. Purg. vii. 95. **consorti**: the families allied to it.

140, 141. **quanto mal,** &c.: 'in what an evil hour didst thou flee thy nuptials with that house at another's instigation.' The instigator was Gualdrada Donati, who persuaded young Buondelmonte to break his faith in order to marry her daughter; in consequence of this he was murdered by the Amidei. **mal**: cp. Par. vi. 69. **per gli altrui conforti**: it seems probable that the reading here should be 'per gli altrui *rei* conforti,' for the line as it stands is unmetrical, since, in order to scan it, either **sue** must be a disyllable or **altrui** a trisyllable, and neither of these alternatives is metrically admissible except at the end of a line. *Rei* is read in two of Witte's test MSS., viz. A^2 and C; and in other MSS. it might easily have been omitted after *-rui* in **altrui** preceding. It is noticeable also that in the only other passage in the *Div. Com.*, where Dante uses *conforto* in an unfavourable sense—viz. Inf. xxviii. 135, 'Che diedi al re giovane i mai conforti'—he expresses this sense by an accompanying adjective.

143. **Se Dio,** &c.: 'if God had surrendered thee to (i. e. caused thee to be drowned in) the Ema.' This stream, which joins the Greve a few miles from Florence, was crossed by the first Buondelmonte, when he left his home to emigrate to that city. The Poet here speaks (hypothetically) of the descendant having perished in the person of his progenitor.

145–7. **Ma conveniasi,** &c.: 'but it was suitable to that mutilated stone which guards the bridge, that Florence should offer a victim in the last days of her peace,' i. e. at the commencement of her civil war. The 'mutilated stone' is the broken statue of Mars,

which stood at the head of the Ponte Vecchio, and guarded it, as being the patron of the city; cp. l. 47 of this Canto, and Inf. xiii. 144 foll. A sacrifice of life, the Poet says, would be a suitable offering to Mars. The victim was young Buondelmonte, who was killed on the bridge. It was on that occasion that Mosca Lamberti uttered the saying, 'Cosa fatta capo ha,' Inf. xxviii. 106–8.

152–4. **il giglio**, &c.: 'the lily (on the banner of Florence) was never reversed on the lance.' It was the custom in Italy at this time for the victors in an engagement to reverse the lance that carried a banner, when captured from the enemy, and to drag the banner along the ground. **Nè per**, &c.: 'nor made vermilion by party feuds.' The original emblem on the banner of Florence was a white lily on a red ground; but after the war with Pistoia in 1251 the Florentine Guelfs changed this into a red lily on a white ground, while the Ghibellines retained the former emblem; Villani, vi. 43.

CANTO XVII

Argument.—Dante now inquires from Cacciaguida concerning the fortunes which are in store for him; and his ancestor, when he has satisfied him on this point, encourages him to publish fearlessly to the world all that has been revealed to him in the realm of spirits.

Lines 1–6. Dante makes inquiry from his forefather about the circumstances of the remainder of his own life on earth. In this respect he compares himself to Phaëthon, who, when Epaphus denied that he was the son of Phoebus, questioned his mother Clymene on this subject. The story is told in Ov. *Met.* i. 748 foll.

3. **a' figli scarsi**: 'chary towards their sons,' i. e. unwilling to grant their requests. This was the moral of the story of Phaëthon, who persuaded his father, the Sun, to allow him to drive his chariot, the results of which proceeding were disastrous.

4–6. **era sentito**: 'I was perceived to be.' **mutato sito**:

Cacciaguida had descended from his proper station in the Cross in Mars; cp. Par. xv. 19–21.

7. **Manda fuor,** &c.: 'give vent to the eagerness.'

12. **ti mesca:** 'may mingle the cup (i. e. prepare the reply) for thee.'

13–8. **piota:** lit. 'turf,' 'sod'; 'plot of ground from which I sprang,' cp. *radice* in Par. xv. 89. Some read *pianta*, 'tree,' 'stock,' but this is evidently *facilior lectio.* **sì t' insusi,** &c.: 'art so exalted, that thou dost see contingent things (the occurrences of human life) even before they actually happen, with absolute mathematical certainty.' **Non capere:** 'are inadmissible'; cp. Purg. xxi. 81 and note; Par. iii. 76: 'that it is impossible for a triangle to have two obtuse angles.' **il punto:** the face of God.

19–21. **Mentre,** &c.: Dante's anxiety concerning his future fortunes had been aroused by intimations made to him both in Purgatory and in Hell; in the former by Corrado Malaspina (Purg. viii. 133–9) and Oderisi d' Agobbio (Purg. xi. 140, 141); in the latter by Farinata (Inf. x. 79–81) and Brunetto Latini (Inf. xv. 61–4).

24. **tetragono,** &c.: 'foursquare to meet the strokes of fate,' the reference being to the solidity of a square figure. The word **tetragono** is from Ar. *Eth. Nic.* i. 11. 11, τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου, where it is used, as here, of a person bearing good and evil fortune; it is reproduced in the Lat. version of Aristotle, and from this Dante obtained it.

27. **più lenta:** 'with less sudden blow.'

29, 30. **come volle,** &c.: cp. l. 7. After Dante's interview with Farinata, Virgil had intimated to him that Beatrice would give him information as to what was to befall him (Inf. x. 130–2); and Dante himself declared to Brunetto Latini that he was looking forward to this (Inf. xv. 88–90). When it comes to the point, Beatrice allows Cacciaguida to make the revelation.

31, 32. **ambage,** &c.: 'ambiguous oracles, in which the foolish folk (the heathen) in days of yore ensnared themselves.'

35, 36. **Latin:** 'style,' 'language'; cp. Par. x. 120; xii. 144. **Chiuso,** &c.: 'concealed (by the enveloping light) and revealing himself by (the brightness of) his own smile.'

37, 38. **La contingenza,** &c.: 'contingency (i. e. casual occurrences), which does not extend beyond the volume of your material world.' By 'volume' here is meant the combined total of the objects

which make up the universe. For a similar form of expression cp. Par. xxxiii. 85–7.

40–2. **Necessità,** &c.: this is intended to guard the freedom of the human will, which is not affected by the foreknowledge of God. 'Yet contingent events are not rendered necessary by God's prescience, any more than the movement of a ship down stream is determined by the eye in which it is reflected.' The illustration is singularly felicitous. For **Se non come** cp. Par. i. 137.

43, 44. **Da indi:** from the *cospetto eterno.* **come viene,** &c.: the comparison is intended to express harmonious impression gradually stealing over the soul.

46. **Ippolito:** the point of the comparison is that, as Hippolytus was driven from Athens by the false accusations of his step-mother Phaedra, so would Dante be from Florence. The story of Hippolytus is from Ov. *Met.* xv. 497–505.

50, 51. **a chi,** &c.: 'by him who is devising it, in that place where Christ is daily bought and sold.' The place is Rome, where there is a traffic in Church dignities; and the person referred to is Boniface VIII, with whom the Black Guelfs intrigued with the view of introducing Charles of Valois into Florence, and who was strongly inimical to Dante on account of his opposition to Charles during his Priorate in 1300.

52–4. **La colpa,** &c.: 'the blame will be attributed by the popular cry, as usual, to the wronged party,' i. e. to the White Guelfs, who were expelled with Dante from Florence. **la vendetta,** &c.: 'the punishment that shall follow will give evidence that it is God's unerring judgement (**il vero**) which dispenses it.' It will do this by falling on the guilty parties. The subsequent misfortunes in which Florence was involved are here referred to.

55. **ogni cosa diletta:** i. e. family, friends, and country.

58, 59. **come sa,** &c.: 'how bitter is the taste of another's bread.' Dante is referring to his dependence on the hospitality of others during his exile.

62, 63. **la compagnia,** &c.: the company of his fellow-exiles, such as Lapo Salterello, of whom Benvenuto (on Par. xv. 128) says that he was very annoying to Dante during his exile. **valle:** the Vale of Misery.

66. **n' avrà,** &c.: 'shall blush with shame for it.' **la tempia** is here used in the sing. for the ordinary *le tempie.*

67–9. **il suo processo**: 'their proceedings.' **per te stesso**: on Dante's independence of party cp. Par. vi. 97–108.

71, 72. **del gran Lombardo**, &c.: Bartolommeo della Scala, of Verona. The arms of the Scaligers were a golden ladder in a red field, surmounted by a black eagle, which was the imperial ensign.

74, 75. **del fare**, &c.: 'in the matter of conferring favours and asking them, between you two that will come first which between others comes later,' viz. conferring favours.

76–8. **colui**: Can Grande, Bartolommeo's younger brother, who became Lord of Verona in 1311. As is well known, he was the chief of Dante's patrons. **impresso**, &c.: 'received the impress of this star (Mars),' i. e. was a warrior born. **l' opere sue**: his exertions in behalf of the Empire.

80, 81. **nove anni**: Can Grande was born on March 9, 1291, and Cacciaguida is speaking from the point of view of 1300. **rote**: the heavenly spheres in their annual revolution.

82–4. **il Guasco**: Pope Clement V, who was a native of Gascony. He supported Henry of Luxemburg, when he came to Italy in 1310, but afterwards went over to the side of his enemies. **argento**: freedom from avarice is one of the characteristics of the *Veltro* in Inf. i. 103, which figure, in part at least, is identified with Can Grande. **affanni**: his labours in Henry VII's interest.

86. **ancora**: 'hereafter'; cp. Par. xiv. 107.

88–90. **a lui t' aspetta**: 'place thy hopes in him'; cp. Purg. xviii. 47. **Per lui**, &c.: as what is said in these two lines is evidently laudatory, the meaning seems to be that Can Grande will take the side of the oppressed poor against their wealthy oppressors; but it need not imply, as has sometimes been supposed, that any political movement is referred to.

91–3. **E porteraine**, &c.: 'and thou shalt bear away with thee in thy mind a record concerning him, but shalt not divulge it.' **che fien**, &c.: 'who will be on the spot when the time arrives.' **presente**: other examples of this form, where we should expect *presenti*, are given in the *Vocab. Tramater*; these seem to prove that it is an adverbial use.

94–6. **le chiose**, &c.: 'the explanations of (lit. comments on) the intimations thou hast received' in Hell and Purgatory. **che**

dietro, &c.: 'which are excluded from view by (lit. hidden behind) a few revolving years.' Dante was exiled in 1302.

98. **s' infutura:** 'is destined to prolong itself.' His fame with posterity is probably here intended; cp. l. 119.

100–2. **Poi che,** &c.: 'When by its silence showed that sainted soul That it had finished putting in the woof Into that web which I had given it warped' (Longf.). As regards the expressions here used:—**tela** is a 'web' or 'texture,' and **ordire** is 'to warp' or 'begin a web,' the warp being the threads which are first extended in the loom, and are crossed by the woof (**la trama**). The web here signifies the subject treated of, the warp the questions, the woof the answers. Similar metaphors derived from weaving will be found in Purg. xxxiii. 140; Par. iii. 95.

105. **vuol dirittamente:** 'is upright in will.'

106–8. **sprona:** 'spurs,' 'hastens on.' **s' abbandona:** 'goes heedless on his way,' lit. 'lets himself go'; for the use of *abbandonarsi* cp. Inf. ii. 34; Purg. xvii. 136; Par. xxxi. 75.

110, 111. **Sì che,** &c.: 'so that, if I lose my native land, I may not also lose other places of refuge through (too plain speaking in) my poetry.'

112–4. **lo mondo,** &c.: Hell. **lo monte:** the Mountain of Purgatory. **mi levaro:** cp. Par. i. 64–9, where the effect of Beatrice's eyes in transporting Dante into Heaven is described.

115. **di lume,** &c.: 'from one sphere of light to another.'

118–20. **E s' io,** &c.: 'and, on the other hand, if I shrink from speaking the truth plainly, I fear the loss of reputation with posterity.' **viver:** others read *vita*, but **viver** is supported by the MSS. The infin. is used substantively.

121. **il mio tesoro:** Cacciaguida.

124–6. **fusca,** &c.: 'darkened either by its own or by others' shame.' **altrui:** of their relations and associates. **Pur:** ''tis true,' a concessive use with reference to *Ma nondimen* following; cp. Par. iii. 115.

128, 129. **fa manifesta:** 'publish abroad.' **E lascia pur,** &c.: 'and just let them scratch who feel the itch,' i. e. let those feel annoyance at your words who have reason to be annoyed. Longf. compares Hamlet, iii. 2, 'let the galled jade wince.'

131, 132. **vital nutrimento,** &c.: i. e. the lessons which it teaches will be profitable when they have been laid to heart.

135. **non fa**, &c.: 'gives no slight proof of worth.'

139–42. **Chè l' animo**, &c.: 'for the mind of the hearer does not rest satisfied or feel confidence on the strength of an example drawn from what is insignificant, or other proof which is not clear to view.' **haia** for *abbia*; cp. Inf. xxi. 60.

CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT.—Dante sees a number of distinguished champions of the true faith, among whom are Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon. He then ascends in company with Beatrice to the sixth Heaven, that of Jupiter, where are found the spirits of those who had excelled in the maintenance of justice. These group themselves so as to represent the figure of an eagle, that being the emblem of the Empire, by which institution justice was maintained in the world; and Dante takes the opportunity of denouncing the worldliness of the higher clergy, by which the beneficial influence of the Empire was neutralized.

LINES 1–3. **Già si godeva**, &c.: 'now was that blessed mirror (of God's countenance) enjoying by himself (i. e. in the solitude of silence) his own thought, while I was tasting (i. e. ruminating on) mine,' i. e. that which I had heard concerning myself. According to this interpretation, **verbo** is to be taken in the Scholastic sense of the term—as Aquinas says, 'Primo et principaliter interior mentis conceptus verbum dicitur' (*Summa*, i. Q. 34. Art. 1). The 'thought' here is the contemplation of the Divine mind, and this suits the expression **specchio** which is used of Cacciaguida. Others take **verbo** in its ordinary sense, the meaning being that Cacciaguida was rejoicing in what he had said to Dante. But it is harsh to represent the Poet's ancestor as rejoicing in his predictions of impending sorrow, so that the former interpretation presents the lesser difficulty.

5, 6. **ch' io sono**, &c.: 'that I (who am thy representative) stand in the presence of God, who lightens the burden of every wrong.'

9. **abbandono**: 'I relinquish the task of describing.'

10, 11. **pur**: 'merely.' **reddire**: archaic form of *riedere*; cp.

Par. xi. 105; 'return upon itself,' i. e. recall its impressions; cp. Par. i. 9, 'retro la memoria non può ire.'

13. **Tanto**: 'only this'; cp. Par. ii. 67.

16–8. **Fin che**: 'while.' (N. B. Some editors remove the full stop from the end of the preceding line, and introduce it after *aspetto*, l. 18.) **col secondo aspetto**: 'with its reflected aspect.' The eternal pleasure (the light of God's countenance), which shone immediately on Beatrice, was reflected from her face into Dante's eyes.

20, 21. **Volgiti**: towards Cacciaguida, who was about to speak again. **non pur**, &c.: the symbolical meaning is, that theological contemplation is not sufficient to produce heavenly joy without the study of heroic deeds, which are represented by Cacciaguida and the other occupants of this sphere.

24. **tolta**: 'absorbed.'

28–30. **Ei cominciò**: Cacciaguida now proceeds to point out to Dante some of the most illustrious spirits in Mars. **quinta soglia**, &c.: the planet Mars, the fifth grade in the system of the Heavens in Paradise, the life of which proceeds from its highest point (**che vive della cima**), the presence of God in the Empyrean. For **soglia** cp. Par. xxxii. 13. **frutta**, &c.: i. e. is always receiving accessions to its numbers, and never loses any.

32, 33. **di gran voce**, &c.: 'of great fame, such as would furnish a noble subject for the greatest poet.'

34–6. **nei corni**, &c.: the spirits, as they are named, flash across from one arm of the cross to the other. **farà l' atto**: lit. 'will perform the action'; 'will do what lightning does in the cloud from which it proceeds.'

38. **com' ei si feo**: 'even as it was done,' i. e. as soon as the name was pronounced. **ei = il nomar.**

40–2. **Maccabeo**: Judas Maccabeus. **era ferza del paleo**: 'was the whip to the top,' i. e. was the impulse which caused the rotation. The homely simile is borrowed from Virg. *Aen.* vii. 378–84, where it is applied to Amata's wild excitement when under the influence of the Fury.

43–5. **Così**, &c.: 'similarly my watchful look followed two such lights, corresponding to Charlemagne and Roland, even as the hunter's eye follows his falcon in its flight.' **volando**: here used for *volante*.

46–8. **Guglielmo**: William, Count of Orange in Provence, who lived in the age of Charlemagne; he fought against the Saracens, when they made inroads into the South of France. **Rinoardo**: Renouard was a Saracen by birth, who became a companion in arms of William: both died as monks. **Gottifredi**: Godfrey of Bouillon, the leader of the First Crusade. **Roberto Guiscardo**: the leader of the Normans in South Italy in Cent. xi., who founded the kingdom of Naples, and became Duke of Apulia and Calabria. He is mentioned because he expelled the Saracens from Italy.

49–51. **Indi**, &c.: the spirit of Cacciaguida now resumes its place among the other spirits in the Cross, and takes part in their singing. 'Then, departing and taking its station among the other luminaries, the spirit that had spoken to me displayed to me his skill among the heavenly choir.'

52 foll. Dante and Beatrice now ascend to the sixth Heaven, or Heaven of Jupiter. In this are found the spirits of those who were pre-eminent in justice; and the Empire, which was to Dante the embodiment of the spirit of justice, is here glorified by the spirits grouping themselves in the form of the Imperial eagle.

53, 54. **il mio dovere**: 'what I ought to do.' **atto**: 'gesture.'

57. **Vinceva**, &c.: 'surpassed its former, and even its latest wont,' i.e. her appearance when I last saw her. **gli altri** agrees with *soleri* understood, that being the plural of the infin. *solere* used substantively. **ultimo** refers to what is described in ll. 7–12.

58–60. **E come**, &c.: the point of the comparison is, that in both cases the change to a higher condition is not traceable in itself, but is revealed by other signs. **per sentir**, &c.: 'through increased sense of pleasure in good works.'

61–3. **che il mio**, &c.: the meaning is:—'that I had reached a sphere of wider revolution,' i. e. a higher sphere, because in ascending each sphere described a larger circle than the preceding one: lit. 'that my circular movement, as I was borne along with the heavens, had increased its circumference.' **veggendo**, &c.: 'by seeing that marvel of beauty more glorious still.'

64. **E quale**, &c.: the sudden change from the ruddy light of the planet Mars to the clear whiteness of Jupiter is compared to the rapid disappearance of the blush of shame on a lady's face when it resumes its natural colour.

67, 68. **Tal fu**: understand *il trasmutare*: 'such was the change which I beheld (**negli occhi miei**), when I had turned away' from Beatrice to regard it. **temprata**: both this characteristic of Jupiter and the whiteness of its light are noticed by Dante in *Conv.* ii. 14. ll. 198–204, 'Tolommeo dice . . . . che Giove è stella di temperata complessione, in mezzo della freddura di Saturno e del calore di Marte . . . Intra tutte le stelle bianca si mostra, quasi argentata.'

70–2. **Io vidi**, &c.: 'I saw within that torch of Jove (i. e. in the bright planet) the sparkling of the love that it contained (i. e. the glad spirits) delineate before my eyes our letters.' This is explained in ll. 77, 78. **favella** stands for the alphabet, by which language is represented.

73, 74. **E come**, &c.: for the comparison see Lucan, v. 711–6, where it is said of the cranes, 'Effingunt varias . . . figuras.' Observe how the natural motion of the birds in the simile modifies the impression of mechanical movement, which might otherwise attach to the formation of the letters by the spirits. **congratulando**: for *congratulandosi*, 'expressing their mutual pleasure in,' &c.

76–8. **dentro ai lumi**: 'enveloped in those lights.' **Or D, or I, or L**: cp. l. 91, from which we see that these are the first three letters of the word *Diligite*.

79. **a sua nota moviensi**: 'they followed their music in their movements.'

82–4. **O diva Pegasea**: the Pegasean goddess is the Muse, so called because the Muses were associated with the fountain of Hippocrene, which rose when the rock was smitten by the hoof of Pegasus, the winged horse of Bellerophon. **Ed essi**, &c.: 'while they (**gl' ingegni**) by thy aid (dignify and immortalize) cities and realms.'

85–7. **rilevi**: 'describe,' lit. 'represent in relief.' **brevi**: 'scant,' i. e. inadequate to the task.

88–90. **Mostrarsi**, &c.: 'the saintly beings (l. 76) displayed themselves in thirty-five vowels and consonants.' This is the number of the letters in the Latin sentence which follows. **parti**: i. e. letters, syllables, and words. **sì come**, &c.: 'even as they seemed to me to be denoted.'

91–3. **Diligite iustitiam**: these are the first words of the Book of Wisdom, 'Love righteousness, ye that be judges of the earth.'

primai, &c.: 'were the first verb and noun of all that was depicted.' **sezzai:** 'last'; archaic word, from Lat. *secius*, Diez, p. 400; cp. *al dassezzo*, 'at last,' Inf. vii. 130.

94–6. **M:** pronounced *emme*. The band of spirits group themselves into the form of the letters, representing them successively, one by one; when they have formed the last letter of all, they retain its form for a while. Mr. Gardner suggests as a reason for this (*Dante's Ten Heavens*, p. 132), that the M of *terram* stands for the initial letter of *Monarchia*. **argento,** &c.: 'a pattern of gold on a field of silver.'

99. **il ben,** &c.: the Divine Justice, embodied in this planet, to which they are now attracted from their place in the empyrean Heaven.

102. **gli stolti:** 'simple folk.' There was an old superstition, according to which the country people were wont to divine from the sparks which proceeded from two burning sticks struck together, such things as the number of years they had to live, the number of pieces of gold which were in prospect for them, &c.

103–5. **quindi:** from the summit of the M. **Sì come,** &c.: 'even as the Sun who kindles them (God) ordained for them,' i. e. according to the height of glory which God appointed for them.

107, 108. **aquila:** there are two stages in the transformation by which the eagle is portrayed. First, the newly arrived band of spirits, which had rested on the top of the M, group themselves anew in that position, so as to form the eagle's head and neck; afterwards, the former band, which had represented the M, transforms itself into the body and wings of that bird (cp. ll. 112–4). **Rappresentare,** &c.: 'represented by that inlaid fire'; for the meaning of **distinto** cp. ll. 95, 96. On the use of the prep. **a** see note on Purg. viii. 106.

109–11. These three lines are intended to answer the question which arises in the reader's mind, What was the agency which grouped these spirits into the figure of the eagle? The answer is—the immediate action of the Mind of God, who is also the Author of Nature. **Quei,** &c.: paraphrase thus:—God, by whom this figure is formed, has no need, like human artists, to follow nature, but himself guides nature; this He does by the agency of His creative and formative power, which manifests itself in the processes

of life, e. g. in birds building their nests. **e da lui, &c.:** 'and we recognize (**si rammenta**) as proceeding from Him (**da lui**) that power which is the formative instinct (**forma**) by which birds build their nests.'

112–4. **beatitudo:** 'saintly band,' the abstract being used for the concrete; the word is from the Latin. **ingigliarsi all' emme:** 'to take the shape of the lily (*fleur-de-lys*) in forming the M.' The Gothic M closely resembles that flower; see the figures in Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 42. **Con poco moto, &c.:** 'with slight change of position followed out the figure,' i. e. completed the shape of the eagle by forming the body and wings. The resemblance of the *fleur-de-lys* to the body and wings of the eagle enabled them to do this with slight movement.

115–36. The sight of the eagle as the emblem of justice affords Dante an opportunity of glorifying the Empire, of which it was the symbol, and of denouncing the corruptions of the Papacy, which were the greatest obstacles in the way of justice.

115–7. **stella:** Jupiter. **che nostra, &c.:** 'that our justice (on earth) is derived from that Heaven (i. e. the sixth Heaven) of which thou art the jewel (i. e. which thou dost adorn).' The Imperial eagle, which to Dante was the representative of justice on earth, is figured in that sphere of Heaven in which the glory of justice is set forth.

120. **Ond' esce, &c.:** 'What is the source of the smoke which dulls thy ray,' i. e. 'whence arise the impediments which oppose the administration of justice.' These, he goes on to say, proceed from the corruptions of the Papal court.

121–3. **un' altra fiata:** as Christ had done before, when he drove the money-changers out of the Temple. **templo:** here the Church. **si murò:** 'was built up,' 'founded on.' **di sangue e di martiri** may be either 'on the deaths and sufferings of martyrs,' or 'on the blood of Christ and the sufferings of martyrs.' If *segni* is read, for which there is much MS. evidence, it means 'miracles.'

124–6. **milizia del ciel:** 'heavenly host'; the saints in the Heaven of Jupiter. **cu' io contemplo:** 'on whom my thoughts are fixed.' Dante is writing on earth, and addresses the saints from that point of view. **malo esempio:** that of the pastors of the Church.

128, 129. **togliendo:** by excommunications, which 'deprive

sometimes one, sometimes another, of the spiritual nutriment which God, the merciful Father, denies to none.'

130. **tu**: as Dante here speaks from the point of view of the time at which he was writing, this must refer to John XXII (Pope from 1316–34), who was continually making and revoking excommunications.

134–6. **colui**: St. John the Baptist, the dweller in the wilderness, whose death was caused by the dancing of Herodias' daughter (**per salti**). By the Baptist is here meant his figure on the golden florins; the object of the Pope's desire was lucre. As it was on the Florentine coins that the figure of the Baptist was stamped, and John XXII was Pope at Avignon, the remark here does not at first sight seem applicable to him; but Villani tells us (ix. 171) that this Pope coined gold florins in imitation of those of Florence. **il Pescator nè Polo**: 'neither Peter (the fisherman) nor Paul.' The familiarity implied in the term **il Pescator** and the form **Polo** is intended to be depreciative.

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT.—The voice of the associated spirits makes itself heard through the beak of the eagle; and by it is furnished the solution of a difficulty which had arisen in Dante's mind concerning the justice of the exclusion of the virtuous heathen from Heaven. After justifying God's decrees in this matter, the eagle adds, that the virtuous heathen will rise up in the judgement against unfaithful Christians, and especially against unrighteous sovereigns, of whom it names numerous living examples.

LINES 2, 3. **che**, &c.: 'which the banded spirits, rejoicing in their sweet fruition, composed.' *faceva* is also read instead of **facevan**, in which case the meaning is, 'which caused the banded spirits to rejoice in its sweet fruition.' **frui** is the Lat. infin. used substantively.

6. **Che ne' miei**, &c.: 'that it (the ruby) refracted the sun's ray into my eyes.'

7, 8. **testeso**: archaic for *testè*, 'now.' **portò**: 'communicated.'

10–2. **lo rostro**: the beak of the eagle, which becomes the

mouthpiece of the associated spirits. **Io e Mio,** &c.: the eagle speaks in the singular number, whereas the thought expressed proceeds from all the spirits.

15. **Che non,** &c.: 'which cannot be exceeded by desire,' i. e. which surpasses all that can be desired. Others say—'which cannot be obtained by wishing alone without earnest endeavour.'

16–8. **Ed in terra,** &c.: 'and the record which I left behind me on earth is such, that the wicked folk there praise it, though they do not imitate the example furnished by its story.'

19–21. **Così,** &c.: the single voice (**solo un suon**) expressing the combined sentiment of all the spirits, is compared to the single heat which proceeds from many burning embers.

23, 24. **Che pur uno,** &c.: 'who cause all your odours to appear to me but one,' i. e. whose individual sentiments all find vent in one voice. The metaphor of the flowers is carried on in **odori,** the thoughts which proceed from the spirits, and in *spirando* (l. 25), 'breathing forth the odours,' i. e. emitting the thoughts.

25. **digiuno:** Dante's 'hunger' is his desire of obtaining the solution of a difficulty, which the inhabitants of the sixth Heaven are specially qualified to explain. The question is:—How is it reconcilable with God's justice, that virtuous heathen, who have not heard the name of Christ, nor had an opportunity of receiving baptism, should be excluded from Paradise? The answer which is ultimately arrived at is, that this is an inscrutable mystery, hidden in the depths of God's justice, which it is impossible for the human intellect to fathom.

28–30. **altro reame:** this refers to the Order of the Thrones in the Heaven of Saturn, of which it is said in Par. ix. 62, 'Onde rifulge a noi Dio giudicante.' **Che** in l. 30 is resumptive after an intervening clause.

33. **digiun cotanto vecchio:** 'a craving of so long standing.'

34–6. **ch' esce del cappello:** 'when its hood is removed.' **si plaude:** 'claps its wings.' **facendosi bello:** 'preening itself.'

37–9. **di laude,** &c.: 'was composed (lit. woven) of beings in whom the glory of the divine grace is seen'; cp. Inf. ii. 103, where Beatrice is called 'loda di Dio vera.' **laude** is plur. of *lauda.* **Con canti,** &c.: 'uttering songs, the delight (lit. nature) of which he only knows, who has the fruition of it in Heaven above.'

40–63. The argument in these lines is as follows:—God, who

created all things, infinitely surpasses in Himself the wisdom which appears in His creation (ll. 40–5). Lucifer, the highest of created beings, fell, because he lacked as yet the light which would have enabled him to see God perfectly (ll. 46–8). How much more feeble must be the vision of beings inferior to him! (ll. 49–51). Hence our minds cannot have any true conception of God's attributes (ll. 52–7), and, in particular, of His justice (ll. 58–63).

40–2. **Colui**, &c.: 'he who turned round his compasses at the outer verge (i. e. the circumference) of the world.' The idea is derived from Job xxxviii. 5, 'Who hath laid the measures thereof (i. e. of the earth), if thou knowest? or who hath stretched the line upon it?' Cp. Milton, *Par. Lost*, vii. 224–7, 'and in his hand He took the golden compasses, prepared In God's eternal store, to circumscribe This universe and all created things.' **e dentro**, &c.: 'and within it wrought such various effects (**Distinse tanto**), some dark to us, some clear.'

43–5. **Non potè**, &c.: 'could not (in the process of creation) leave the impress of His power on the whole universe to such a degree, that His wisdom (**verbo**) should fail to be infinitely in excess of it.' **verbo** is here used of the thought in the creative mind of God in a similar way to that in which the name of 'the Word' is applied to our Lord.

46–8. **E ciò**, &c.: 'hence we can clearly see that the first proud spirit (Lucifer), who was the highest of all created beings, fell while still in an imperfect state (**acerbo**, lit. unripe, immature), because he would not wait for light.' The explanation of this will be found in Par. xxix. 55–63, where it is implied that there were two stages in the creation of the angels, and that it was not until the latter of these was reached that their will became so perfectly in accord with the will of God that it was impossible for them to fall; hence the rebellious angels, who refused to wait for that stage, fell through the imperfection of their wills. Cp. *De Vulg. Eloq.*, i. 2. ll. 26, 27, 'Divinam curam perversi expectare noluerunt'; also Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* i. 4. 3.

49–51. **quinci**: i. e. from the imperfection of Lucifer's nature as originally created. The argument is this:—If the highest created being was imperfect in its power of seeing God without an additional infusion of God's light, much more must this be the case with natures inferior to his. **È corto**, &c.: 'has scant power of

comprehending the infinite and incomparable God.' **sè con sè misura**: there is nothing beyond God to which he can compare himself; cp. Is. xl. 25, 'to whom will ye liken me, or shall I be equal? saith the Holy One.'

52–7. **Dunque**, &c.: 'consequently man's power of vision—which, as we see, is one and but one (**alcun**) of the rays that emanate from the Divine Mind which irradiates the universe—from its very nature is incapacitated from even approximating to the understanding of God (lit. cannot possess so great power, as not to be aware that the source from which it proceeds (**suo principio**) is altogether beyond its range of vision).'

58–60. **Però**, &c.: 'wherefore the power of sight with which your world is endowed penetrates just so far into the depths of the eternal justice, as the eye does into the sea.'

64–6. **Lume**, &c.: there is no light, but what proceeds from the serene Heaven which is never overcast; all other (seeming) light is darkness, being either the shadow of the flesh (which obscures the mind) or poison of the flesh (which corrupts the character).' **ombra della carne** is the influence of 'the earthy tabernacle' which 'weigheth down the mind' (Wisdom ix. 15), while **suo veleno** is sensuality; in these two forms the light which is in men is darkness. **sereno**: cp. Par. xv. 13.

67–9. **Assai**, &c.: 'the covert is now laid fully open to thy view.' The hiding-place which concealed from Dante the truth concerning God's justice, is the inability of the mind of man to fathom the question. **crebra**: 'frequent.'

79–81. **scranna**: 'the bench,' 'the judgement seat.' **da lungi**, &c.: 'a thousand miles away,' i. e. when the matter in question is far beyond your power of sight.

82–4. **Certo**, &c.: 'verily, if the matter were not determined for you by the Scripture (which says that none can be saved without faith in Christ and baptism), the man who adduces subtle arguments in answer to me would have surprisingly good reason for doubting.' Dante regards the question as settled by the authority of Scripture, which is the word of God.

86, 87. **La prima**, &c.: 'the primal Will (from which God's dealings with mankind proceed), being in itself good (independently of any goodness in other beings), can never be other than what it is, viz. God himself, the Highest Good.' The conclusion which

is implied is:—As the will of God is identical with God himself, who is perfect goodness, and that will excludes the heathen from salvation, such exclusion must be just.

88. **cotanto,** &c.: 'that, and that only is just, which is consonant with the divine will.'

89, 90. **Nullo,** &c.: this is added with reference to what is said in ll. 73–5 about the virtue of the Indian in the supposed case. It is not the virtue, and consequent merit, of the person, which causes God to reveal the Gospel of salvation to him; nay, it is God's grace which has endued him with that virtue. The view here set forth is that of St. Paul in Rom. ix. 15, 'For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy,' &c. **radiando:** 'by diffusing the rays of His grace.'

91. **sopr' esso,** &c.: 'just above the nest'; see note on Inf. xxxiv. 41.

94. **(e sì levai li cigli):** the insertion of this clause—which is put in a parenthesis as being outside the syntax of the sentence—is due to the twofold application of the preceding simile, the circling movement of the eagle (*Roteando*, l. 97) being compared to that of the mother stork above her nest (l. 91), while Dante's look, as he watches it, resembles that of the young stork, which after having been fed gazes upwards towards its mother.

96. **sospinta,** &c.: 'impelled by the force of so many wills.' The combined agency of all the spirits is the source of the movement of the figure in which they are united.

99. **tal:** 'so incomprehensible.'

100–2. **Poi:** for *Poichè*. **ancor,** &c.: i.e. still forming the figure of the Roman eagle.

106 foll. The eagle proclaims the worthlessness of Christian faith, if it is not accompanied by good works, and proceeds to denounce the ill-doing of the Christian princes of Dante's age, and to predict the judgements which would fall upon them.

107. **prope:** the Latin word is introduced for the sake of the rhyme.

109, 110. **l' Etiope:** here used for heathens generally. **i due collegi:** the two companies of the saved and the lost; for *collegio* in this sense cp. Par. xxii. 98.

112, 113. **Che potran,** &c.: the Engl. idiom is, 'What will *not* the Persians be able,' &c. By the Persians, as by the Ethiopians,

any heathen peoples are meant. **quel volume**: the book of God's judgement, in which the deeds of men are recorded.

115–41. In these lines we have the most marked instance of symmetrical arrangement that is found in the poem, with the exception of that which occurs in Purg. xii. 25–63; and in both of these the object aimed at is the same, viz. to draw attention to a number of forcible examples by which something is to be illustrated. Another, though less striking, instance is found in Par. xx. 40–72. In the present passage there are three sets of three tercets, the first of which commences with *Lì si vedrà*, the second with *Vedrassi*, the third with *E*; and the examples enumerated are intended to illustrate the misdeeds of the Christian princes of Dante's age.

115–7. **Lì**: 'in that volume.' **Alberto**: the emperor Albert (1298–1308), the same whom Dante denounces in Purg. vi. 97 for his neglect of Italy. **Quella**, &c.: 'that deed which soon shall set in motion the pen of the recording Angel.' **Per che**, &c.: 'by reason of which the realm of Prague (Bohemia) shall be laid waste.' In 1304 Albert invaded and devastated Bohemia.

118–20. **sopra Senna**: 'on the banks of the Seine,' i. e. at Paris, where Philip the Fair (1285–1314) adulterated the coinage, thereby causing great distress to his subjects. Villani, who gives an account of this proceeding, adds, 'ma guastò e disertò il paese' (viii. 58). **cotenna**: 'a boar,' lit. 'boar's hide.' Philip died in 1314 in consequence of a fall from his horse, caused by the charge of a boar; Villani, ix. 66.

121–3. **la superbia**, &c.: 'the pride that causes thirst,' i. e. the thirst for dominion. The reference is to the border wars between the English and Scotch in the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), who is the **Inghilese** here mentioned. It is hard to say who is meant by **lo Scotto**, for there was no king on the throne of Scotland in 1300, at which date the eagle is supposed to be speaking. Possibly it may be John Baliol (1292–1296), who waged war against Edward I; but more probably it is Robert Bruce (1306–1329). The latter of these in reality fought against Edward II, but as Villani (viii. 90) represents him as the Scottish leader in Edward I's reign, it is not unnatural to suppose that Dante may have fallen into the same error. It should be remarked that **lo Scotto e l' Inghilese** cannot mean the Scottish and English *peoples*, for throughout this passage kings are being referred to; cp. *vostri regi*,

l. 112. **non può soffrir,** &c.: 'they cannot restrain themselves within their borders.'

124–6. **quel di Spagna:** Ferdinand IV of Castile (1295–1312). **quel di Buemme:** Wenceslaus IV (1270–1305). The same character as here is given to him in Purg. vii. 102, 'cui lussuria ed ozio pasce.'

127–9. **al Ciotto,** &c.: 'against the name of the Cripple of Jerusalem.' This was Charles II, king of Apulia and Naples (1285–1309), who claimed the title of king of Jerusalem. He was lame. **Con un I,** &c.: 'his virtues will be seen marked by a unit (I), his vices by an M' (for Lat. *mille*, 'a thousand'). The one virtue here intended was liberality, which Dante attributes to him in Par. viii. 82.

131, 132. **quel che guarda,** &c.: 'him who rules,' &c. Frederic II is meant, who was son of Peter of Aragon (see Purg. vii. 119), and king of Sicily (1272–1337). **l' isola del foco:** Sicily is so called from Mt. Etna. **Anchise:** the death of Anchises at Drepanum on its western extremity is mentioned in Virg. *Aen.* iii. 707–10.

133–5. **a dare,** &c.: 'in order to let men know how paltry he is, that which is written against him will take the form of abbreviations, which will enumerate many vices within a small space.' Abbreviations were commonly used in MSS. to save space; so they would be used in God's record of Frederic, because he was too insignificant for a large space to be allotted to him.

137, 138. **barba:** archaic for 'uncle.' Diez (p. 355) gives *barbas* as the Low Latin form. The word is found in some Italian dialects, and is familiarly used in colloquial Modern Greek, having no doubt been introduced into Greece by the Venetians and Genoese. In the Genoese dialect it is regularly employed instead of *zio* at the present day. Frederic's uncle, who is here referred to, is James, king of the Balearic Islands. He lost his crown in consequence of having joined Philip the Bold of France in his disastrous invasion of Catalonia. **fratel:** James of Aragon (see Purg. vii. 119), who gave up Sicily, which his father had acquired. **Nazione:** here used in the sense of 'race,' 'family.' **bozze:** 'dishonoured,' lit. 'cuckold.' By these acts they dishonoured their family and the crowns they wore.

139–41. **quel di Portogallo:** Dionysius, king of Portugal (1279–1325); he is said to have been devoted to the acquisition

of wealth. **di Norvegia:** Hakon Longshanks (1299–1319); he carried on a long and barbarous war with Denmark. **quel di Rascia:** Stephen Ouros, king of Rascia, the modern Illyria and Dalmatia. He struck coins of debased metal in imitation of the Venetian ducat; the resemblance of the two is seen in the figures given by Philalethes, p. 259. **Che mal,** &c.: 'who in an evil hour saw the coin of Venice'; for this use of *mal* cp. Inf. ix. 54. It was 'in an evil hour' for him, because he was doomed to the punishment of the falsifiers of metals in Hell; cp. Inf. xxx. 46 foll. For **mal ha visto** many edd. read *male aggiustò* with the sense of 'falsified,' but as the accent in *aggiustò* is on the final syllable, the line with this reading will hardly scan. For its probable origin see Blanc, *Vocab.* s. v. *aggiustare.*

142–4. **beata Ungaria:** Hungary had been governed by corrupt princes until the time of Andrea III (1290–1301), who was a good sovereign. **beata Navarra:** 'happy Navarre, if she should defend herself with the mountain that girds her,' the Pyrenees. Joan of Navarre had married Philip the Fair in 1284, but governed her kingdom independently. On her death in 1305 it passed to her son Louis Hutin, and when he succeeded to the throne of France as Louis X in 1314, it was annexed to the French crown.

145–7. **creder dee,** &c.: 'men will do well to reflect, that even now—in proof of what I have just said (viz. that Navarre should keep the French at bay)—Nicosia and Famagosta are lamenting and complaining aloud by reason of their inhuman lord.' Cyprus, of which Nicosia and Famagosta were the chief cities, was badly governed in 1300 by Henry II of Lusignan, who was a man of corrupt life. **arra:** the same as *caparra*, 'deposit,' 'guarantee'; **per arra** is, 'for a guarantee of the truth of this.'

148. **dal fianco,** &c.: 'walks hand in hand with (lit. does not withdraw himself from the side of) the afore-named wicked princes **(dell' altre bestie).'**

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT.—The eagle names the six spirits, who on account of their pre-eminence in justice form the pupil of its eye and its eyebrow. Dante is surprised at finding two of these, the emperor Trajan and the Trojan Rhipeus, whom he regarded as heathen, in the number

of the Blessed; and the eagle explains to him the conditions under which they were admitted into Heaven.

LINES 1–12. The singing of the spirits, which commences when the eagle ceases to speak, is here compared to the stars coming out when the sun has disappeared.

2. **sì**: 'so far beneath our hemisphere.'

4–6. **prima**: 'ere that,' i. e. during the daytime; 'which before is lighted by him alone.' **una**: the light of the sun. According to the astronomy of this time all the stars derived their light from the sun; cp. *Conv.* iii. 12. ll. 54–6, 'il sole, lo quale di sensibile luce sè prima e poi tutti i corpi celestiali ed elementali allumina'; also *Conv.* ii. 14. ll. 125, 126.

7–9. **atto del ciel**: 'change which passes over the sky'; *atto* is lit. 'act,' 'proceeding,' 'phenomenon.' **come**, &c.: 'as soon as the ensign of the world and of its leaders (the Imperial eagle) kept silence in its sacred beak.'

12. **Da mia**, &c.: 'which have slipped and passed away from my memory.'

13, 14. **amor**: divine love. 'Sweet love that dost vest thyself in smiles.' **flailli**: 'flutes,' i. e. melodious voices. This word, which is not found elsewhere, is der. from Lat. *flare*, *flatus*, through the Low Lat. *flauta*, 'flute,' from which came the diminutives *flautol*, *flaujol* in Provençal, and *flajol* in O. Fr., to which *flaillo* closely approximates; of *flajol flageolet* is a further diminutive: Butler, note *ad loc.*; Diez, p. 142; Skeat, s. vv. 'Flute,' 'Flageolet.'

18. **Poser**, &c.: 'imposed silence on their angelic chime' (Butler).

21. **cacume**: 'mountain source,' lit. 'summit.' The 'wealth of waters' (**ubertà**) which forms the stream represents the power of the body of voice which proceeds from the spirits and is emitted through the eagle's mouth.

22–4. **E come**, &c.: 'and as at the neck of the guitar a sound takes form,' i. e. becomes a musical note. The neck is where the strings are fingered by the left hand, and the distinctive sound is thus produced. **al pertugio**, &c.: 'and as at the vent of a reed-pipe wind that enters it (forms a note).' The vent is the orifice which the player opens and closes with his finger.

25–7. **Così**: the comparison, in the case of both the instruments just mentioned, is between the formation of a definite musical note

in a certain part of the instrument and the indistinct sound of voices within the eagle forming a single sound as it passes through its throat, and finally articulate words as it issues from its beak. **rimosso,** &c.: 'all delay in waiting being at an end'—in other words, 'without further delay.' **bugio:** 'hollow,' 'perforated.'

30. **Quali,** &c.: 'of such words as my heart (memory) on which I inscribed them was awaiting'; or (to put the same thing otherwise), 'such words as I inscribed on my expectant memory.'

31–72. The eagle now enumerates and describes the six highest of the beatified spirits in this sphere, who form the eye and eyebrow of the bird. Of these, David is the pupil, and Trajan, Hezekiah, Constantine, William the Good, and Rhipeus are the brow.

31–3. **La parte,** &c.: the eagle's eye, which can endure to look at the sun. Only one eye is mentioned, because the eagle is seen in profile. The Imperial eagle was regularly represented with the head in profile to the left. A good example (contemporary with Dante) is the eagle many times repeated on the recumbent figure of the Emperor Henry VII on his tomb in the Campo Santo at Pisa. **Or fisamente,** &c.: 'you ought now to regard steadfastly.'

35, 36. **onde l' occhio,** &c.: 'with which my eye sparkles in my head.' **E':** i. e. *ei*, for *eglino*, resumptive from **Quelli:** 'they are the highest of all the orders of their sphere.'

38, 39. **il cantor,** &c.: David, who brought the ark from Kirjath-jearim to the house of Obed-Edom, and thence to Jerusalem; see 2 Sam. vi. The story is told at greater length in Purg. x. 55–69.

40–2. **Ora conosce:** note the repetition of these words at the commencement of the next five alternate tercets, and see note on Par. xix. 114–51. 'Now he is aware of the merit of his song . . . through the equivalent remuneration.' **In quanto,** &c.: so far as that song proceeded from his own free-will, and was not the effect of inspiration, in which latter case it could not claim reward.

43–5. **fan cerchio,** &c.: 'form a curve to represent my eyebrow.' **La vedovella,** &c.: the story of the emperor Trajan and the poor widow is given in Purg. x. 73–93.

47. **Non seguir Cristo:** 'not to be one of Christ's disciples.' Trajan, having been a heathen, was in Hell until he was delivered by St. Gregory's prayers; cp. ll. 106–8.

49–51. **quel che segue,** &c.: Hezekiah is meant; 'he who

comes next in the curve of which I speak, on the ascending arc.' Similarly the fourth in order of these five spirits (William the Good) is said to be on the descending arc (l. 61); and consequently the third (Constantine) must be at the summit of the arc between them. **Morte**, &c.: Hezekiah prayed to God when he was sick unto death, and God added fifteen years to his life; 2 Kings xx. 1, 6. The mention of his penitence in this connexion is an error on Dante's part, for that occurred on another occasion, which is recorded in 2 Chron. xxxii. 26.

53, 54. **quando**, &c.: 'when a worthy prayer causes that which was ordained for the present time to be postponed to a future time'; this was what happened in Hezekiah's case through the postponement of his death. The meaning of the entire passage here is, that what God has ordained is not changed in answer to prayer, because God has already provided for it; cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2^{dae}. Q. 83. Art. 2, 'Oratio nostra non ordinatur ad immutationem divinae dispositionis, sed ut obtineatur nostris precibus quod Deus disposuit.'

55–7. **L' altro**: Constantine, who betook himself to Byzantium (**si fece Greco**), transferring thither at the same time the civil and military centre (**con le leggi e meco**), that he might leave Rome to the care of the Pope (**Per cedere al pastor**). Dante is not very happy in his criticism of Constantine's policy. **meco**: 'bearing me, the Imperial eagle, with him'; cp. Par. vi. 1, 2. **fe' mal frutto**: Dante, to whom Rome was the rightful centre of the temporal as well as the spiritual administration of the world, regarded the foundation of the Eastern Empire as a false step, because it eventually threw a part of the temporal government into the hands of the Pope.

59, 60. **non gli è nocivo**: i. e. is not imputed by God to him, and does not diminish his glory in Paradise. **indi**: 'thereby,' i. e. by the evil results of his well-intentioned policy, especially in respect of the Papacy.

61–3. **arco declivo**: the downward slope of the arc; cp. *arco superno*, l. 50. **Guglielmo**: William the Good, king of Apulia and Sicily (1166–89). His just and peaceful reign was a time of great prosperity to his subjects. **quella terra**: Apulia and Sicily; 'whom that country laments, which is suffering from the living (i. e. present) rule of Charles and Frederic.' Charles the Lame, king of Apulia, and Frederic of Aragon, king of Sicily, are meant.

Their misdeeds are recounted in Par. xix. 127–35. **vivo**: observe the sing. adj. with two substantives.

65, 66. **al sembiante**, &c.: 'in the aspect of his effulgence he reveals it still,' i. e. shows that he is aware of the approval of Heaven.

67, 68. **errante**: 'misguided in its views.' **Rifeo**: cp. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 426, 427, 'Rhipeus, iustissimus unus Qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi.' This mention of him is the sole ground which Dante had for introducing him here. **tondo**: the arc of the eyebrow.

70–2. **assai di quel**, &c.: enough of the profundity of God's grace, shown in the conversion of a pious heathen before the coming of Christ, though even he cannot fathom it. The story of his supposed conversion is given in ll. 118–29.

76–8. **Tal mi sembiò**: the point of correspondence with the simile is the satisfaction of the eagle with its discourse. **l' imago**, &c.: 'the image of the imprint of the divine pleasure (God), according to whose will (lit. desire) everything assumes its proper nature.' The imprint of the divine pleasure is the Imperial eagle, which, as the symbol of the divinely appointed Monarchy, was stamped, so to say, by God's providence on the face of the world. The figure of the eagle which was presented to Dante's eyes is the image of this.

79–81. **avvegna che**, &c.: the meaning is:—'though I knew the spirits could read the doubt which was in my mind.' 'Though my doubting were as manifest, As is through glass the hue that mantles it' (Cary). The metaphor is from coloured glass, the reference being to 'coated' glass, i. e. white glass coated with a coloured film on one side only. As this colour could be clearly seen through the glass, so the spirits could look through Dante's mind, and see the doubt within it. **dubbiar mio**: this related to the salvation of heathens, like Trajan and Rhipeus, which in Par. xix. 103–5 was declared impossible. **Tempo**, &c.: the subject of **patio** is **il dubbiar**; 'my doubt would not endure to bide in silence a fitting time.' For *tempo* in this sense cp. Inf. xxvi. 77.

82–4. **della bocca**, &c.: 'the pressure of my doubt forced from my lips the words, "How can these things be?"' The subject of **pinse** is *il dubbiar*. **di corruscar**: take with **feste**, 'joy of coruscation'; for **feste** cp. Par. xxx. 94.

87. **ammirar**: 'wonderment,' caused by the doubt in my mind.

89, 90. **come**: 'how they can be,' i. e. the reason or explanation

of them. **se son,** &c.: 'though you believe them, you do not understand them.'

92, 93. **quiditate:** 'essence,' 'real nature'; 'quiddity' is a Scholastic term, signifying 'that which makes a thing what it is.' **prome:** from Lat. *promo*, 'set forth,' 'explain.'

94. **Regnum,** &c.: from Matt. xi. 12, 'the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.' Our Lord is there speaking of believers pressing into His kingdom; here, in like manner, the reference is to the breaking down of the barriers, which would exclude from Heaven the persons spoken of. In the case of Trajan this was effected by the hope which animated St. Gregory (**viva speranza**); in that of Rhipeus by his own love (**caldo amore**).

97–9. **Non a guisa,** &c.: this was no struggle for pre-eminence, but a rivalry in benevolence, in which both parties were victors. **Ma vince lei: vince** is repeated from l. 96, and in both places the sing. number is used, notwithstanding that there are two subjects, *amore* and *speranza*. 'Love and hope overpower the divine will, because it desires to be conquered, and by being conquered wins a victory with its benevolence.' Note the antithetical repetition of **vince** and **vinta** here, and see note on Inf. xiii. 25.

100–2. **La prima,** &c.: 'the first of the spirits in the eyebrow and the fifth cause you surprise, because you see the region of the angels (i. e. Heaven) adorned with them.' In other words:—'You are surprised at seeing that Trajan and Rhipeus, who were heathens, are among the ornaments of Heaven, forming part of the figure of the eagle.'

104, 105. **in ferma fede,** &c.: lit. 'in steadfast faith, the one in Christ's feet about to suffer, the other in them after they had suffered'; in other words:—'in steadfast faith in the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, the one (Rhipeus) before the event took place, the other (Trajan) after.' For the description of the Crucifixion by the mention of Christ's feet, compare the similar description by the mention of His hands, 'l' una e l' altra palma,' in Par. ix. 123. **passuri** and **passi** are Lat. forms.

106–8. **l' una:** Trajan. The legend concerning him was that, after he had been in Hell four hundred years from the time of his death, he was recalled to life through the prayers of St. Gregory, and that having repented and believed in Christ he was baptized; after which he once more died, and was then received into Paradise.

u' non, &c.: 'where no one ever returns to good will,' i. e. repents. **speme**: the hope felt by St. Gregory that his prayers for Trajan would be heard.

109–11. **mise la possa**, &c.: 'infused efficacy into St. Gregory's prayers to God for his restoration to life, so that his (Trajan's) will (which in Hell could not turn to repentance and faith) might (after his restoration to life) be capable of being stirred in that direction.'

113. **fu poco**: 'he abode but a short time.'

116, 117. **alla morte seconda**: 'when he died a second time.' **gioco**: the 'festivity' of Heaven.

118–21. **L' altra**: Rhipeus. The story of his belief in Christ and consequent salvation is Dante's own. **grazia**: the grace of God. **prim' onda**: 'the first movement of its waters'; i. e. the initiatory movement of God's will, the *primo perchè* of Purg. viii. 68, 69. **Tutto**, &c.: 'set his affections entirely on righteousness'; see note on l. 68.

122. **Perchè**: 'wherefore.' **di grazia**, &c.: 'as Rhipeus advanced from grace to grace.'

126. **riprendiene**: for *ne riprendia* (= *riprendeva*); see Blanc, *Gram.*, p. 348.

127–9. **tre donne**: the Theological Virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, which Dante had seen by the right-hand wheel of the Car in the procession in the Earthly Paradise; Purg. xxix. 121–6. **fur per battesmo**: 'the possession of these three virtues stood in stead of Baptism to him, more than a thousand years before the sacrament of Baptism was instituted.' The view here propounded is the theory of the baptism of penitence; cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. Q. 66. Art. 11, 'Aliquis per virtutem Spiritus sancti consequitur effectum baptismi, non solum sine baptismo aquae, sed etiam sine baptismo sanguinis, in quantum scilicet alicuius cor per Spiritum sanctum movetur ad credendum et diligendum Deum, et paenitendum de peccatis; unde etiam dicitur baptismus paenitentiae.'

130–2. **O predestinazion**: the strangeness of the salvation of Trajan and Rhipeus suggests remarks on the inscrutable character of God's predestination. **aspetti**: 'views'; the minds of those who cannot fathom the mind of God, who is the First Cause, are unable to understand the hidden things of His predestination; cp. ll. 70–2.

133. **stretti**: 'within bounds.'

136–8. **enne**: for *ne è*; 'such lack of knowledge is pleasing to us'; **scemo** is here a subst., 'defect': for **così fatto** in the sense of 'such' cp. Inf. v. 37, 'così fatto tormento.' **Perchè**, &c.: 'because our good is perfected in this good, viz. that,' &c.

143. **Fa seguitar**, &c.: 'accompanies the singer with the vibration of his strings.'

145–8. **Sì**: the flashing of their light, by which the spirits of Trajan and Rhipeus declare their assent to what the eagle has said, is compared to the instrumental accompaniment to a song (ll. 142–4); while the correspondence in movement between the two spirits is described as resembling the simultaneous opening and closing of the two eyes (l. 147). The latter of the two similes has already been introduced in Par. xii. 26, 27. **mi ricorda**: impers. use, as in Purg. xxxiii. 91, and elsewhere.

CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT.—The seventh Heaven, that of Saturn, is now entered, in which are the spirits of the Contemplative. Here Dante beholds a luminous stairway, along which the souls descend; and one of them, St. Peter Damian, explains to him that they abstain for the time from singing, lest his mortal faculties should be overpowered. After further assuring Dante that it was not his own individual choice, but God's appointment, which caused him rather than any other spirit to address him, the Saint proceeds to relate the circumstances of his own life on earth.

LINE 3. **E da**, &c.: 'and my mind had withdrawn itself from every other thought'; for **intento** in this sense cp. Purg. xvii. 48.

4. **quella non ridea**: the reason why Beatrice does not at first smile in this Heaven, and why the spirits contained in it do not sing there (ll. 61–3), is that Dante's faculties would be overpowered if they did so. The increase in spiritual elevation which is thus attributed to the seventh Heaven is due to its occupants being contemplative saints, and for contemplation a far higher gift of grace is required than that which is needed by those in the other spheres.

5, 6. **tu ti faresti**, &c.: 'thou wouldest become like Semele when she was turned to ashes.' Semele, when according to her

request she was visited by Jupiter in his full majesty, was consumed by his presence; see Ov. *Met.* iii. 287–309.

7. **per le scale,** &c.: 'in passing from stair to stair of the eternal palace,' i. e. from one sphere of Heaven to another.

13–5. **settimo splendore:** the seventh Heaven, that of Saturn. **Leone:** at the time which Dante assigns to his Vision, the spring of 1300 A. D., the planet Saturn was in the sign of Leo. **Raggia,** &c.: 'now radiates (i. e. sends its influence) downwards, to the earth mingled with the Lion's power.' Saturn was regarded by astrologers as a cold planet, Leo as a hot constellation; whence the influence of the two, when combined, as here, was temperate.

16–8. **Ficca,** &c.: 'observe attentively as you look, and let your eyes mirror (i. e. receive the impression of) that figure, which will reveal itself to you in this mirror.' The mirror is the planet, which is so called because it shone by the sun's reflected light; see note on Par. xx. 6. The figure is the stairway, which is described in ll. 28–30.

19–24. **Chi sapesse,** &c.: the general meaning of these lines is:—'The man who could conceive the greatness of my joy in feasting my eyes on Beatrice's face, would also be able to understand that I felt still greater delight in obeying her injunctions, when I looked away from her to the object which she indicated.' **mi trasmutai,** &c.: 'turned my attention to another interest,' viz. the stairway. **Contrappesando,** &c.: 'balancing the one scale against the other,' and finding that the pleasure of obeying her was the greater.

25–7. **Dentro,** &c.: 'within the crystal sphere, which, as it revolves round the world, bears the name of its illustrious sovereign, in whose reign all malice was extinguished.' According to the poets, the reign of Saturn was the golden age; Ov. *Met.* i. 89 foll.; Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 6.

28–30. **in che,** &c.: 'on which the sunshine gleams.' **scaleo:** this stairway, as we are informed in Par. xxii. 70–2, is the same as Jacob's 'Ladder' (Gen. xxviii. 12), on which the angels ascended and descended, like the spirits on the stairway here, and the top of which was out of sight, because 'it reached to Heaven.' Symbolically, it signifies the contemplative life, by which the soul ascends to God. **luce:** 'eye.'

32. **ogni lume:** 'every star.'

34–42. **E come,** &c.: the bright spirits descend the stairway in company (compare together 'per li gradi scender giuso,' l. 31, and 'insieme venne,' l. 41), and when they reach a certain stair (l. 42) disperse hither and thither, or move round and round. These movements are compared to those of the rooks at daybreak, which first rise in company and then move in different directions.

37–9. **Poi altre,** &c.: the meaning is:—'Some go off to a distance (in search of food, &c.), some return to their starting-places (i. e. the branches where they had roosted), and some continue to wheel about.' **onde son mosse:** 'to the place from which they started.' **roteando fan soggiorno:** 'wheel round where they were before,' lit. 'abide wheeling round.'

40–2. **Tal modo,** &c.: 'this, as it seemed to me, was what took place with those bright spirits which arrived in company, as soon as they lighted on a certain stair.'

43–5. **quel:** St. Peter Damian. This saint was born at Ravenna towards the end of Cent. x.; he retired to the monastery of Fonte Avellana, but was made Bishop of Ostia and Cardinal in 1058, and died in 1072. **che presso,** &c.: 'which stayed its movement the nearest to us.' **pensando:** in thought, not in words. **m' accenne:** 'dost indicate to me,' by thy increased brightness; **accenne** for *accenni*.

46–8. **il come e il quando:** 'the manner and the time.' **fo ben,** &c.: 'do well in not asking my question.'

50, 51. **Nel veder,** &c.: in the face of God. **Solvi:** 'appease,' 'satisfy'; cp. Par. xv. 52; xix. 25.

57. **sì presso,** &c.: 'has caused thee to approach so near to me'; Dante supposes that this spirit is affected towards him by some special feeling which does not influence the others.

61–3. **Tu hai,** &c.: St. Peter Damian answers Dante's second question first. The spirits had ceased from their singing, because Dante's mortal powers would have been paralysed by it, as Beatrice had told him that he would be by her smile in this sphere (ll. 4–12).

65. **per farti festa:** 'to greet thee.'

67, 68. **Nè più,** &c.: the answer to Dante's first question is, that it was not personal affection, but divine appointment, which caused him to come to converse with Dante. **presta:** the feminine is used to correspond to *nascosta* and *posta* (ll. 55, 57), which Dante

puts into that gender because he addresses St. Peter Damian as *vita beata*. For the same reason in l. 70 *serve* is used fem. of the spirits generally. In ll. 114, 125, where there is no such cause, the saint speaks of himself in the masc. **più e tanto**, &c.: 'love equal to mine or greater is felt for thee by other spirits on the upper grades of the stairway.'

72. **Sorteggia qui**: 'God, who is love (**l' alta carità**), appoints to each one his office here.'

74, 75. **libero amore**, &c.: 'the influence of the divine love is a sufficient motive power, without an express command (**libero**), to cause you to execute the designs of God's providence.'

76. **a cerner**, &c.: 'appears to me hard to discern.'

81. **Girando sè**: the rapid rotatory movement, here as elsewhere, expresses excess of joy. The joy consists in the pleasure of answering the question. **mola**: the comparison to a millstone is the same as in Par. xii. 3.

82–4. **Poi rispose**, &c.: the answer to Dante's question is, that God's foreordained appointments are inscrutable. This is the same view of God's predestination which has been given in Par. xx.

130–2. **s' appunta**: 'reaches its aim,' 'rests on me.' **per questa**, &c.: 'through this light (the enveloping light) by which I am embosomed.'

85–7. **congiunta**: 'acting in combination with.' **della quale**, &c.: 'from which it (the divine light) emanates,' lit. 'is milked.'

89, 90. **Perchè**, &c.: 'because the brightness of my flame is in proportion to the clearness of my vision of God.'

91–3. **si schiara**: 'is illuminated.' **satisfara**: for *satisfaria*; see Nannucci, *Analisi Critica*, p. 324, where other instances of this form are given. In one of these the accent is on the penultima, as here.

94–6. **sì s' inoltra**: 'lies so deep.' **scisso**: 'far removed,' lit. 'cut off.'

99. **A tanto**, &c.: 'to move its feet toward so high a goal,' i. e. to attempt to fathom so great a mystery.

100–2. **fuma**: 'is obscured by smoke.' **riguarda**, &c.: 'consider, how can it do below, what it cannot do even if the Heaven receives it?' i. e. even when it is in Heaven. For this use of **perchè** cp. Inf. xxxii. 100.

103–5. **mi prescrisser**: 'restrained me,' lit. 'marked out my limits.' **domandarla**: for **la** fem. see note on l. 67.

106. **Tra due liti**, &c.: with his usual fondness for geographical detail, Dante describes the Apennines as interposed between the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian sea, and then mentions the Monte Catria as a high point in the chain in the neighbourhood of Tuscany. This passage is illustrated by *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 10. ll. 40 foll., where the watershed formed by the Apennines is more fully described; Dante there refers to Lucan's account of the same range in *Phars.* ii. 392–438.

108. **Tanto**: take with **surgon**; 'rise to such a height, that the sound of the thunder is heard far beneath.'

109–11. **un gibbo**: 'a height,' lit. 'hump.' **Catria**: this mountain rises to the eastward of Arezzo. **ermo**: for *eremo* (Gr. ἔρημος), properly a 'solitude' or 'desert'; hence a 'hermitage.' In Purg. v. 96 the word is used as a proper name to signify the monastery of Camaldoli. In the present passage the monastery of Fonte Avellana is meant, which lies on the slope of Monte Catria in the neighbourhood of Gubbio. **suol**: 'was wont'; cp. ll. 118, 119. The pres. tense of *solere* is occasionally used with the force of the imperf.; cp. Inf. xvi. 68; Petrarch, *Rime in Morte*, Son. lxxxiii. l. 1, 'Morte ha spento quel Sol ch' abbagliar suolmi.' **latria**: Gk. λατρεία, 'divine worship'; this Greek word was known to Dante from Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2^{dae}. Q. 81. Art. 1.

112–4. **Così**, &c.: 'thus he commenced anew to me his third address.' The saint had spoken twice before. **mi fei sì fermo**: 'I devoted myself so completely.'

118–20. **Render**, &c.: 'used to supply a rich harvest of souls.' **vano**: 'unproductive.' **tosto**, &c.: 'its true character must soon be revealed.'

121–3. **In quel loco**, &c.: this is a very perplexing passage; but a considerable advance has been made toward the interpretation of it by the determination of what is meant by 'the house of Our Lady on the Adriatic shore (ll. 122, 123).' Mercati has proved that St. Peter Damian resided for two years of the early part of his life in the monastery of Santa Maria in Pomposa, which is situated on a small island at the mouths of the Po, near Comacchio; and the Saint himself in his writings refers to it as 'Monasterium Sanctae Mariae in Pomposia.' This monastery was an important place in those days. With the punctuation which is found in Witte and in the Oxford text—i. e. with a semicolon after **Damiano** and

no stop after **peccator**—the meaning is, that he was known as Peter Damian at Fonte Avellana, and had previously borne the name (which he gave to himself) of 'Peter the Sinner' in the monastery just mentioned. The objection to this is, that he used the name of Petrus Peccator, not only at an early period, but also throughout the latter part of his life, and it appears frequently in his letters. If, on the other hand, the semicolon be removed from the end of l. 121, and placed after **peccator**, the passage will run—'At Fonte Avellana was I, Peter Damian, known as Peter the Sinner; I resided also at the monastery of Santa Maria in Pomposa on the Adriatic coast.' The omission of the conjunction 'also' with *fui nella casa*, &c., and the consequent abruptness of the commencement of the sentence, are somewhat serious objections to this interpretation. See Toynbee, *Dict.*, pp. 187, 188.

124–6. **Poca vita**: fourteen years, from 1058 to 1072; see note on l. 43. **chiesto e tratto**: 'sought out and forced'; both words express his unwillingness. **quel cappello**: the cardinal's hat. **si travasa**: lit. 'passes from vessel to vessel': 'which, as it passes from one holder of the office to another, only goes from bad to worse.' The increasing corruption of the College of Cardinals is referred to, and in what follows the opportunity is taken of inveighing against it.

127–9. **Venne Cephas**, &c.: 'when Peter and Paul came, they were lean and barefoot, and got their food from any chance hostelry.' The reference is to Luke x. 7, 'In the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give.' **il gran vasello**: the Lord said of St. Paul to Ananias, 'Go thy way: for he is a chosen vessel unto me,' Acts ix. 15.

130–2. **rincalzi**: 'to support them,' by giving them their arms. **meni**: 'show them the way,' to prevent their stumbling. **gli alzi**: 'hold up their trains.'

134, 135. **due bestie**: the horse and his rider. **pazienza**: 'longsuffering of God.'

137. **girarsi**: the joy signified by this rotatory movement is caused by their satisfaction at the indignation expressed in l. 135. This also accounts for the loud exclamation which follows.

141. **non potrebbe**, &c.: 'no parallel or comparison could be found for it on earth.'

142. **intesi**: 'comprehend the meaning of the words.'

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT.—St. Benedict next addresses Dante, and after mentioning the circumstances of the foundation of his monastery on Monte Cassino, bewails the corruption of the Benedictine Order. Dante is now caught up the luminous stairway, and translated into the eighth Heaven, that of the Fixed Stars, where he finds himself in the constellation of the Twins. From this point, at Beatrice's command, he looks downward through the seven spheres which he has traversed, and on seeing the earth far beneath him, expresses his feeling of contempt for its insignificance.

LINE 9. **da buon zelo**: 'from righteous zeal.' Beatrice is referring to the cry which Dante had just heard; this, she says, does not proceed from anger or despair, like the appalling bursts of sound which had assailed his ears in Hell, but from elevated feeling.

10, 11. **il canto**, &c.: 'the song of the spirits in this sphere and my smile'; cp. Par. xxi. 58–63.

13, 14. **i preghi suoi**: 'its prayers,' i. e. the prayers which combined to form the cry. **la vendetta**: the death of Boniface VIII is probably referred to.

17, 18. **ma' che**: 'except'; cp. Inf. iv. 26; Purg. xviii. 53. It is the Lat. *magis quam*, in the sense of 'otherwise than.' **al parer**, &c.: 'as it seems to him,' lit. 'according to his view.' The man who desires God's retribution thinks it tarries, the man who fears it thinks it comes all too soon.

21. **l' aspetto ridui**: 'you turn your face round.' **ridui** is for *riduci*. The form in French corresponding to *riducere* is *reduire*.

23. **sperule**: 'little globes of light.' **insieme**: 'correspondingly.'

26, 27. **La punta**, &c.: 'the urgency of his desire.' **del troppo**: 'to exceed.'

30. **Per far**, &c.: 'to satisfy my wish concerning himself,' i. e. to answer the question that was in my mind, viz. who he was.

31–3. **dentro a lei**: within the enveloping light, which has just been compared to a pearl. **Li tuoi**, &c.: 'you would express your thoughts.'

34–6. **perchè,** &c.: 'that you may not delay (**tarde** for *tardi*) in reaching the lofty goal of your journey,' i. e. the presence of God. **pure,** &c.: 'merely to the thought,' i. e. to the thought unexpressed in words. **sì ti riguarde**: 'art so scrupulous (lit. thoughtful) of uttering.'

37. **Quel monte**: Monte Cassino, on the slope of which the town of the same name lies. It stands about halfway between Rome and Naples. The speaker is St. Benedict (480–543), the founder of the Benedictine Order, who after spending some years in retreat at Subiaco, migrated to Monte Cassino, and established the monastery, which has been the parent of all the Benedictine monasteries. What is here said about St. Benedict (ll. 37–45) is founded on a passage in the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory (ii. 2); see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 77.

38, 39. **Fu frequentato,** &c.: St. Benedict found paganism still existing on Monte Cassino, and a temple of Apollo at which the people offered sacrifices. This he persuaded them to destroy. **ingannata e mal disposta**: 'misguided and perverse.'

41. **Colui**: Christ.

47. **quel caldo**: the heat of divine love.

49–51. **Maccario**: St. Macarius, the Egyptian anchorite of Cent. iv., who established the monastic rule of the East. **Romoaldo**: St. Romuald, who founded in 1012 the monastery of Camaldoli in the upper valley of the Arno for the Order of the Reformed Benedictines (Camaldolesi) which he established. **Fermar li piedi**: 'abode steadfastly.'

60. **con imagine scoperta**: 'with unveiled form,' i. e. without the enveloping light.

62, 63. **ultima spera**: the Empyrean, where the Blessed appear unveiled, and where Dante sees St. Benedict; cp. Par. xxxii. 35. **e il mio**: 'including my desire of satisfying you.' If a comma be read before these words (Witte, Scartazzini), they must be taken with *s' adempierà* understood, 'and my desire of revealing myself plainly to you shall be fulfilled.'

66. **È ogni parte,** &c.: 'every part is immutable and eternal.'

67–9. **in loco**: 'in space'; cp. *Conv.* ii. 4. ll. 37–9, 'Esso non è in luogo, ma formato fu solo nella prima Mente.' **non s' impola**: 'does not turn on poles.' **s' invola**: 'it is hidden'; cp. Par. xxi. 29, 30.

73–5. **per salirla,** &c.: 'lifts his feet from off the earth to

mount the stairway of heavenly contemplation.' **la regola mia,** &c.: 'my Rule remains (on earth) only to cause waste of paper.' The rules of the Order are copied out but not observed. **Rimasa è:** the *hiatus* between these words is extraordinary; both the metre and the sense would be improved if *Rimasa v' è* were read, but there does not seem to be any authority for this.

77, 78. **spelonche:** 'dens of thieves,' with reference to Matt. xxi. 13, 'speluncam latronum' (Vulg.); cp. Jer. vii. 11, which our Lord is there quoting. **cocolle:** 'monks' dresses'; cp. *cuculla* in Par. ix. 78. **Sacca,** &c.: 'are sacks filled with worthless flour,' i. e. are unprofitable for good works. For the fem. plur. **sacca** from *sacco* cp. *le uova, le dita,* &c.

79–84. **si tolle,** &c.: 'rises up as an offence against God.' **quel frutto,** &c.: covetousness in misappropriating the revenues of the Church, which rightfully belong to God's poor (**la gente che per Dio domanda**), to the purposes of nepotism and licentiousness. This in the sight of God is a worse sin than usury, though the usurers are found in the seventh Circle of the Inferno; cp. Inf. xvii. 34 foll.

85–7. **blanda:** 'soft,' 'yielding,' 'weak.' **giù non basta,** &c.: 'on earth a good commencement does not maintain its efficacy from the springing (lit. birth) of the oak till its acorns are formed.' The reference is to the degeneration of religious institutions, which, starting originally (**Dal nascer della quercia**) from good beginnings, lose their vitality before their fruits are matured. **Basta** is here used in the sense of 'hold out,' 'maintain itself.'

88–93. **Pier,** &c.: the principle just laid down is illustrated in the lines which follow. St. Peter founded his society (the Church), and St. Benedict and St. Francis their Orders, in poverty and humility; but in the course of time all these have lost their original fair character. For St. Peter cp. Acts iii. 6, 'Silver and gold have I none.' **convento:** 'society,' as in Purg. xxi. 62.

94–6. **Veramente:** 'nevertheless'; cp. Par. i. 10. The saint concludes by adding that the case is not desperate; to reform these institutions may require miraculous interposition, but God worked greater miracles than this when he brought the Israelites into the Promised Land. 'Nevertheless the turning back of Jordan's stream, and the retreating of the Red Sea, when God so willed, were greater miracles to behold than relief in the present case would

be.' The mention of the Jordan and the Red Sea is from Ps. cxiii. 3 (Vulg.), 'Mare vidit, et fugit; Jordanis conversus est retrorsum.'

98, 99. **collegio**: 'company'; cp. Par. xix. 110. **si strinse**: 'closed together.' **come turbo**: with a rushing, whirling movement.

104, 105. **Naturalmente**: 'by natural law.' **ala**: 'flight.'

106, 107. **S' io torni**, &c.: 'so may I sometime return to the triumph of the saints.' **Se** introduces the usual form of affirmation. **per lo quale**: 'for the sake of which,' 'to attain to which.'

109–11. **tratto e messo**: for the inversion of the order in these words, the latter being put first in order to express the instantaneous character of the act, cp. Par. ii. 23, 24. The instantaneous nature of the ascent from sphere to sphere has already been frequently noticed. **il segno**: the constellation of Gemini. Dante has now ascended from the Heaven of Saturn to that of the Fixed Stars. In the lines which follow (ll. 112–20) he explains that Gemini was appointed as the constellation which he should enter, because it corresponded to his birth.

113, 114. **dal quale**, &c.: 'from which I recognize that all my genius proceeds.' In astrology persons who were born when the sun was in Gemini were endowed with genius and literary ability.

115–7. **Con voi**, &c.: 'the sun rose and set in your company,' i. e. the sun was in Gemini. As the sun entered Gemini in the middle of May and left it in the middle of June, Dante's birthday fell within that period. **Quegli**, &c.: on the periphrasis here used to describe the sun see note on Par. xxvii. 137, 138.

119, 120. **rota**: the sphere of the Fixed Stars. **La vostra**, &c.: it was ordained for me that I should be in that part of the heavens which is occupied by the Twins.

123. **Al passo**, &c.: 'to the difficult task which demands its attention,' viz. that of describing the remaining scenes in Heaven. For **passo** in the sense of 'difficulty' cp. Par. iv. 91.

124. **ultima salute**: God; cp. Par. xxxiii. 27.

127–9. **t' inlei**: 'dost approach to it,' i. e. to the *ultima salute*; cp. *immiare*, *intuare* in Par. ix. 81. **quanto mondo**, &c.: 'how great a part of the universe I have (by conducting thee hither) caused to lie beneath thy feet.'

132. **Che lieta vien**, &c.: 'that comes rejoicing through this

rounded ether.' The 'throng' is the Triumph of Christ, which is described in the next Canto.

133. **Col viso**, &c.: the whole of this passage which follows is derived from Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*, §§ 3–6 (in *De Re Publica*, lib. vi.), where the successive heavenly spheres with their accompanying planets are described as seen from above. There it is said of the earth—'Iam ipsa terra ita mihi parva visa est, ut me imperii nostri, quo quasi punctum eius attingimus, paeniteret' (§ 3). And again—'Tum Africanus, Sentio, inquit, te sedem etiam nunc hominum ac domum contemplari: quae si tibi parva, ut est, ita videtur, haec caelestia semper spectato, illa humana contemnito' (§ 6).

137. **ad altro pensa**: i. e. removes his thoughts from it, and fixes them on heavenly things.

139–41. **Vidi**, &c.: 'I saw the moon illuminated by the sun.' **quell' ombra**: the spots on the moon's face. Dante supposes himself to be looking at the face of the moon which is opposite to that which is seen from the earth, and consequently the spots are hidden from him. **già**: Dante's view that the spots were caused by the rarity of parts of the moon's surface was first advanced in *Conv.* ii. 14. ll. 69–76. It is repeated in Par. ii. 59, 60, but is there refuted by Beatrice.

142–4. **tuo nato**, &c.: the Sun; cp. Ov. *Met.* iv. 192, 241, where the Sun is spoken of as 'Hyperione natus.' **e vidi**, &c.: 'and I saw how Mercury and Venus make their revolutions in the neighbourhood of the sun.' **a lui** is to be taken with **vicino**, but not with **circa**. Dante is here thinking of *Somn. Scip.* § 4, where Africanus, who is speaking, looks from the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, and says—'Hunc (i. e. solem) ut comites consequuntur Veneris alter, alter Mercurii cursus.' The use of the sing. verb (**si move**) with two subjects (**Maia e Dione**) is the same which is found in many passages of the *Div. Com.* **Maia e Dione**: the name of Dione is used for that of her daughter Venus in Ov. *Fast.* ii. 461, and elsewhere in the classics; and it seems to be on the analogy of this that **Maia** is here used for the name of her son Mercury.

145–7. **Quindi**, &c.: 'from this point I beheld the tempering influence of Jupiter between his father and his son.' Jupiter is spoken of in Par. xviii. 68 as the *temprata stella*, whereas Mars was

fiery and Saturn cold. **Tra** here bears a double meaning, referring both to the position of these planets in the heavens and to their natures. **Il variar,** &c.: 'the changes in their position,' as they appear sometimes nearer to the sun, sometimes farther from it. For **dove** used substantively cp. *suo dove* in Par. xii. 30.

148–50. **sette**: the five planets, together with the sun and moon. **riparo**: lit. 'place of refuge,' 'shelter'; hence 'abode.' 'How distant from each other are their abodes,' i. e. their places in the sky.

151. **aiuola**: 'little plot of ground'; here the word is applied in contempt to the earth. **feroci**: 'proud,' like *ferox* in Lat.; this meaning corresponds to the sentiments expressed in the *Somnium Scipionis*, where the pride of man is derided. On the other hand, the resemblance of the use of the word *areola* for the earth in *De Mon.* iii. 16. l. 90—where the importance of the Empire in preventing wars between the inhabitants of the earth is being spoken of—to that of **aiuola** here, is in favour of rendering **feroci** by 'fierce,' with reference to struggles for the possession of the earth.

153. **Tutta m' apparve**: taken in connexion with **dai colli alle foci** ('from the hills to the river-mouths'), this means 'was seen in all its details.' This rendering avoids the difficulty which arises from supposing that Dante intends to say that he saw the whole of the habitable globe. As far as his position was concerned, indeed, it was possible for him to do so, if—as seems to be implied in Par. xxvii. 79–81—he was on the meridian of Jerusalem, because that place lay midway between Gades and the mouth of the Ganges, the western and eastern extremities of the habitable globe, and that area extended over half the circumference of the earth. But as Dante was now in Gemini, and the sun was in Aries, and therefore two signs of the zodiac to the westward of him, the easternmost part of the habitable globe would from this point of view be in shadow and invisible.

CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT.—The Triumph of Christ is revealed to Dante, in which first Christ himself appears, and afterwards, in the midst of an innumerable company of saints, the Blessed Virgin, round whom the archangel Gabriel revolves, producing by his rapid movement the effect of a coronal of light.

LINES 1–3. **Come l' augello:** supply *si sta* from *si stava* in l. 10. Beatrice waiting in anxious expectation of the Triumph of Christ is compared to the bird that waits longingly for the dawn of day. **Posato,** &c.: 'who during the night has rested on the nest.'

7–9. **Previene,** &c.: 'anticipates the time upon an open spray,' i. e. perches on a spray before daybreak, which would be the natural time for her to leave her nest. **aperta:** because she would thus most readily see the daylight. **Fiso,** &c.: 'watching intently for the breaking of the dawn,' lit. 'if haply the dawn may break.'

11. **la plaga,** &c.: the meridian, towards which Beatrice now lifted her eyes. For the idea that the sun paused when he reached the meridian see note on Purg. xxxiii. 103.

13–5. **sospesa e vaga:** 'distraught and wistful.' **Altro,** &c.: 'is possessed by a vague longing (lit. would fain get something else than what he has), and contents himself with the hope (of obtaining it).'

16–8. **Ma poco,** &c.: 'but the interval was short between the one and the other time—the time of my waiting, I mean, and that when I saw,' &c. **venir:** this word, used with the gerund, gives the force of progress or continuance; cp. *venner parendo* in Purg. xxii. 82.

20. **il frutto,** &c.: 'the fruit (i. e. the saints) harvested from the revolutions of these spheres.' The celestial spheres, by the influences of which, according to the views of Dante and his contemporaries, the characters and lives of men were modified (cp. Purg. xxx. 109–11; Par. xvii. 76–8; xxii. 112–4), are here regarded as the field from which the saintliness of Heaven was gathered in.

24. **senza costrutto:** 'without expressing it in words'; cp. *l' ultimo costrutto* in Purg. xxviii. 147.

26, 27. **Trivia**: one of the classical names of Diana or the Moon; this goddess was so called because her temples were often erected where three roads met. The **ninfe eterne** are the stars. **i seni**: 'its depths.'

29, 30. **Un Sol**: Christ. **le viste superne**: 'the sights above'; for *vista* in the sense of 'an object of sight' cp. Par. ii. 104. In Dante's time the light of the stars was supposed to be derived from the sun; see note on Par. xx. 6.

32. **sustanzia**: our Lord's human nature.

34. **O Beatrice,** &c.: the insertion of this exclamation between the mention of Dante's sudden loss of sight and Beatrice's explanation of it seems to imply that it was suggested by the recollection of her constant care for him; 'how happy was I in having so gentle and loving a guide.'

35, 36. **Quel che,** &c.: 'that which overmasters thy sight is a power which no eye can bear,' lit. 'from which no object can defend itself.'

39. **Onde**: 'of which,' i. e. of the opening of the thoroughfares between Heaven and earth.

40–2. **Come,** &c.: the ecstasy resulting from the mind being overcharged with impressions is here compared to lightning bursting from a cloud owing to its expansive force. **Per dilatarsi,** &c.: 'owing to its expanding so, that there is no room for it there.' On *capere* in the sense of 'to be contained' see note on Purg. xxi. 81. Dante's theory of the formation of lightning has been explained in note on Purg. xxxii. 110. **fuor di sua natura**: because fire had naturally an upward tendency towards the region of fire; cp. Par. i. 115.

45. **che si fesse**: 'what it became,' 'what happened to it.'

46–8. **Apri**: Beatrice is speaking. **cose,** &c.: 'such things, that thou hast gained the power,' &c. For the omission of *tale* before a subst. with *che* following cp. Par. x. 134.

49, 50. **si risente,** &c.: 'recalls the impression of a forgotten vision.' That which here corresponds to the 'forgotten vision' is the Triumph of Christ, of which Dante had had a momentary view (ll. 28–33), and to which Beatrice refers in l. 47, 'Tu hai vedute cose,' &c. **obblita**: for *obbliata*, apparently in imitation of Lat. *oblitus*.

53, 54. **grado**: 'gratitude.' **libro,** &c.: 'the book which

registers the past,' i. e. the tablets of memory; cp. *Vita Nuova*, § 1. ll. 1, 2, 'il libro della mia memoria.'

56, 57. **Polinnía**: Polyhymnia, the Muse of sacred song. **le suore**: the other Muses. **pingue**: 'lubrical' (Longf.).

60. **E quanto**, &c.: 'and how it illuminated the sacred countenance.' Others read *il facea mero*, and translate, 'How the sacred face (of Christ) increased its brightness.'

61–3. **E così**, &c.: 'and in like manner (elsewhere) in my description of Paradise, the sacred poem is forced to skip over (i. e. make omissions), like one who finds an interruption to his road.'

67. **pileggio**: 'passage.' The *Vocab. Tramater* gives a variety of instances of the use of this word in the sense of 'a passage by sea.' For the sentiment here cp. Par. ii. 1–6.

71. **giardino**: the assembled spirits which form the Triumph of Christ.

73–5. **la rosa**: the Blessed Virgin; so Christ is called 'Fruit of the mystic Rose.' **li gigli**, &c.: the Apostles and Martyrs, by whose 'odour of sanctity' the faithful have been guided in the way of holiness.

78. **battaglia**, &c.: the 'struggle of the feeble eyelids' is Dante's attempt to distinguish the dazzling objects which formed the Triumph.

79–84. **Come**, &c.: 'as erewhile my eyes, themselves in shadow, have seen a flowery mead in a ray of sunlight, which passes undimmed through the break in a cloud, so,' &c. The company of saints, illuminated by the light that emanates from Christ, who has now ascended, so that He is hidden from Dante's eyes, is compared to a flowery meadow, on which the sunlight falls through the opening in a cloud, while the beholder himself is in shadow.

85, 86. **gl' imprenti**: 'dost impress thy influence upon them.' **loco**: 'scope,' i. e. capacity for using my eyes. **non eran possenti**: 'were unable to see,' while Christ himself was present.

88–90. **Il nome**, &c.: the mention of the Rose, l. 73. **lo maggior foco**: 'the greatest of these lights,' i. e. the Blessed Virgin.

91–3. **E come**, &c.: 'and as soon as the brilliancy (quality) and the greatness (quantity) of the living star (the figure of the Virgin), who excels in Heaven above, as she did excel on earth beneath, was depicted on both my eyes.'

94–6. **Perentro**: 'from the depths of,' lit. 'within.' **facella**: the archangel Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation, as is seen

from l. 103; cp. also Par. xxxii. 94. **Formata in cerchio,** &c.: 'with a circling movement resembling a crown, and cinctured her (i.e. the Virgin), and revolved around her.' The rapidity of the archangel's movement produces the appearance of a coronal of light. **cinse** expresses the form, **girossi** the movement, of this coronal.

99. **Parrebbe,** &c.: 'would resemble thunder bursting from a cloud,' i.e. a rude inharmonious sound.

100–2. **lira:** the archangel singing. **Onde,** &c.: 'by which was encircled (i.e. which moved around) the fair sapphire, which forms a jewel in the brightest Heaven,' the Empyrean. Philalethes suggests that the sapphire is attributed to the Virgin because of the blue robe which mediaeval painters give her. For *inzaffirare* signifying 'to adorn as a sapphire' cp. *ingemmare* in Par. xv. 86; xviii. 117.

104, 105. **L' alta letizia,** &c.: the expression is inverted; 'the womb from which sublime joy proceeds.' **nostro disiro:** Christ, 'the desire of all nations,' Haggai ii. 7.

106–8. **mentre,** &c.: 'until thou followest thy Son,' i.e. ascendest into the Empyrean Heaven, to which Christ had already departed. **perchè gli entre:** 'by entering there.' **gli** = *vi*; cp. Par. xxv. 124; Purg. viii. 69.

110. **si sigillava:** 'set to its seal,' i.e. came to an end.

112–4. **Lo real manto:** this is the Crystalline Heaven or *Primum Mobile*, which lies outside, and so envelops, all the other spheres. **volumi:** 'revolving spheres,' lit. 'revolutions,' in which latter sense it is used in Par. xxvi. 119. **che più ferve:** 'which is most ardent.' The *Primum Mobile* is the nearest sphere to the Empyrean, and communicates the divine influences to the other spheres. **costumi:** 'his works and ways' (Longf.).

115, 116. **l' interna riva:** 'its inner surface.' The *Primum Mobile* is the next Heaven above that of the Fixed Stars. **la sua parvenza:** 'the sight, semblance of it.'

119, 120. **la coronata fiamma:** the Virgin with the archangel circling round her. **appresso,** &c.: 'following close on her offspring (Christ).'

121–3. **in ver,** &c.: 'reaches out towards its mother' in token of affection. **Per l' animo,** &c.: 'through the impulse which kindles into outward show.' **in fin di fuor:** 'until it shows itself outwardly.'

128. **Regina caeli:** this is the commencement of the Easter antiphon to the Virgin.

130–2. **quanta,** &c.: 'how great is the abundance (of happiness) which is stored in those most wealthy coffers.' **si soffolce:** the two forms *soffolcersi* and *soffolgersi* are both derived from Lat. *suffulcire*, 'to support'; the former of these is here used in the sense of 'to be contained' through the intermediate meaning 'to be piled up'; the latter is found in Inf. xxix. 5 for 'to be stayed,' 'to rest.' **a seminar,** &c.: 'good acres for sowing here below.' **Bobolca** is apparently another form of *bubulca* or *bubulcata* (sub. *terra*), which words mean the amount of land that can be ploughed by a yoke of oxen in one day; see *Vocab. Tramater.* Others take **buone bobolce** as meaning 'good husbandmen for sowing,' and regard **bobolce** as a fem. form from *bobolco* (Lat. *bubulcus*, 'ploughman'), which is adapted so as to correspond to **arche.**

133–5. **tesoro,** &c.: 'the treasure of eternal happiness, which was won through tears in the Babylonian exile of mortal life, where these spirits neglected worldly treasure.'

138, 139. **l' antico,** &c.: the assembly of the saints of the Old and New Testaments. **Colui:** St. Peter.

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT.—St. Peter examines Dante on the subject of Faith.

LINE 1. **sodalizio:** 'company,' 'brotherhood.' These are the souls which 'are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb,' Rev. xix. 9.

6. **tempo:** 'his appointed time.'

7–9. **affezione:** 'desire' of receiving your instruction. **quel ch' ei pensa:** 'the subject of his thought,' 'the questions which are passing through his mind.' These proceed from the mind of God, which is the fountain-head of knowledge.

11. **Si fero,** &c.: 'formed themselves into circles revolving on fixed poles.' These circles of spirits, which revolved round Dante and Beatrice, were concentric, as we see from what follows.

13–5. **in tempra d' oriuoli**: 'in the mechanism of clocks'; **tempra**, lit. 'arrangement'; the corresponding verb *temperare* is used for 'to moderate,' 'regulate.' A simile of the same kind, derived from the works of clocks, is found in Par. x. 139–42, only there it is the striking apparatus which is spoken of. **il primo**: the innermost, while **l' ultimo** is the outermost. In comparison of the rapid motion of the outer wheel the inner wheel appears to be at rest.

16–8. **carole**: 'bands of dancers'; *carola* in Ital., like *carole* in Fr. and 'carol' in Engl., signified originally 'dance,' and from this the meaning 'song' was derived. See Skeat, s. v. 'carol,' who shows that the word is of Celtic origin. **Differente-Mente**: a similar instance of the separate use of this adverbial termination is given by Scartazzini from Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxviii. 41, 'Ancor ch' egli conosce che diritta-Mente a sua maestà danno si faccia.' The adverbial form *-mente* was originally a substantive, as may be seen in such expressions in Lat. as 'bona mente factum'; and in the derivative languages it has had a tendency to retain something of its separate character. Thus Max Müller remarks (*Science of Language*, i. p. 47), that in Spanish, instead of saying 'claramente, concisamente y elegantemente,' it is more elegant to say 'clara, concisa y elegante mente.' **della sua ricchezza**, &c.: 'caused me to estimate the amplitude of their joy and of the grace given to them according as they were swift or slow.'

19–21. **quella**: understand *carola*. **un foco**: St. Peter. **vi**: in the company from which he came.

22. **tre fiate**: see note on l. 152 *inf.*

25–7. **salta**: 'skips'; cp. Par. xxiii. 62. **pieghe**: lit. 'folds' of a drapery; hence, as the colours of the folds are in shadow, and therefore subdued, it is here used of delicately modulated sounds. 'Our imagination—not to say our language—is of a tint too glaring to represent such cadences.' **imagine**: cp. Par. i. 53.

28. **O santa**, &c.: St. Peter here addresses Beatrice.

31–3. **Poscia**: i. e. after having revolved round Beatrice (ll. 22, 23). The three preceding lines (ll. 28–30) are practically out of place, and are referred to afterwards in l. 33. Cary translates:—'Such were the accents towards my lady breathed From that blest ardour, soon as it was stayed.' Scartazzini punctuates, *Poscia fermato*, with no comma after *benedetto*. **spiro**: 'breath,' here used for 'voice.'

35, 36. **le chiavi,** &c.: 'the keys of this wondrous abode of joy (Heaven), which he bore down from Heaven to earth.' Christ opened the kingdom of Heaven to men, and left to St. Peter the keys of it.

39. **Per la qual,** &c.: 'in the strength of which thou didst walk upon the sea.'

41. **quivi,** &c.: 'fixed on the face of God, where all things are visibly portrayed'; cp. Par. xv. 61–3; xvii. 37–9.

43–5. **perchè,** &c.: 'since it is through the true faith that this kingdom has obtained its inmates (lit. citizens), it is well, in order to promote its glory, that he (Dante) should have the opportunity of speaking of it.' The impersonal use of *arrivare* with the meaning here given corresponds to that of the Fr. *arriver*; in Ital. it is rare, but another instance will be found in *Vocab. Tramater.*

46–8. **Sì come,** &c.: 'as the Bachelor in silence equips himself with arguments, while the Master is propounding the question, to adduce the proofs, not to determine it.' The allusion here is to what took place in the mediaeval Universities. The 'Master' is a duly licensed teacher, and the Bachelor a student who is preparing for the office of teacher. The Bachelor at one stage of his preparatory course was required to pass through a form of examination, which was called 'Disputatio tentativa,' before a Master, who propounded the subject of this (**la question**). Usually in such cases a number of opponents were appointed to combat the candidate's arguments (see Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 466). In the present instance, however, this is not supposed to happen, and the proofs advanced lead up to a conclusion which is recognized as well established, so that the candidate has no need **terminar la questione.** Similarly, St. Peter propounds the question, and Dante adduces what he considers to be the fitting arguments, but the conclusion is determined beforehand. The title 'disputatio tentativa' is probably referred to in the word *tenta* in l. 37. If it is true, as Boccaccio states in some detail in his Life of Dante (p. 49, ed. Firenze, 1833), that Dante himself underwent a disputation at Paris, he had personal experience of this.

51. **A tal,** &c.: 'to answer such a questioner, and to make such a profession (of faith).'

52–111. The subjects of the questions and answers in what follows are:—(1) what faith is (ll. 52–66); (2) how Dante understands St. Paul's definition of faith (ll. 67–82); (3) whether Dante

possesses faith (ll. 83–7); (4) whence he derived his faith (ll. 88–96); (5) what is the evidence of the inspiration of Scripture, on which he bases his faith (ll. 97–111).

54. **In**: 'toward.'

55–7. **mi volsi**, &c.: here, as elsewhere, Dante before answering a question appeals for leave to Beatrice as representing Theology: cp. Par. xxi. 46, 47. **ed essa**, &c.: 'and she promptly made signal to me, that I should give vent to the thought which was in my mind.'

58–60. **che mi dà**, &c.: 'which grants me the privilege of making my confession of faith.' **dall' alto primipilo**: 'in the presence of the great centurion of the Church.' *Primipilaris* or *primipilus* was the term for the centurion of the first maniple of the Triarii, and consequently the head centurion of the legion, in the Roman army. Hence this title is here given to St. Peter. Dante may have been acquainted with the title *primipilus* through Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, whom he quotes in *De Mon.* ii. 10. l. 23. **bene espressi**: 'to be well expressed.' Others read *esser espressi*, in which case *espressi* means 'explicit.'

61–3. **stilo**: here used for 'pen'; it is the Lat. *stilus*, which was the name of the Roman implement for writing. **frate**, &c.: St. Paul, who was associated with St. Peter in founding the Church in Rome; 'our beloved brother Paul' is St. Peter's own expression in 2 Pet. iii. 15. **nel buon filo**: 'in the right way'; **filo** is 'thread,' 'line,' 'track.'

64–6. **Fede**, &c.: from Heb. xi. 1 (Vulg.), 'Est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium.' The Epistle to the Hebrews was attributed to St. Paul in Dante's time. **quiditate**: 'essence'; see note on Par. xx. 92.

68, 69. **per che**, &c.: 'why Paul classed faith, first among the substances, and secondly among the arguments (proofs).'

70–8. Dante's answer is:—'Heavenly mysteries cannot be known on earth by sight, but are discerned by faith only; and as hope is founded on this, faith is the substance, or foundation, of things hoped for. It is also the proof of things unseen, because we are justified in arguing from faith in matters where sight is unavailing.'

75. **di sustanzia**, &c.: 'it receives the name of substance.' The word *substantia* in the passage in Hebrews is understood by Dante to mean 'foundation' (*id quod substat*); and this signification

is also attributed by many commentators (though hardly rightly) to the word ὑπόστασις, which represents *substantia* in the original Greek (see Alford's note *ad loc.*). Hence Dante intends to say, that faith is called the substance or foundation of things hoped for, because hope is founded (**si fonda**) upon it. This interpretation is supported by a passage from Peter Lombard, from whom several of Dante's statements in this part of the poem are derived—'Proprie autem fides dicitur *substantia* rerum sperandarum, quia sperandis *substat*, et quia *fundamentum* est bonorum, quod nemo mutare potest' (*Sentent.* lib. iii. c. 23). **intenza**: this word gets the meaning of 'name' from that of 'signification.'

77, 78. **Sillogizzar**: 'to draw a conclusion,' 'to reason': 'faith is a proper groundwork from which to reason without the aid of sight.' **altra** means 'without seeing anything *beyond*.' **Però**, &c.: 'in this way it comes to be called a proof'; cp. Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2dae. Q. 4. Art. 1 (where Heb. xi. 1 is being spoken of):—'Sumitur argumentum pro argumenti effectu. Per argumentum enim intellectus inducitur ad inhaerendum alicui vero: unde ipsa firma adhaesio intellectus ad veritatem fidei non apparentem vocatur hic argumentum.'

79–81. **Se quantunque**, &c.: 'if whatever is learnt by teaching on earth were as clearly understood as this, there would be no room there for sophistry.' **gli**: for *vi*; cp. Par. xxiii. 108.

82–4. **Così spirò**: 'such was the utterance,' lit. 'so it breathed forth'; cp. l. 54, 'spirava questo.' **trascorsa**: 'gone over,' 'dealt with.' **D' esta moneta**, &c.: 'the alloy and the weight of this coin.' The coin is Faith; the alloy is its component elements, the weight is its amount. The right alloy and the right weight constitute a good coin. Dropping the metaphor, the meaning is—the characteristics of a right faith have been discussed.

85–7. **se tu l' hai**, &c.: 'whether you yourself possess faith.' **sì lucida**, &c.: the metaphor of the coin is continued; 'so shining and so round, That in its stamp there is no peradventure' (Longf.); that is, 'my belief is so clear and perfect, that there is no article of the faith about which any doubt arises in my mind.' **s' inforsa**: *inforsarsi*, derived from *forse*, 'perhaps,' means 'to take the form of doubt.'

89, 90. **questa cara gioia**, &c.: faith, which is the basis of every Christian virtue.

91–3. **ploia**: Lat. *pluvia*; here used for *pioggia*. The 'rain' or 'infusion' of the Holy Spirit is inspiration. Dante's answer to St. Peter's question is:—'I deduced it from the plenary inspiration of Scripture, which appears to me to furnish an irrefragable argument.' **cuoia**: 'pages' of the Old and New Testament; lit. 'skins,' 'parchment.'

94–6. **sillogismo**: 'an argument.' **la**: agreeing with *gioia* (the Faith), while **ella** in the next line agrees with *ploia* (inspiration). **ottusa**: 'blunt,' 'pointless,' in contrast to **acutamente**.

98. **Proposizion**: this word, from meaning 'a logical premiss,' is here used in the sense of 'Testament,' because the books of the Bible are a 'statement' or 'affirmation' of the word of God. **ti conchiude**: 'draws the conclusion for thee.'

100–2. **Ed io**: Dante answers:—'The proof of the inspiration of Scripture is found in the miracles which accompanied the revelation which is there recorded.' **l' opere seguite**, &c.: 'the works which followed on this revelation (i. e. the miracles), which were not the product of natural agencies.'

104, 105. **Quel medesmo**, &c.: 'your only evidence of the miracles having taken place is found in the very book, the divine origin of which you regard as proved by the miracles'; you seem to be arguing in a circle.

106–10. Dante answers:—'The reply to such an objection is, that the conversion of the world to Christianity without miracles by men of no position like the Apostles would be incomparably the greatest of all miracles, and would be in itself a sufficient proof of the divine origin of Christianity.' This argument is from St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 5, 'Si per Apostolos Christi, ut eis crederetur resurrectionem atque ascensionem praedicantibus Christi, etiam ista miracula facta esse non credunt, hoc nobis unum grande miraculum sufficit, quod eis terrarum orbis sine ullis miraculis credidit.' **povero e digiuno**: i. e. devoid of all human aids and appliances.

111. **pruno**: 'a bramble,' i. e. an unprofitable tree which produces no good fruit; Luke vi. 44, 'Of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.' The corruptions of the Church in Dante's time are referred to.

115–7. **quel Baron**: St. Peter. St. James also is called by this title in Par. xxv. 17, and other eminent saints are described as 'Counts in God's imperial court' in Par. xxv. 40–2. **fronde**: in

the metaphor here introduced the tree is the subject of examination, the branches are the various subdivisions of it, and the outer leaves the points which are last dealt with.

118. **donnea,** &c.: 'dallies with your mind.' *Donneare* is from Provençal *domnear*, and that from Lat. *domina*; it expresses the chivalrous treatment of a lady by her cavalier. Here it is used of the grace of God gently operating on the mind of man.

122, 123. **quel che credi:** the articles of your faith. **onde:** 'on what grounds'; this is shown to be the meaning by the answer given in l. 133.

124–6. **che vedi,** &c.: 'who dost see (now in Heaven) the risen body of Christ, in which thou didst so firmly believe, that thou didst anticipate the steps of a younger man in approaching the sepulchre.' See John xx. 4–6, where we are told that St. John came first to the sepulchre of our Lord, but St. Peter was the first to enter; and cp. *De Mon.* iii. 9. ll. 111–4, 'Dicit enim Joannes ipsum [Petrum] introivisse subito, quum venit in monumentum, videns alium discipulum cunctantem ad ostium.'

128, 129. **forma:** i. e. in the Scholastic sense of the word, the 'essence' or 'constituent elements.' **pronto:** 'ready.' **cagion:** 'grounds'; cp. *onde* in l. 123.

131, 132. **move,** &c.: cp. Par. i. 76, and note there.

134, 135. **dalmi:** for *me lo da.* **quinci piove:** 'is outpoured from hence (i. e. from Heaven) through Moses,' &c.

137, 138. **voi,** &c.: St. Peter and the other apostles, who derived the inspiration of their writings from the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. **almi:** 'fostering'; cp. Inf. ii. 20, 'alma Roma'; 'gave you fostering power.'

141. **soffera,** &c.: 'it admits in grammatical concordance (**congiunto**) of the use of "are" (plur.) and "is" (sing.).' *Sofferare* is an archaic form of *soffrire* or *sofferire.* **este** is Lat. *est.*

142–4. **Della profonda,** &c.: 'the teaching of the Gospel in many passages (**Più volte**) stamps my mind (**la mente mi sigilla**) with the mystery of the divine nature (**condizion**), which I now mention' (**Ch' io tocco mo**). Others read *Ch' io tocco, nella mente,* &c.

145–7. **Quest' è,** &c.: the meaning is:—'This is the cardinal doctrine; this is the article of faith, from which is developed, like the fire from a spark, a living system of belief; this forms a bright

central point in my spiritual life, as a star forms a bright point in the sky.'

148–50. **i**: for *gli*; cp. Inf. xxii. 73. **gratulando**, &c.: 'in his satisfaction (lit. congratulating himself, rejoicing) at the news.'

151, 152. **cantando**: 'in his song'; he sang words of benediction. **cinse me**: 'he circled round me.' The triple gyration represents the doctrine of the Trinity.

CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT.—St. James questions Dante on the subject of Hope. At the conclusion of his examination St. John the Evangelist appears, and Dante is blinded through looking too intently at him, in order to discover whether he was still in the body; whereupon St. John assures him that his body has remained on earth.

LINES 1–12. When his first examination, on the subject of faith, is concluded, Dante's thoughts revert for the moment to Florence, where through baptism he had been initiated into the Christian Faith, and he cherishes the hope that, on the strength of his *Commedia*, he may sometime be restored to his native city.

2. **Al quale**, &c.: i. e. 'for the treatment of which both Heaven and earth (both theological and mundane subjects) have contributed materials.'

5, 6. **ovil**: Florence. **agnello**: the metaphor being derived from **ovile**, this simply means 'in youth,' and **lupi**, in like manner, means 'the natural enemies of the sheepfold,' i. e. the turbulent leaders of the Florentine factions. There is no need to interpret the former as implying Dante's peaceful character, or the latter as meaning the rapacity of the Florentines.

7–9. **altra voce**: 'other song,' the serious poetry of his mature years being contrasted with the love-poetry of his youth. **altro vello**: 'other locks,' his hair having turned grey (lit. 'fleece,' with reference to *agnello*). This interpretation is supported by a passage in Dante's First Eclogue, which is addressed to Joannes de Virgilio, who had invited him to Bologna to receive the poet's crown there. In that poem he says (ll. 42–4)—'Nonne triumphales melius

pexare capillos, Et, patrio redeam si quando, abscondere canos Fronde sub inserta solitum flavescere, Sarno?' According to another interpretation, **voce** means 'fame' (cp. Par. xviii. 32), and **altro vello** Dante's new character as Poet and Theologian. **fonte**, &c.: Dante proposes that the font in the Baptistery of Florence, which was the scene of his initiation into the Christian faith, should be the place where he might receive the laurel crown (**il cappello**), because St. Peter had now on the strength of his confession of that faith crowned him by encircling him with light.

10–2. **conte**: 'known'; the faith causes God to recognize souls as His own. **mi girò la fronte**: this means nothing more than 'circled round me, forming a coronal of light about my head.' The correspondence with his being crowned in the Baptistery only extends thus far; it is not implied that St. Peter placed a crown on Dante's head; cp. Par. xxiv. 152.

14, 15. **la primizia**, &c.: St. Peter, Christ's first vicar or vicegerent on earth. The 'sphere' from which he came forth is the circle of spirits which is mentioned in Par. xxiv. 19, 20.

17, 18. **il Barone**, &c.: St. James the Greater, whose shrine at Compostella in Galicia was one of the chief places of pilgrimage during the middle ages. On the title **il Barone** see note on Par. xxiv. 115.

24. **li prande**: 'feeds them'; *si prande* is also read. The fare of which the saints in Heaven partake is that which is provided at 'the marriage supper of the Lamb,' Par. xxiv. 1–3.

25, 26. **poi che**, &c.: 'as soon as their mutual congratulations on their felicity were completed.' **coram me**: 'facing me.' For the Lat. formula cp. 'coram patre' in Par. xi. 62, where the use is derived from the law courts.

29, 30. **vita**: 'spirit'; cp. Par. ix. 7. **per cui**, &c.: 'by whom the bounteousness of our celestial court (or 'our temple') was recorded.' The 'celestial court' is Heaven. The passages in St. James' epistle which are here referred to are i. 5, 'If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him'; and i. 17, 'Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above.' It is to be remarked that Dante has here and in ll. 76, 77 by a strange error attributed this epistle, which was written by St. James the Less, to St. James the Greater; the same mistake is found

in Brunetto Latini (*Tesoro*, Bk. ii. Ch. 8). **la larghezza**: *l' allegrezza* is also read here, and has good authority; but it is in favour of **la larghezza**, that Dante in *De Mon.* i. 1. l. 38, when quoting James i. 5, speaks of God as '*Largitoris* illius, qui dat omnibus affluenter,' &c. **basilica**: it is not certain whether this word is here used in the sense of 'royal court' or of 'temple.' In Greek *βασιλική* bears the former meaning, while in classical Latin *basilica* signifies 'a law court' or 'a portico,' and in mediaeval Lat. it is always an ecclesiastical name for certain churches (see Ducange, s.v.), whence it may be used in the sense of 'temple.' The meaning 'court' is the more suitable to the present passage, for the same metaphor is found in *aula*, *corte* in ll. 42, 43; and Dante may have learnt the signification of the word in Greek from the *Catholicon* of Giovanni da Genova, whose definition of *basilica* is—'domus regia, seu palatium regis vel imperatoris: sed modo per translationem dicitur basilica ecclesia, quia est palatium summi regis regum, et dicitur a basileus' (Toynbee). The only doubt is, whether Dante would use the word so, when his contemporaries would understand it in the other sense. If **basilica** is taken in the ecclesiastical sense, this may be illustrated by the use of 'temple' for Heaven as the abode of God and the saints in Rev. vii. 15, 'They are before the throne of God; and they serve Him day and night in His temple.'

31. **Fa risonar**, &c.: 'proclaim aloud the virtue of hope here on high.'

32, 33. **tante fiate**, &c.: 'thou dost represent the virtue of hope on all the occasions on which Jesus distinguished the three Apostles (Peter, James, and John) above the rest.' The occasions were the Transfiguration, the raising of Jairus' daughter, and the Agony in the Garden. The personification of the three theological virtues by these Apostles was a notion developed by mystical theology. In the case of the first and last of the three the symbolism is appropriate, but it could have been only from a desire of completeness that St. James was regarded as representing hope.

34–6. **t' assicuri**: 'feel confidence.' The grounds of these words of encouragement (*Questo conforto*, l. 37) are given in ll. 35, 36, viz. that the radiancy of these sublime spirits (l. 27) was of a nature to develop and perfect the human soul, not to overwhelm it, though that had been its immediate effect on Dante's mind (l. 39).

37–9. **foco secondo:** St. James. **levai:** the scansion here requires that the two vowels which form the termination of this word should be pronounced separately. On this very exceptional use see note on Inf. xv. 26. **monti:** 'the hills from whence cometh help,' Ps. cxxi. 1; the two Apostles are here meant. **incurvaron:** 'depressed,' 'overpowered.'

40–2. **t' affronti,** &c.: 'should meet his nobles face to face in the innermost chamber of his palace.' **Conti** is used of the most eminent saints, as *Barone* of the Apostles (l. 17). The term is a natural one, when the court of Heaven is being spoken of.

44, 45. **La speme,** &c.: 'you may encourage therewith (**di ciò,** i. e. through your sight of the court of Heaven) in yourself and in others the hope which on earth rightfully enamours mankind,' i. e. which causes men to desire the heavenly life.

46, 47. The three questions here propounded are—(1) what is the nature of Hope; (2) to what degree was Dante affected by Hope; (3) what grounds he had for entertaining it. **se ne infiora:** 'blossoms (is decked) with it.'

49. **quella pia:** 'that compassionate one.' Beatrice answers the second of St. James' questions, leaving Dante to answer the first and the third. The reason for her undertaking to answer this one is, that she wishes to enable Dante to avoid self-praise; see l. 62.

54. **sol:** the face or mind of God.

55–7. **Egitto:** the world; cp. Purg. ii. 46, where the spirits celebrate their deliverance from the world of sin by singing, 'In exitu Israel de Egypto.' Similarly, **Jerusalemme** is the City of God in Heaven. **Anzi che,** &c.: 'before his (Christian) warfare is terminated.' **prescritto:** *prescrivere* means 'to prescribe,' 'limit,' 'terminate.'

58, 59. **per sapere:** 'with the object of knowing his views on the subject.' **perchè rapporti:** 'that he may report to men.'

62, 63. **Nè di jattanza:** 'nor a subject for self-praise,' as would have been the case with the answer to the second question. **ciò gli comporti:** 'grant (allow) him this.'

64–6. **seconda:** 'follows the lead of'; and so here 'answers.' **in quel,** &c.: 'on a subject with which he is well acquainted, in order that his proficiency may be displayed.'

67–9. **Speme,** &c.: this definition of Hope, which contains

the reply to St. James' first question, is from Peter Lombard, *Sentent.* lib. iii. c. 26, 'Est enim spes certa expectatio futurae beatitudinis veniens ex Dei gratia et meritis praecedentibus.'

70–2. **stelle**: 'sources of illumination,' i. e. Sacred Writers. Dante here (ll. 70–8) answers St. James' third question, viz. What were his grounds for entertaining hope. **sommo cantor**, &c.: David, who was God's Psalmist.

73–5. **teodia**: the 'Book of Sacred Song' is the Psalms, and the passage here quoted is Ps. ix. 10, 'and they that know Thy name will put their trust in Thee,' which in the Vulgate is, 'Sperent in te qui noverunt nomen tuum.' As the word θεωδία is not found in Greek lexicons, perhaps **teodia** was an invention of Dante's own. For the two parts of this compound he had analogies in '*teo*logia' and 'salm*odia*'; the latter of these he uses in Purg. xxxiii. 2. **la fede mia**: Dante in his confession of faith (Par. xxiv. 130–47) declares that the cardinal doctrine is that of the Trinity in Unity, and this involves the knowledge of the name of God.

76–8. **Tu mi stillasti**, &c.: 'thou didst afterwards in thy Epistle bedew me with his bedewing,' i. e. with the doctrine which David first enunciated. The teaching of Hope in St. James' Epistle must be looked for rather in general references to God's promises to his faithful servants than in any special treatment of the subject. **in altrui**, &c.: 'I shower afresh on others the rain which first proceeded from you two'; in other words—'I communicate to other men the doctrine of Hope.' **repluo** is the Latin verb.

79–81. **seno**, &c.: 'the core of that blaze of light.' The cause of the sudden emanation of brilliancy is the satisfaction of the Saint on hearing Dante's reply. **spesso**: 'frequent.'

83, 84. **la virtù**, &c.: Hope. St. James is still (**ancor**) kindled with love for the virtue of Hope, though the Blessed can no longer feel hope themselves, because they have fruition. **la palma**: the palm of martyrdom. **l' uscir del campo**: his quitting the field of battle was his death. St. James was put to death by Herod Agrippa the Elder, Acts xii. 1, 2.

85, 86. **respiri**: 'reply,' as *spirare* (l. 82) is used for 'to speak.' **emmi**: for *mi è*.

87. **Quello**, &c.: St. James' fourth and final question relates to the object of Hope; this, Dante replies, is the felicity of the saints both in soul and body in Heaven.

88, 89. **Le nuove,** &c.: 'the writings of the New and of the Old Testament set forth the emblem (**Pongono il segno**; i. e. declare the truth figuratively); and this emblem (this figurative language) indicates to me that which hope promises.' The Poet then proceeds to mention the figurative expressions here referred to, by which the life of the saints in Heaven, after their souls have been reunited to their bodies, is described.

91–3. **Dice Isaia,** &c.: Is. lxi. 7, 'Therefore in their land they shall possess the double; everlasting joy shall be unto them.' Dante interprets 'the double' as meaning the blessedness of soul and body; cp. **doppia vesta** here with *due stole* in l. 127.

94–6. **il tuo fratello**: St. John in Rev. vii. 9, 'After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude,' &c. **digesta**: 'explicitly,' 'in detail.'

97–9. **prima**: in contrast to *Poscia*, l. 100. **Sperent in te**: these words seem to have been uttered by one of the circles of spirits, while all the others repeated them. Scartazzini remarks, that whereas in l. 73 Dante had quoted these words in his own language ('Sperino in te'), the Saints sing it in the language of the Church, which is used in Heaven. **s' udì**: this verse and those which rhyme with it are ten-syllable lines. This irregularity may possibly be explained here, as in some other instances, as an adaptation of sound to sense, the abrupt termination in **si schiarì** (l. 100) being intended to express the sudden appearance of the brilliant light. See note on Inf. xxxi. 145. **carole**: the bands of singing and dancing spirits; cp. Par. xxiv. 16.

101, 102. **Sì che,** &c.: in mid-winter, from the middle of December to the middle of January, the constellation of Cancer is in the sky the whole night from sunset to sunrise. Dante says that, if this constellation possessed a star equal in brightness to the luminary which now appeared, it would turn night into day, and so there would be a month of continuous daylight (**un mese d' un sol dì**). The result, then, of the comparison implied in **Sì che,** &c., is, that this luminary had the brightness of the sun.

105. **novizia**: 'young bride'; Beatrice is here meant, as we see from *sposa* in l. 111. **fallo**: 'failing,' such as vanity or forwardness.

107, 108. **si volgeano,** &c.: the rotatory motion, here as elsewhere, signifies eager sympathy.

109. **Misesi:** 'joined in.' **nota:** the tune, as distinguished from the words sung (**canto**).

112–4. **Questi:** St. John the Evangelist. **Pellicano:** the pelican was taken as an emblem of our Saviour, because of the fable in which it was said to feed its young with blood from its own breast. **D' in sulla croce:** lit. 'from upon the cross,' i. e. by our Lord hanging on the cross. **offizio:** that of taking charge of the Blessed Virgin.

115–7. **nè però,** &c.: 'nor, for all that, did her words cause her eyes to withdraw their rapt attention (from the three saints) afterwards more than before.'

118. **adocchia:** 'fixes his eyes,' 'gazes.' **s' argomenta:** 'endeavours.'

122. **detto fu:** St. John is the speaker. The reason why Dante had gazed so eagerly to see St. John's person was his anxiety to discover whether he had his earthly body in Heaven. A legend to that effect was current, owing to a misunderstanding of our Lord's saying concerning him (John xxi. 22), 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' This, as we are told in that passage, was interpreted by some of the disciples as meaning that he should not die; and in mediaeval times this view was further misinterpreted, so that it was believed that St. John had been received up into Heaven while still in the body. The Apostle now himself corrects this error.

124–6. **saragli:** for *vi sarà*; cp. Par. xxiv. 81. 'Will remain there along with the bodies of the rest of mankind till the number of the elect corresponds to that determined in God's eternal purpose.' Dante is here thinking of Rev. vi. 11, 'It was said unto them that they should rest yet for a little time, until their fellow-servants also, which should be killed even as they were, should be fulfilled.'

127–9. **le due stole:** body and soul; cp. *doppia vesta* in l. 92. 'The only spirits in the blessed cloister who wear both their robes (body as well as soul) are the two luminaries who ascended,' i. e. Christ and the Blessed Virgin. Dante has ignored Enoch and Elijah, of whom the Scripture affirms this. **questo:** this truth.

130–2. **giro:** this is the circling movement of the dancing spirits, which are described as forming themselves into circles in Par. xxiv. 11, and are called *carole* in Par. xxiv. 16 and xxv. 99. When the three Apostles (**il trino spiro**) cease to sing, and St. John begins

to speak, their movement also ceases. **con esso**: 'even with'; here **esso** joined with **con** gives additional precision of meaning, as it does with other prepositions, e. g. *sott' esso*, *sovr' esso*. **mischio**: 'blending of sound,' 'harmony.'

133–5. **Sì come**, &c.: the pause which takes place as soon as St. John's voice is heard is compared with the cessation from rowing on the part of the crew, which follows on the sound of the helmsman's whistle. **cessar**: 'to avoid'; cp. Inf. xvii. 33. The simile is from Statius, *Theb.* vi. 799–801, 'Sic ubi longa vagos lassarunt aequora nautas, Et signo de puppe dato posuere parumper Brachia.'

138. **Per non poter**, &c.: take with *mi commossi*. His loss of sight was due to regarding too steadfastly the figure of St. John; cp. ll. 118–21.

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT.—St. John examines Dante on the subject of Love. At the conclusion of his examination the three Apostles are joined by the spirit of Adam, who in answer to the Poet's unexpressed wishes informs him, what was the true cause of the Fall of Man; how many years had elapsed since he was created; what language he spoke; and how long time he passed in the Earthly Paradise.

LINE 3. **spiro**: 'voice'; cp. Par. xxiv. 32. St. John is speaking.

4–6. **ti risense**: 'regain the sense.' **risense** for *risensi*. **che hai**, &c.: 'which thou hast extinguished by looking at me.' **Ben è**, &c.: 'it is well that by conversing with me thou shouldst compensate (make up to thyself) for the loss of sight.'

7, 8. **s' appunta**: 'aims.' St. John here commences his examination of Dante on the subject of Love, and asks him the question, 'On what object is the desire of thy soul fixed?' Dante replies, 'On God.' **fa ragion**: 'be sure,' lit. 'consider'; cp. Inf. xxx. 145.

12. **La virtù**, &c.: the power of restoring sight, which Ananias exercised in curing St. Paul's blindness; Acts ix. 17, 18. Allegorically:—When the mind has been dazzled, as Dante's had been (see note on Par. xxv. 122) by investigating too deeply a theological

question, relief is to be found in the teaching of true theology, as represented by Beatrice.

15. **foco**: Dante's love for Beatrice.

16–8. **Lo ben**, &c.: Dante's answer to the question, 'What is the chief desire of thy soul?' is, 'God is the beginning and the end of every precept (**scrittura**) that love teaches me, whether gently or forcibly,' i. e. of all the lessons of love, whether in its lighter or its deeper forms. But **di quanta scrittura**, &c., may equally well be taken as 'of all my impressions (of love), which Love recalls (lit. recites to me) in loud or low tones.' With the latter interpretation, **scrittura** is the record of love impressed on Dante's heart or memory; Love reciting it to him means his feelings recalling it; and 'in loud or low tones' implies the varying force of the emotion excited. **Alfa ed O**: cp. Rev. xxii. 13, 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.' *Alfa ed Omega* is also read, but this reading seems to have arisen from the desire to avoid the metrical *hiatus* after **Alfa**, and from the apparent strangeness of the use of the letter **O** in conjunction with the full form **Alfa**. In mediaeval Latin hymns, however, *Alpha et O* is not uncommonly found; thus in Mone's *Hymni Latini medii aevi* the following instances occur, the MSS. in which they are found being of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries:—(1) 'Alpha et O quem dicimus' (vol. i. p. 10); (2) 'Alpha et Ω, magne Deus, | Heli heli Deus meus' (vol. i. p. 14); (3) 'Alpha et Ω suum | Misit archangelum' (vol. ii. p. 68); (4) 'Alpha et Ω nominate' (vol. ii. p. 449). The *hiatus* after **Alfa** is allowable because it is a Greek word; for similar non-elisions of final vowels of Latin words cp. Purg. ii. 46; x. 44; xx. 136.

21. **mi mise in cura**: 'inspired me with the desire.'

22–4. **a più**, &c.: 'to explain thy views by the use of a finer sieve,' i. e. by entering into greater detail. **Chi drizzò**, &c.: 'who caused thee to aim at such a target,' i. e. to fix thy affections on God.

25–7. **Ed io**, &c.: Dante's proofs that God is the highest aim and object of love are derived (1) from the deductions of human Reason, (2) from the authority of Revelation. The former of these proofs is treated of in ll. 28–39, the latter in ll. 40–5. **Cotale amor**, &c.: 'the love of God must needs impress itself on me,' i. e. make its claims felt.

28–36. The argument derived from Reason is this:—That which is good awakens love in the soul of him who understands its nature, and the love increases in proportion as the goodness is greater. Consequently the Being who is perfect goodness must attract more love than any other object.

28. **in quanto ben**: 'inasmuch as it is good,' and not by means of any other attribute. **come s' intende**: 'as soon as its nature is perceived.'

31–6. **Dunque,** &c.: 'consequently the mind of every one who perceives the truth on which this proof is based (viz. the principle that God is the highest good) cannot fail to be moved in love towards the essence, in which there is such supreme perfection, that every good which is external to it is naught else than a reflexion of its light, rather than towards any other essence.'

37–9. **Tal vero,** &c.: 'this truth (viz. that God is the highest good) is set forth (lit. laid down) to my intellect by him, who shows me what is the primal object of love to all the eternal substances.' Aristotle is meant, who taught that God is the power which attracts all things to itself by their desire for it, and thus causes the movement of the universe; cp. Ar. *Metaph.* xi. 7. 2: *ἔστι τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ, ἀίδιον καὶ οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια οὖσα. Κινεῖ δὲ ὧδε· τὸ ὀρεκτὸν καὶ τὸ νοητὸν κινεῖ οὐ κινούμενον.* The 'eternal substances' which Aristotle there refers to are the planets, of which he says—*ἡ . . . τῶν ἄστρων φύσις ἀίδιος οὐσία τις οὖσα* (*Metaph.* xi. 8. 5).

40–2. As proofs from Revelation Dante adduces two passages, one from the Old and one from the New Testament. **verace autore**: the 'truthful Author' is God himself, who says to Moses (Exod. xxxiii. 19), 'I will make all my goodness pass before thee'; in the Vulgate this is—'Ego ostendam omne bonum tibi,' where 'omne bonum' corresponds to Dante's **ogni valore,** and is taken to imply that all good is summed up in God.

43–5. **Sternilmi,** &c.: 'thou too dost set it forth, at the beginning of thy sublime announcement, which beyond every other proclamation declares on earth the secret of Heaven.' St. John's 'announcement of the secret of Heaven' is the Book of Revelation, of the very name of which these words seem almost to be a paraphrase; and the passage at its commencement which is here referred to can only be Rev. i. 8, 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which

is to come, the Almighty.' Since, however, this passage, as it stands, makes no reference to God as the highest goodness, or as the object of love, we must suppose that one or both of these aspects is to be understood as implied in the character of God as the supreme Deity. **bando**: for the use of this word in the sense of 'proclamation' cp. 'novissimo bando,' Purg. xxx. 13, of the summons to the Last Judgement.

46–8. **Per intelletto**, &c.: 'in accordance with the arguments which you have mentioned, viz. those derived from Reason, and those from Revelation which accord with Reason, the highest of your affections is directed (lit. looks) towards God.' This sentence conveys St. John's approbation of Dante's answer.

49–51. **corde**: 'inducements'; these, as we see from Dante's answer (ll. 58 foll.), are the evidences of God's love. **che tu suone**, &c.: 'that thou mayest declare how many reasons compel thee to love God.'

53. **aquila**: St. John, whose emblem is the eagle.

55–7. **morsi**: here used for 'impulses,' 'urgent reasons'; cp. *morde* in l. 51. **Alla mia**, &c.: 'have co-operated to produce my love.'

58–61. **l' essere**, &c.: 'the existence of the world'; in other words, its creation. **quel che spera**, &c.: the Christian's hope of future reward. **conoscenza**: the knowledge of God as the highest good. **predetta**: cp. ll. 28 foll.

64–6. **Le fronde**: mankind. They are mentioned, because the love of them necessarily follows on the love of God. **cotanto**, &c.: 'in proportion to the good gifts which he has bestowed upon them.' **porto**: part. from *porgere*.

70–7. **E come**, &c.: Beatrice now exercises the power which St. John had attributed to her (ll. 10–2) of restoring Dante's sight by a look, after he had been blinded by gazing at that Saint. In the simile Dante's condition is compared to that of a man who is dazed through being awakened from sleep by a brilliant light falling on his eyes; and his recovery by Beatrice is likened to the restoration of such a man to clear consciousness by the power of reflexion, which explains to him what has happened.

71, 72. **Per lo spirto**, &c.: 'owing to the visual power turning towards the bright light which passes from one to another of the coats (i. e. membranes) of the eye.' By **spirto visivo**—or, as Dante elsewhere calls it, *spiriti visivi* (Par. xxx. 47), *spiriti del viso*

(*Vita Nuova*, § 14. l. 39)—is meant the current that passes from the eye to the brain.

73–5. **abborre**: 'shrinks from'; this is the effect of being dazed by the sudden light. **Sì nescia**, &c.: 'so unconscious is he, when thus suddenly awakened, so long as his power of reflexion fails to come to his aid.'

76–8. **ogni quisquilia**: 'every mote,' lit. 'impurity.' **da più**, &c.: the meaning is, that the light of Beatrice's eyes shone to a great distance.

83, 84. **Vagheggia**, &c.: 'the first soul (Adam) which the primal Virtue (God) ever created, gazes on its Maker.'

87. **la sublima**: 'inclines it upward.'

89. **Stupendo**: gerund from *stupire*, 'through amazement.' **mi rifece sicuro**: 'restored my confidence.'

91–3. **maturo**: 'mature,' in the sense of 'full-grown.' **A cui**, &c.: this is another way of saying that every woman and every man is a descendant of Adam.

95, 96. **mia voglia**: i. e. my desire of an answer to certain questions; these questions are stated in ll. 109–14. **per udirti**, &c.: Dante desires to avoid delaying the answers by asking the questions.

97–102. Adam's joy in answering Dante's questions is manifested by the increased brightness of his envelope of light. This is compared to the motions by which an animal expresses its feelings being traceable in the movement of a cloth which is wrapped round it. The simile is quaint, to say the least, especially when we consider the connexion in which it occurs; but it does not stand alone in this respect in this part of the poem, since Dante, for reasons of his own, has introduced into the Paradiso some of the homeliest of his comparisons. Such are (1) the sound proceeding from the wind-hole of a reed-pipe (Par. xx. 23, 24), which is used to describe the voice emitted by the eagle in the Heaven of Jupiter; (2) rowers stopping their oars at the sound of the boatswain's whistle (Par. xxv. 133–5), to illustrate the cessation from singing on the part of the chorus of spirits when they hear the voice of St. John; and (3) the prudent tailor, who cuts his coat according to his cloth (Par. xxxii. 139–41), to whose example St. Bernard appeals, when he cuts short his enumeration of the saints in the Empyrean because the time allotted to Dante for his Vision is drawing to a close.

97–9. **coperto**: 'within a wrapping.' **broglia**: 'moves about,'

'wriggles.' The word is connected with Fr. *brouiller*, and is the origin of Engl. *imbroglio*. **Per lo seguir,** &c.: 'because the covering follows its movements.'

102. **venia gaia:** 'was gladdened,' lit. 'became glad.' For the use of *venire* with adjectives in the sense of *divenire* cp. Par. xxxiii. 52, 'venendo sincera.'

104. **Da te:** Witte reads *Dante*, but we may confidently say that this reading is inadmissible, because the Poet implies in Purg. xxx. 62, 63 that he never introduces his name except where this is unavoidable, which is not the case here.

106–8. **Perch' io,** &c.: this difficult passage is rendered more perplexing by a variety of readings in l. 107. Among these the reading of the Oxford text, **Che fa di sè pareglio all' altre cose,** seems to be the best suited to the context. Adam has just told Dante, that he is aware of his wishes with a certainty beyond what his (Dante's) mind is capable of attaining to. In explanation of this he adds:—'I see those wishes depicted in the mind of God, in which, as in a faithful mirror, the thoughts of His creatures are reflected; whereas their minds (and therefore your mind) cannot know what is passing in the mind of God, so that you cannot reach the same certainty.' According to this interpretation **pareglio** is a substantive, meaning a 'parhelion' or mock-sun; from which sense—as a parhelion is a reflected or refracted image of the sun—it is taken to signify simply a 'reflexion.' The literal translation, then, of ll. 107, 108 will be—'who makes himself the reflexion of (i. e. in him are reflected) the other things (and, in particular, men's minds), while none of them makes itself a reflexion of him (his thoughts are not reflected in their minds).' **Lui** here stands for *a lui*, as elsewhere in Dante, e. g. Inf. xxviii. 48. The introduction of the parhelion as an object of comparison need not excite surprise, for Dante was a curious observer of meteorological phenomena, as his similes, especially in the Paradiso, show; and he would be acquainted with parhelia through Aristotle, who mentions them in his *Meteorologica* (iii. 2. 6; 6. 1 foll.). Another reading—between which and that just mentioned there does not seem to be much to choose as regards the authority of the MSS.—is *pareglio l' altre cose*. The interpretation here is easier, though the meaning obtained is less apposite. Longfellow, who adopts this, translates thus:—'For I behold it in the truthful mirror, That of Himself all things

parhelion makes, And none makes Him parhelion of itself.' (*Lui* here is accus.) In his note he says—'Parhelion is an imperfect image of the sun, formed by reflexion in the clouds. All things are such faint reflexions of the Creator; but He is the reflexion of none of them.' A third reading is *pareglie l' altre cose*. Here *pareglie* is taken as an adj. agreeing with *cose*, and meaning 'equal,' 'like'; and *di sè* depends upon it. 'Who makes the other things to resemble himself, while none of them makes him to resemble itself.' But this reading is evidently a *lectio facilior*, and it is hard to see how the other readings could have arisen from it.

109–11. **quant' è che:** 'how long a time it is since.' **giardino:** the Earthly Paradise. **ove costei,** &c.: 'where Beatrice prepared thee for the long ascent through the spheres of Heaven.'

112, 113. **E quanto,** &c.: 'and how long it (the Earthly Paradise) was a delight to my eyes'; **quanto** is for *quanto tempo*, as in l. 109. **gran disdegno:** God's wrath against Adam's transgression; this is another way of saying 'the Fall of Man.'

115–42. Of Dante's four questions which have just been stated, Adam answers first No. 3—'What was the real cause of the Fall of Man?' (ll. 115–7); next No. 1—'How long time had elapsed from the Creation to the present moment?' (ll. 118–23); then No. 4—'What language did Adam speak?' (ll. 124–38); and finally No. 2—'How long time did he spend in the Earthly Paradise?' (ll. 139–42).

117. **il trapassar del segno:** 'overstepping the appointed bounds,' lit. 'passing the mark.' This means, not merely the transgression of God's commandment, but the desire of our first parents to be as gods in knowing good and evil (Gen. iii. 5). So Aquinas says (*Summa*, ii. 2^{dae}. Q. 163. Art. 1), 'Primum peccatum hominis fuit in hoc, quod appetiit quoddam spirituale bonum *supra suam mensuram*'; and again in Art. 2, 'Primus homo peccavit principaliter appetendo similitudinem Dei quantum ad scientiam boni et mali.'

118–23. Adam here says that he lived on earth 930 years (cp. Gen. v. 5), and was in Limbo, until he was released by Christ, 4302 years, which periods together make 5232 years. In order to answer Dante's question completely—i. e. to compute the time up to the date of Dante's Vision—it would be necessary to add the period which intervened between the death of Christ in 34 A.D.

(at which time He descended into Hell, and delivered Adam) and 1300 A.D., viz. 1266 years. Thus the total would be 6498 years. Our authority for the duration of our Lord's life having been according to Dante 34 years is *Conv.* iv. 23. ll. 95–8, 'Il nostro Salvatore Cristo, il quale volle morire nel trentaquattresimo anno della sua etade.'

118–20. **Quindi,** &c.: 'from that place, whence thy Lady urged Virgil to come, for four thousand three hundred and two revolutions of the sun I longed for this assembly,' i. e. the assembly of the saints in Heaven. The place here meant is Limbo; cp. Inf. ii. 52 foll. **Quindi** is to be taken with **desiderai.**

121, 122. **i lumi,** &c.: 'the lights of the sun's highway' are the constellations of the zodiac; and the sun's returning to all those lights marks the period of a year.

124–6. **La lingua,** &c.: on the subject of the language which Adam used, Dante in *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 6. ll. 59–61 had enunciated the view that it was Hebrew. Further reflexion on the constant change which is taking place in language had led him to a contrary view (*inf.* ll. 137, 138); and he here states his belief that Adam's language had ceased to exist even before the Confusion of Tongues. **inconsumabile:** 'which could not be completed'; the Tower of Babel was intended to reach up to Heaven. **Nembrot:** for the idea on Dante's part that the Tower of Babel was built by Nimrod, see note on Inf. xxxi. 77.

127–9. **Chè nullo,** &c.: 'for, owing to the changes in men's inclinations under the influence of the stars, no product of human reason (such as language) ever remained permanently the same.' **rinnovella** here = *si cangia.*

130–2. **Opera,** &c.: 'human language is an operation of nature; but nature leaves it to you to determine according to your pleasure the particular form it takes.' This point is treated by Dante in connexion with the Italian dialects in *De Vulg. Eloq.* i. 9. 44–60. **abbella:** 'it seems fair,' 'pleases': the word seems to be derived from the Provençal; cp. 'Tan m' abelis' in Purg. xxvi. 140.

133–5. To illustrate the natural change of language the change in the name for God is introduced. **infernale ambascia:** 'the anguish of Hell'; cp. Purg. xvi. 39. **I:** this probably stands for Jah or Jehovah. **onde,** &c.: 'from whom proceeds the joy which enwraps me,' i. e. the enveloping robe of light.

136–8. **El si chiamò da poi**: the passage of Scripture which Dante seems to have had in his mind in this connexion is Ex. vi. 2, 3, 'And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am Jehovah: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty (*El Shaddai*), but by my name Jehovah I was not known to them.' Dante supposes that Adam in the state of innocence would know God by His true and highest name, whereas afterwards this was replaced by the lower name. Here again he is correcting a statement of his own in the *De Vulg. Eloq.* (i. 4. ll. 26–9), where he had said that the first word which man uttered was *El*. **ciò conviene**: 'that is meet,' viz. the change from *I* to *El*. **l' uso**, &c.: Horace, *Ars Poet.* 60–2, 'Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos, Prima cadunt: ita verborum vetus interit aetas, Et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.'

139–42. **monte**: the Mountain of Purgatory, on the summit of which was the Earthly Paradise. **si leva più**: cp. Purg. iii. 14, 15. **pura e disonesta**: i. e. both before and at the time of the Fall. **Dalla prim' ora**, &c.: 'from the first hour to the seventh (that which follows the sixth).' Adam here answers the second question by saying that the duration of his stay in the Earthly Paradise was seven hours; to this effect there was a mediaeval tradition. **Come**, &c.: 'when the sun changes from one quadrant to another.' As a quadrant represents a fourth part of the sun's daily course, the sun changes quadrants every sixth hour; hence the meaning is, 'when the sun has completed a quarter of its revolution.' At that time the sixth hour is succeeded by the seventh.

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT.—St. Peter denounces the crimes of the Roman Pontiffs; and the company of the Blessed, as they hear him, assume a ruddy hue of indignation. After this they return to the Empyrean, and Dante, when he has once more looked down upon the earth far beneath him, ascends with his guide to the ninth or Crystalline Heaven, which is the *Primum Mobile*. Beatrice now explains to Dante the nature of this sphere, and is led by the contemplation of its marvels to declaim against the decadence of human nature, which had become blind to their sublimity.

Lines 5, 6. **per che,** &c.: the meaning is:—'so that my mind was affected by ecstasy through what I saw as well as through what I heard.'

10, 11. **le quattro face:** St. Peter, St. James, St. John, and Adam; of these 'the one who came first' is St. Peter.

13–5. **E tal,** &c.: St. Peter's indignation, which expresses itself in the speech that follows, is manifested by the robe of light which envelops him assuming a red hue; this change is illustrated by the supposition that the white planet Jupiter should assume the plumage, so to speak, of the red planet Mars. The plumage in this comparison corresponds to the robe of light.

16, 17. **che quivi,** &c.: 'which in Heaven assigns to each his fitting time and part.' **vice** is the occasion when this or that person is to act, **offizio** the function which he is to perform. For the general principle which is here expressed cp. Par. xxi. 67–72.

22–4. **Quegli,** &c.: Boniface VIII, who owing to his crimes unrighteously occupied the see of St. Peter, which consequently in the sight of Christ was vacant. It seems better to attribute this meaning to **usurpa** and **vaca,** than to regard them as implying that the see was *ipso facto* vacant because Celestine V, the predecessor of Boniface, was still alive. **Nella presenza,** &c.: in the sight of Christ, the head of the Church in Heaven, Boniface was an apostate, though on earth he was to be recognized as Pope. It is from the latter point of view that the ignominious treatment of him by the agents of Philip the Fair at Anagni is regarded by Dante as sacrilegious; Purg. xx. 85–7.

25–7. **cimitero mio:** Rome, which was the reputed burial-place of St. Peter. **cloaca:** it is so called on account of its defilement by murder and corruption. **il perverso:** Lucifer. **laggiù si placa:** 'rejoices in Hell.'

28, 29. **quel color,** &c.: 'that (red) hue, which tints the clouds at morn and eve from the sun being in the opposite quarter.'

32, 33. **per l' altrui fallanza:** 'for shame at another's misdoing.' **fane:** for *ne fa.*

35. **eclissi:** 'eclipse,' 'darkness,' like that which covered the earth at the time of the Crucifixion.

41. **Lin:** Linus is regarded as St. Peter's successor as Bishop of Rome, and Cletus as having followed Linus.

43–5. **esto viver lieto:** the joys of Heaven. **Sisto,** &c.: of

the four Bishops of Rome here mentioned the first two lived in Cent. ii., the last two in Cent. iii. **fleto**: 'suffering,' lit. 'weeping'; the reference is to the persecution which culminated in their deaths.

46–8. **ch' a destra mano**, &c.: the meaning is:—'that the Guelf party should be favoured by the Popes, and the Ghibellines persecuted.'

50, 51. **segnacolo**, &c.: the keys of St. Peter were the emblem on the Papal banner. **Che contra**, &c.: 'to be used in combat against Christians,' and not in a Crusade against the enemies of the Cross; cp. Inf. xxvii. 85–90.

52–4. **figura**, &c.: the figure of St. Peter on the seal which was attached to bulls and other Papal documents. The sale of indulgences is here referred to. **disfavillo**: 'flash with fire.'

57. **difesa di Dio**: 'weapons (lit. defence) of God's armoury.'

58, 59. **Caorsini e Guaschi**: John XXII, a native of Cahors (Pope 1316–1334), and Clement V (1305–1314), a native of Gascony (*il Guasco* of Par. xvii. 82), together with their adherents. The dates here given show that these remarks of St. Peter must be regarded as prophetic from the point of view of 1300 A.D. The mention of John XXII as Pope here and in Par. xviii. 130 proves that this part of the poem was written after 1316, the date of his election. **principio**: i. e. Church of the early ages.

61–3. **che con Scipio**, &c.: 'which by the hands of Scipio maintained for Rome the empire of the world.' Scipio Africanus the younger, the conqueror of Hannibal, is meant; cp. *Conv.* iv. 5. ll. 164–71. **Soccorrà tosto**: Dante here, as elsewhere, is anticipating the coming of a hoped-for regenerator of the world.

64. **per lo mortal pondo**: 'because you still bear the burden of the flesh.'

67–9. **Sì come**, &c.: the spirits which formed the Triumph of Christ now ascend to the Empyrean. Their appearance, as they float upwards, is compared to that of flakes of snow falling in a snowstorm. Similarly in the *Vita Nuova*, § 23. l. 185, the ascent of a glory of Angels is described as 'pioggia di manna.' Translate:—'As with congealed vapours our atmosphere falls in flakes (**fiocca In giuso**).' **quando**, &c.: in mid-winter (from the middle of December to the middle of January), when the sun is in Capricorn.

71. **fioccar**, &c.: 'flaked with triumphant vapours,' i. e. spirits.

74, 75. **in fin che**, &c.: 'until the vastness of the intervening space prevented my eyes from penetrating beyond.'

76–8. **assolto**: 'freed,' lit. 'absolved,' 'excused.' **come**, &c.: 'how far thou hast gone round.' The object of Beatrice here, and of Dante's remarks which follow, seems to be to draw attention to the rapidity of their movement.

79–81. **Dall' ora**, &c.: 'reckoning from the time when I had looked before (cp. Par. xxii. 134, 151–3), I saw that I had passed along the whole of the arc which the first clime forms from its middle point to its end.' This means that Dante had moved through 90° of longitude, from the meridian of Jerusalem—which place was the central point of the habitable world of 180° in length reckoned from E. to W.—to that of Gades, which marked its western limit. In order to understand the terms in which Dante has expressed this, we must first examine the meaning of the word **clima**. The *climata* of the Greek geographers were belts or spaces of the earth's surface which intervened between two parallels of latitude; and by Hipparchus, who first invented the term, these intervals were measured by degrees of latitude; but Ptolemy, who subsequently adopted it, determined them by the increase of the length of the longest day, proceeding northwards from the equator to the parallel of Thule, and dividing the intervening space into 21 *climata*. Alfraganus, who is Dante's authority in this matter, adapted the scheme of Ptolemy to his own purposes, and reduced the number of *climata* to seven, commencing the computation, not from the equator, but from Lat. 12° 45′ N., which was to him the limit of the habitable globe to the south (Alfr. *Element. Astronom.* cap. x.). The first of these *climata*, the central parallel of which passed through Meroë, was the only one which lay wholly within the tropics, and this is the reason why it is mentioned here, because the position of Dante at this time was immediately over the northern half of the torrid zone. For Gemini, in which he now was, is one of the signs of the zodiac; and as the sun never passes to the northward of the tropic of Cancer, the signs of the zodiac, through which his course lies, must fall within the same limit. Hence Dante, in describing himself as passing, while he was in Gemini, from the meridian of Jerusalem to that of Gades, says that he moved along the arc formed by the **primo clima**. The interval between those two points is represented as reaching from the middle to the end of the first *clima*, because to

Alfraganus the *climata* were divisions, not of the entire globe, but of the habitable globe (thus he says, 'Loca quadrantis *habitabilis* dividuntur in septem climata'), and he regarded their extension from E. to W. as corresponding to twelve hours in time ('longitudo omnium climatum ab oriente in occasum spatio 12 horarum a revolutione caelesti conficitur'), which represent 180° in space. Consequently the half of this extension (**dal mezzo al fine**) would be six hours in time, or 90° in space, thus corresponding to the difference between Jerusalem and Gades. **Fine** is appropriately used of the western extremity of the *clima*, because the movement of the sun, and that of Dante himself in the zodiac, which are here regarded, are from E. to W. It is hardly necessary to add that, when it is said that Dante was on the meridian of Jerusalem or of Gades, it does not follow that he was over those places, but only that he was in the same longitude with them.

82–4. **varco**: 'passage,' 'track,' as in Inf. xix. 132. The **varco Folle d' Ulisse** is the same as the *folle volo* of Inf. xxvi. 125, i. e. the voyage of Ulysses through the Atlantic; here, in other words, it means the Atlantic Ocean which Ulysses navigated. **di qua**, &c.: 'on this side I almost saw the shore, on which Europa became a sweet burden,' i. e. the coast of Phoenicia, from which Jupiter in the form of a bull carried off Europa; see Ov. *Met.* ii. 833 foll. The Phoenician coast is here used as a geographical equivalent of Jerusalem. The reason why **presso** ('almost') is added is that, whereas the earth's hemisphere, as seen by Dante from the meridian of Gades in the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, would reach as far east as Jerusalem—because, as we have seen, that place according to Dante's mathematical geography was 90°, or half the earth's hemisphere, distant from Gades—yet the eastern part of that area would be in shadow and invisible, because the sun, which was in Aries, was some distance to the west of Gemini. This is explained in ll. 85–7. (A difficulty, however, remains in the use of the word **presso**, because, as Dante says in l. 87, the sun was a sign of the zodiac and more in advance of Gemini, and consequently the greater part of the eastern half of the Mediterranean, and not only—as 'I almost saw' would seem to imply—that in the neighbourhood of Phoenicia, would be invisible.)

85–7. **E più**, &c.: the meaning is:—'I should have seen more of the habitable world, but this was hidden from me, because the

sun was passing on towards the west, and consequently the eastern part was in shadow.' This is a comment on *presso* in l. 83, explaining that the view would have extended, not nearly, but quite, as far as the Phoenician coast (in other words, to Jerusalem), had it not been that the sun was some distance to the west of Gemini. Observe that **più** cannot imply any ground to the eastward of Jerusalem, for that would in any case be invisible, since Jerusalem was the limit of the view in that direction, as has been explained in the preceding note. **fora**: for *sarebbe stato*; for other instances of the use of the present for the past conditional cp. Par. xv. 127; xxxiii. 77. **aiuola**: 'plot of earth'; cp. Par. xxii. 151. **un segno**, &c.: 'separated from me by a sign of the zodiac and more.' As Dante was in Gemini, and the sun was in Aries, the whole of Taurus and parts of those two constellations were between them.

88, 89. **donnea**: 'dallies'; cp. Par. xxiv. 118. **ridure**: this is an earlier form of *riducere* than *ridurre*; cp. *fare* from *facere*, *dire* from *dicere*.

91–3. **fe' pasture**, &c.: 'prepared a banquet of delight to captivate the eyes, and so to (lit. so as to) possess the mind': for *pasture* cp. Par. xxi. 19. **In carne**, &c.: 'whether in the form of human flesh (which is the work of *nature*), or in pictures of it (which are the work of *art*).'

97–9. **la virtù**, &c.: 'the power which her look bestowed upon me.' **nido di Leda**: the constellation of Gemini is called 'the nest of Leda,' because Leda, the mother of the Twins, Castor and Pollux, was visited by Jupiter, their father, in the form of a swan, and she brought forth an egg. **ciel velocissimo**: the Crystalline Heaven, or *Primum Mobile*, which being the outermost of the spheres was also the swiftest in its revolution. To this ninth sphere Dante and Beatrice now rise.

100–2. **vivissime**: 'exceeding full of life,' i. e. of motion. **uniformi**: i. e. not distinguished by constellations, like the eighth sphere. Hence there was nothing in it like the sign of Gemini to determine Dante's position.

106–20. Beatrice here describes the character of the *Primum Mobile*, as being the source of motion—and through motion of the computation of time—to the rest of the universe, and deriving its motion immediately from God.

106–8. **che quieta**, &c.: 'which causes the central point (i. e.

the earth) to be at rest, and communicates motion to the spheres around.' **meta**: 'starting-point.'

109–11. **dove**: 'place'; cp. Par. xxii. 147. It is not intended here that the *Primum Mobile* is not a material circle, for it is the *Crystalline* sphere: it is one of the *cerchi corporai* in Par. xxviii. 64, and is called *maggior corpo* in Par. xxx. 39. What is meant is, that that which is beyond it and determines its position is nothing else than the Divine Mind. **L' amor**, &c.: the *Primum Mobile* is set in motion by its longing to approach to God, and the other spheres by their longing to approach to it; see note on Par. i. 76. **la virtù**, &c.: the influence which it (the *Primum Mobile*) communicates to the other spheres; see note on Par. ii. 112–4.

112–4. **Luce**, &c.: 'light and love form a sphere encircling it (lit. 'embrace it with a sphere'), even as this sphere (the *Primum Mobile*) encircles the other spheres.' By 'light and love' the Empyrean is meant; cp. Par. xxviii. 53, 54. **precinto**: 'circuit,' 'circle': this again is the Empyrean. 'Over that circle He alone who embraces it presides.' Each of the nine lower circles has its own presiding angelic Intelligences, but the Intelligence which presides over the tenth Heaven is God only. For **intende** in this sense cp. *intendendo* in Par. viii. 37.

115–7. **Non è**, &c.: 'the motion of the *Primum Mobile* is not determined by any other,' i. e. by the motion of any other sphere. **Sì come**, &c.: this is a specimen of exact or perfect measurement. The half of ten, i. e. five, and its fifth part, i. e. two, when multiplied together make ten.

118, 119. **E come**, &c.: the *Primum Mobile*, in which distinctions of time originate, but are not apparent, is compared to a flower-pot, which contains the roots of a plant concealed within it: the other spheres, which derive their measurements of time from this, are described as containing the leaves of the plant, which are the visible products of the root, because time is measured by the visible motion of the sun and the planets.

121, 122. **O cupidigia**, &c.: from the exposition of the mystery of the divine government of the universe Beatrice turns to denounce the degradation of men owing to their mean interests, which blind them to the sublime verities. **affonde**, &c.: 'dost so submerge mankind beneath thy waters.'

126. **bozzacchioni**: 'blasted fruit'; strictly the word means

'plums (**susine**) which are damaged by continuous rainfall.' The 'unceasing rain' here signifies the corrupting influences by which men are surrounded.

127–9. **Fede**: the metrical *hiatus* after this word is altogether exceptional. **coperte**: 'covered with a beard.'

130–2. **Tale**, &c.: 'one, who already while still a lisping child observes the fasts, when he can speak plainly (i. e. has reached years of discretion) eats any kind of food in any season (lit. month)'; i. e. he observes neither fixed times nor prescribed forms of fasting.

136–8. **Così**, &c.: 'so grows dark, as soon as seen (i. e. from the very first), the fair skin of the beauteous daughter of him who brings morning and leaves evening (i. e. of the sun).' The 'beauteous daughter of the sun' is human nature; and the idea which is thus expressed was derived by Dante from Aristotle, *Phys.* ii. 2. 11, ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ καὶ ἥλιος, his familiarity with which passage is shown by his referring to it in *De Mon.* i. 9. 4–7, 'Humanum genus filius est caeli . . . generat enim homo hominem et sol, iuxta secundum de Naturali auditu.' The same idea is introduced by Dante in Par. xxii. 116, where the sun is described as 'Quegli ch' è padre d' ogni mortal vita.' The meaning of the present lines then is—'Human nature degenerates from the first.'

140. **Pensa**, &c.: here, as elsewhere (cp. Purg. xvi. 103 foll.), Dante attributes the corruption of the world to neglect on the part of the ruling powers, both spiritual and temporal.

142–4. **gennaio**: the last three vowels are pronounced for metrical purposes as one syllable; cp. *beccaio*, Purg. xx. 52. **si sverni**: 'passes (in reckoning) out of winter into spring.' The reckoning of the Julian calendar involved a yearly error in excess of somewhat less than a hundredth part of a day (**la centesma**), and this in Dante's time amounted to an error of about nine days, so that January was advanced by so much towards the end of winter and beginning of spring. It was this which was corrected by the Gregorian calendar two centuries and a half later. The general meaning, then, of **prima che**, &c., is 'before a very long time has passed'; but it is intended to be understood ironically as meaning 'before long,' 'soon,' somewhat in the same way as when we say 'not a hundred miles off' for 'near.' **ch' è laggiù negletta**: 'to the correction of which no attention is paid on earth.' **Ruggiran**, &c.: 'the indignation of Heaven will be so great.'

145–8. **la fortuna**: 'the good fortune,' i. e. the coming of a regenerator of society, such as had been foreshadowed in the *Veltro* of Inf. i. 101 and the DUX of Purg. xxxiii. 43. **Le poppe**, &c.: 'shall reverse the present iniquitous condition of the world.' **la classe**: by 'the fleet' mankind are meant. **vero frutto**: not *bozzacchioni* (l. 126).

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT.—In the Crystalline Heaven Dante beholds an intensely brilliant point of light, representing the Deity, round which move in nine concentric circles the nine Orders of Angels. Beatrice explains to him the nature of these, and their correspondence to the nine celestial spheres, together with their division into hierarchies; and mentions Dionysius the Areopagite as the authority through whom these mysteries were known.

LINE 3. **imparadisa**: 'doth imparadise,' i. e. blesses with the joys of Paradise; cp. Par. xviii. 21.

4, 5. **Come**, &c.: before Dante receives a fresh revelation of the glories of Heaven, he perceives this by anticipation in the increased brilliancy of the eyes of Beatrice. This is compared to a person seeing in a mirror the reflexion of a light behind him that is as yet invisible to him, which light, on turning round, he finds to correspond exactly to the reflexion. **doppiero**: 'flambeau,' 'taper'; der. from Lat. *duplus*: so called, according to Diez, p. 368, because of its double wick. **se n'alluma retro**: 'is lighted by it from behind.'

9. **come nota**, &c.: 'as a tune corresponds to the metre of the verse to which it is set,' i. e. exactly.

11, 12. **Ch' io feci**: Dante saw a bright light reflected in the eyes of Beatrice. **corda**: 'noose,' 'snare.'

13–5. **tocchi**: abbreviated for *toccati*, as in Purg. iv. 137. **ciò che pare**, &c.: 'that which may be perceived in that Heaven, whenever (as in the present case) it is rightly regarded in respect of its rotation.' **volume** from meaning 'revolution' comes to signify 'revolving heaven'; cp. Par. xxiii. 112. The 'Heaven' which is here intended is the *Primum Mobile*, and of this we are told in *Conv.* ii. 4. ll. 9, 10, that it is imperceptible to sense save for its

motion. In the present case Dante's eyes are supposed to be furnished with a superhuman power of sight, which enabled him to perceive it visibly passing before him: this is implied in the words 'is rightly regarded.' **ciò che pare,** &c., cannot mean the movement of the lower and visible Heavens regarded as an evidence of the existence of the *Primum Mobile* from which that movement proceeds, because Dante was now looking upwards, and therefore away from the lower Heavens.

16, 17. **Un punto**: as a point is indivisible, it is here taken to represent the Unity of the Godhead. It is in order to lay stress on the indivisibility, that the minuteness of this point of light is illustrated in ll. 19–21. **affoca**: 'enkindles'; 'illuminates.'

19–21. **quale stella,** &c.: 'the star which, when seen from earth, appears the smallest of all, would seem a moon, if placed beside this point of light in the same way as one star is placed by another star in the sky.'

22–39. Dante now describes how nine concentric circles of light, which are the nine angelic Orders, revolve round the point which represents the Divine Unity, as their centre; and that their brightness and the rapidity of their movement are in proportion to their nearness to that point. The following are the angelic Orders represented by the successive circles: 1. Seraphim; 2. Cherubim; 3. Thrones; 4. Dominions; 5. Virtues; 6. Powers; 7. Principalities; 8. Archangels; 9. Angels. These are the *beati motori* of the various spheres, who are mentioned in Par. ii. 127–9. The reason why the angelic Orders are revealed to Dante in this Heaven is, that the *Primum Mobile* is the sphere from which proceed the stellar influences, and these are dispensed by those Orders in the various spheres.

22–4. **cotanto**: take with *distante* (l. 25); 'at the distance at which the halo seems closely to surround (i. e. as closely as the halo seems to surround) the luminary (sun or moon), which furnishes its light, when the vapour on which it is formed is densest.' When the atmosphere is densest, the halo is nearest to the sun or moon.

27. **Quel moto,** &c.: that of the *Primum Mobile*.

31–3. **Sopra**: 'without,' i. e. outside the sixth circle. **sparto . . . di larghezza**: 'ample (lit. spread out) in width.' **il messo di Juno**: Iris, i. e. the rainbow. **Intero**: 'were it complete,' i. e. if it formed a perfect circle.

36. **dall' uno**: 'from the point of Unity.'

38, 39. **la favilla**: the point of light. **di lei s' invera**: 'is imbued with its truth'; 'partakes of its perfection.'

40–2. **in cura**, &c.: 'in anxious suspense.' This was due to his eagerness to learn the meaning of this sight. **Da quel punto**, &c.: this is from Ar. *Metaph.* xi. 7. 5, Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔστι τι κινοῦν αὐτὸ ἀκίνητον ὄν, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἄλλως ἔχειν οὐδαμῶς . . . . ἐκ τοιαύτης ἄρα ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις. **punto** stands both for the *punto* of l. 16, and for the ἀρχή ('first cause') of Aristotle.

45. **onde**, &c.: 'by which it is impelled.'

46–57. Dante here states the difficulty which he feels, viz. that, whereas in the world of sense the spheres move more swiftly in proportion to their distance from the centre, i. e. the earth, the celestial circles which he is now contemplating move more swiftly in proportion to their nearness to the centre, i. e. God. As the latter of these systems is the pattern of the former, it would be natural that they should correspond.

48. **Sazio**: participle, for *saziato*; cp. Purg. xxxiii. 138. 'The food that is set before me (i. e. the description of the nature and movement of these circles that has been given me) would have satisfied me.'

50. **volte**: 'spheres'; cp. Purg. xxviii. 104, where the *Primum Mobile* is called 'la prima volta.' **divine**: 'under the influence of God,' as shown by the rapidity of their motion.

52–4. **il mio disio**: 'my anxiety for an explanation.' **templo**, &c.: the *Primum Mobile*, beyond which there is nothing but light and love, i. e. the Empyrean Heaven; see Par. xxvii. 112.

55, 56. **come**, &c.: see note on ll. 46–57.

58–60. **a tal nodo**: 'to disentangle such a knot,' i. e. to solve so great a difficulty. **sodo**: 'tight,' lit. 'solid,' 'firm': 'so tight it has become from no one having tried to untie it.'

63. **t' assottiglia**: 'exercise your subtlety.'

64–78. The argument is as follows:—In the material universe the size of the spheres corresponds to the amount of divinely infused power (**virtute**) which they possess, and which is diffused by them throughout their whole range (**per tutte lor parti**), i. e. from sphere to sphere and to the earth (ll. 64–6). A larger amount of the benefits thus communicated and received below (**maggior bontà**)

is the result of a larger amount of salutary influence (**maggior salute**), and the larger amount of salutary influence is contained in a larger body—supposing always that that body has complete receptive power throughout (ll. 67–9). Consequently, the ninth sphere, or *Primum Mobile*, which is the largest, is also the highest in its nature of all the spheres; and thus it corresponds to the first and highest circle of the angels, that of the Seraphim (ll. 70–2). Hence, if you estimate the angelic circles, not by their size, as you see them, but by the rank and relative power of the spirits which compose them, you will perceive that each material Heaven corresponds exactly to the Order of Intelligences that guides it, the wider sphere to the superior, the narrower to the inferior power (ll. 73–8).

64. **corporai**: 'corporal,' 'material.' This passage affords clear evidence of Dante's belief in the spheres of Heaven as being material.

67–9. **bontà**: in the interpretation of the passage which is given above this word is taken as the predicate, and **salute** as the subject, of the sentence. **compiute**: 'perfect.' In the case of the *Primum Mobile* there can be no question of the perfection of the receptive power throughout, though there is in the case of the lower spheres.

70–2. **costui**, &c.: the *Primum Mobile*, which is the source of motion. **cerchio**, &c.: the first circle of the Intelligences is that of the Seraphim. **che più sape**: it may seem surprising at first sight that, whereas the Seraphim are usually spoken of as representing love, and the Cherubim knowledge, the highest degree of the latter of these powers as well as of the former should here be attributed to the Seraphim. The explanation is, that the Seraphim enjoy the most intimate vision of God (cp. *Conv.* ii. 6. ll. 79–81, 'li Serafini veggiono più della prima Cagione, che alcun' altra angelica natura'), and consequently they possess the highest knowledge as well as the highest love, though they only represent the latter. See Gardner, *Dante's Ten Heavens*, pp. 203, 204.

73–5. **Perchè**, &c.: 'wherefore, if you apply your measure (estimate) to the virtue (rank, influence) of these circles, not to the circular form in which the angelic natures (**sustanzie**) are revealed to you,' &c.

76–8. **conseguenza**: 'correspondence.' **di maggio a più**: 'of the wider sphere to the higher Intelligence.' **intelligenza**: the Order of heavenly beings which guides it.

81. **da quella**, &c.: 'on that side (lit. from that cheek) on

which he is mildest.' The NE. wind is meant, of which Brunetto Latini (*Tesoro*, Bk. ii. Ch. 37) says, that it keeps off rain and clouds ('restringe pioggia e nuvole'), whereas the N. and NW. winds are inclement.

82–4. **roffia**: 'dense vapours,' 'rack.' **paroffia**: a word of unknown origin, and somewhat doubtful signification; but it probably means 'retinue,' and here 'pageantry'; so that what is intended to be expressed by it is the brilliant display of sunlight.

88, 89. **restaro**: 'stayed their course,' 'ceased to be uttered.' **ferro**, &c.: Dante employs the same comparison in Par. i. 60.

91–3. **Lo incendio**, &c.: 'every spark (angel) accompanied (flew about in the neighbourhood of) their burning train (the coruscating circles to which they belonged).' **s' immilla**: 'runs into thousands'; 'their number runs into more thousands than the doubling of the chess,' i. e. an infinite number. The story here referred to is as follows. 'The inventor of the game of chess brought it to a Persian king, who was so delighted with it, that he offered him in return whatever reward he might ask. The inventor said he wished only a grain of wheat, doubled as many times as there were squares on the chess-board; that is, one grain for the first square, two for the second, four for the third, and so on to sixty-four. This the king readily granted; but when the amount was reckoned up, he had not wheat enough in his whole kingdom to pay it' (Longfellow).

94–6. **Io sentiva**, &c.: 'I heard them sing hosanna choir by choir to the fixed point (cp. ll. 16, 41) which holds and will for ever hold them to the place in which they ever were.' The latter of these points is explained below (ll. 100–2). The attraction exercised by the Presence of God causes each circle of spirits to approach as near to Him as they can, and their power of doing so is in proportion to their ability to see Him.

97. **i pensier dubi**: these questionings related to the different angelic circles. The order of these has been given in note to ll. 22–39. The nine circles were divided into three Hierarchies. The scheme of these was derived by Dante from the *De Caelesti Hierarchia* of Dionysius. According to that work (cap. 7–9) the first Hierarchy comprised the Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; the second the Dominions, Virtues, and Powers; the third the Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. See also note below on l. 130.

100–2. **Così,** &c.: 'they follow their bonds with the speed which you behold.' **vimi:** 'withs,' 'bonds,' Lat. *vimen*. The 'bonds' are the attraction of love, which holds them fast to the central point. **Per simigliarsi,** &c.: the meaning is, that they desire to be united with God, and to partake of His nature. **quanto,** &c.: 'in proportion as they have a higher power of spiritual insight.'

103–5. **vonno:** for *vanno*. **del divino aspetto:** the explanation of this will be found in Par. ix. 61, 62, where the Thrones are said to be 'mirrors by which God's judgements are directly revealed to us.' **Perchè,** &c.: 'and thus they completed (lit. whereby they concluded) the first group of three.' **terminonno** for *terminarono*; cp. *apparinno* for *apparirono*, Par. xiv. 121. The past tense is used because the period of their creation is referred to.

108. **Nel vero,** &c.: in God.

110, 111. **nell' atto,** &c.: 'in the act of seeing, not in that of loving, which is subsequent.' This is the view of Aquinas, who opposes the opinion of Duns Scotus, that loving is the higher act.

112, 113. **mercede,** &c.: 'meritorious works, which are the result of the combined action of the grace of God and of good will in the recipient of that grace.'

115–7. **germoglia:** 'buds,' i. e. is ever putting forth fresh graces. **che notturno,** &c.: 'which no autumn season strips of its leaves.' As the sun is in Aries at the vernal equinox, in the autumn that constellation is seen at night; hence 'nocturnal Aries' stands for 'autumn,' the season of falling leaves.

118–20. **sverna:** 'warbles.' *Svernare* is used of birds 'chirping out winter' on the arrival of spring. For other passages where it signifies 'warbling' see *Vocab. Tramater.* **onde s' interna:** 'of which its triple nature (as a *ternaro*) is composed.'

121–3. **Dee:** 'divinities,' i. e. divine Orders of Intelligences. These are similarly called *Dei* in Inf. vii. 87. In Purg. xxxii. 8 the Theological Virtues are called *Dee*. **ee:** for the form cp. Purg. xxxii. 10.

124, 125. **tripudi:** 'dances.' Here, as in Par. xii. 22, the word is used of the joyous movement of the inhabitants of Heaven. **girano:** this line and those which rhyme with it are twelve-syllable lines; see note on Inf. xv. 1.

127–9. **Questi ordini,** &c.: 'these Orders all look upwards

(towards God), and downwards they so prevail (exercise so powerful influence), that they all are drawn towards God, and all draw those beneath them.'

130. **Dionisio**: Dionysius the Areopagite, the convert of St. Paul at Athens (Acts xvii. 34), was the reputed author of the *De Caelesti Hierarchia*, which has already been mentioned. In reality that work seems to have been written in the fifth or sixth century. It was translated from the original Greek into Latin by John Scotus Erigena (Cent. ix.), and became the text-book of angelic lore in the middle ages. The names of the Orders were derived from Scripture, for five of them, viz. Thrones, Dominions, Virtues, Powers and Principalities, occur in St. Paul's Epistles (cp. Rom. viii. 38 (Vulg.); Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16), and the remaining four, viz. Seraphim, Cherubim, Archangels and Angels, in other parts of the Bible; but the system which Dante here gives was due to the work just mentioned.

132. **com' io**: i. e. 'rightly,' because Beatrice, who is speaking, had perfect knowledge. Dante here by implication recants the view which he had propounded in *Conv.* ii. 6. ll. 43–55, for he there places the Powers in the first Hierarchy, the Principalities in the second, and the Thrones in the third. This arrangement he seems to have borrowed from Brunetto Latini, *Tesoro*, Bk. i. Ch. 12.

133–5. **Gregorio**: St. Gregory (Pope Gregory the Great; Cent. vi.) differed (**si divise**) from St. Dionysius in placing the Principalities in the second Hierarchy, and the Virtues in the third (*Homiliae in Evangelia*; No. 34, § 7). **di sè medesmo**: 'at his mistake.'

136–9. **E se**, &c.: the explanation of St. Dionysius being able, while still living on earth, to reveal to men the nature of the angelic Hierarchies is, that it was communicated to him by St. Paul, who learnt it when he was caught up to the third Heaven; cp. 2 Cor. xii. 2.

CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT.—Beatrice enlightens Dante on the subject of the angels—their creation; the Fall of those who rebelled against God; the nature and faculties of the angels; their number; and their participation in the light of God's presence. In one part of this discourse she digresses from her subject, in order to inveigh against those vain preachers, who to amuse their hearers were wont to speculate on matters beyond their cognizance.

LINES 1–9. Beatrice now ceases for an instant from speaking, fixing her eyes on the point of light which represents the Divine Unity. The instantaneous character of this pause is illustrated by comparing it to a momentary astronomical phenomenon, viz. the correspondence in position of the setting sun and the rising full moon at the equinox, when they are opposite one another at the same time on the horizon. As the sun and moon are continually in motion, this correspondence can only last an instant.

1–3. **i figli,** &c.: Apollo and Diana, i. e. the Sun and Moon. **Coperti,** &c.: 'surmounted by the Ram and by the Scales,' i. e. the sun being in Aries (**il Montone**), as it is at the vernal equinox, and the moon in the opposite sign of Libra. **Fanno,** &c.: 'are girdled by (i. e. are on) the horizon at the same time.'

4–6. **Quant' è,** &c.: 'as long a time as elapses from the moment when the zenith makes an equipoise between them, until they respectively escape from (**dilibra** for *dilibera*) that girdle (their common horizon), changing their hemispheres (the one from the northern to the southern, the other *vice versa*).' The length of time, as remarked above, is an instant only. **inlibra**: 'strikes an equilibrium' between the sun and moon; the verb is used absolutely. They are supposed to be in the scales of an invisible balance suspended from the zenith. Another reading here in place of **il zenit inlibra** is *li tiene in libra*, in which case the passage must be translated—'from the moment which holds them balanced.' The MS. authority for the two is about equal, but the unusual character of the words **zenit inlibra** is in favour of the former; see Moore, *Text. Crit.*, p. 496.

9. **vinto**: cp. Par. xxviii. 16–8.

10–84. The subjects about which Dante desires information are (1) The creation of the angels—why, when, where and how they were created (ll. 13–48); (2) The fall of the rebellious angels, and the position of the faithful angels (ll. 49–66); (3) The faculties of the angels (ll. 70–84).

12. **Dove,** &c.: in God, to whom all time and every place are present. The Latin words in this line, and *subsisto* below, are Scholastic terms.

13–5. **Non per,** &c.: 'not with a view to the acquisition of good for Himself,' i. e. not to add to His own perfections. **ma perchè,** &c.: 'but in order that His glory by being manifested in other beings might be able to say "I exist."' The answer to the question, Why were the angels created? is:—In doing so God desired to show forth His love by endowing His creatures with the glad consciousness of their separate existence.

16–8. These lines contain the answers to the questions, When and Where the angels were created. It was in eternity, and before limitations of place (**comprender**) existed. Since it was simultaneous with that of the material universe, as Beatrice presently explains, neither time nor space were already in existence when they were created. **altro:** beyond God himself. **i:** for *gli*; cp. Inf. ii. 17.

19–21. **Nè prima,** &c.: 'not that God before the creation lay as it were inactive, for the moving of the Spirit of God on the face of these waters (i. e. the act of creation, Gen. i. 2) took place neither before nor after aught else.' Time began with the creation; before that there were no distinctions of time: consequently it is inadmissible to speak of God as being inactive *before* the creation.

22–4. **Forma,** &c.: 'form and matter, both in combination and uncombined, came forth into perfect being.' 'Form' in Scholastic language is intellect; and pure form, or the purely intellectual creation, is the angels. Pure matter is the material universe. Form and matter combined is the human race. The creation is spoken of as 'perfect,' because 'God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good' (Gen. i. 31). **Come d' arco,** &c.: 'all these three results of creation came forth together, like three arrows shot from a three-stringed bow.' The three strings here represent the three Persons of the Trinity, who participated in the Creation.

25–7. **E come,** &c.: the illustration is intended to signify that

the creation was instantaneous, and also simultaneous in respect of the three results just mentioned. **dal venire**, &c.: the ray of light no sooner falls upon them than it illuminates them throughout. **esser tutto**: lit. 'being in them completely.'

28–30. **Così**, &c.: 'so did the threefold result beam forth simultaneously from its Lord in completeness of its being without any distinction of time in their commencement.'

31–3. **Concreato**, &c.: 'the order of these three substances—viz. pure form, pure matter, and the combination of them—was created and ordained (**costrutto**) along with them.' **quelle**: the angels. **puro atto**: in Scholastic language *actus purus* means the same as *forma tantum*; and that, as we have seen, is a description of the purely intellectual creation, the angels.

34–6. **Pura potenza**: potentiality is the capacity of being acted upon, or receptivity; hence 'pure potentiality' means the material creation, which is simply receptive. **nel mezzo**, &c.: 'intermediate between these was receptivity combined with intellect (i. e. the human race), which two elements were held together by a bond so powerful that it can never be unbound.' **giammai**, &c., must be understood in a qualified sense as meaning that the two elements can never be *permanently* separated'; for the bond is suspended by death, but it will be resumed again at the resurrection, and will then continue for ever. The order of things created which is described in ll. 31–6 is based on Aristotle, *De An.* ii. 2. 15; see Moore, *Studies*, i. p. 109.

37–9. **Jeronimo**, &c.: 'in Jerome's writings you will find it said of the angels that they were created long ages before the rest of the universe was made,' lit. 'Jerome wrote for you about the angels as being created a long period of ages before,' &c. The reference is to Jerome on Titus i. 2, 'Sex millia necdum nostri orbis implentur anni, et quantas prius aeternitates, quanta tempora, quantas saeculorum origines fuisse arbitrandum est; in quibus Angeli, Throni, Dominationes caeteraeque virtutes servierint Deo.' In connexion with this passage Aquinas says (*Summa*, i. Q. 61. Art. 3):—'Circa hoc invenitur duplex sanctorum doctorum sententia; illa tamen probabilior videtur quod angeli simul cum creatura corporea sunt creati.'

40, 41. **questo vero**: the simultaneous creation of the angels and the rest of the universe; see ll. 28–30. **lati**: 'passages.'

Instances of such passages are Ecclus. xviii. 1, 'Qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia *simul*' (Vulg.), and Gen. i. 1, 'In the beginning,' which words, according to one interpretation (see Aquinas, *loc. cit.*), were regarded as implying that nothing had been created before.

43–5. **la ragione,** &c.: the argument is, that as the office of the angelic Intelligences was to move and guide the Heavens, it was unsuitable that they should be created long before the Heavens were in existence. **sua perfezion:** that which was the object or final cause of their existence was the 'complement' of their being.

46–8. **questi amori:** the angels. **come:** 'in what fashion'; this is explained in ll. 32, 33, where it is said that the angels were by their nature *puro atto*. **ardori:** 'fires,' i. e. questions by which your desire of knowledge is kindled.

49–51. **Nè giugneriesi,** &c.: Beatrice now turns to the Fall of the rebellious angels. This took place immediately after their creation, 'before one could count twenty'; cp. *Conv.* ii. 6. ll. 95–7, 'Dico che di tutti questi Ordini si perderono alcuni tosto che furono creati.' **Turbò,** &c.: 'disturbed the nethermost of your elements.' The earth is the nethermost of these, because air, fire, and water rise above it; for **il suggetto** in this sense cp. Par. ii. 107. The 'disturbance' of the earth caused by Lucifer's fall is described in Inf. xxxiv. 121–6.

52. **L' altra,** &c.: 'the other part (the faithful angels) remained in Heaven.' **quest' arte:** that of revolving round the Divine Unity.

57. **costretto:** 'compressed,' 'crushed.' Lucifer occupied the centre of the earth, which was also the centre of gravity; cp. Inf. xxxiv. 110, 111, 'il punto Al qual si traggon d' ogni parte i pesi.'

58–60. **furon modesti,** &c.: 'were humble in recognizing that they proceeded from the goodness, which had created them fit for so great intelligence,' i. e. capable of enjoying the Presence of God.

61–3. **Perchè:** 'wherefore.' **con lor merto,** &c.: the merit of the faithful angels consisted, as we learn from l. 65, in their acceptance, by the exercise of their free-will, of God's illuminative grace; the result of this was, that their wills became immutably fixed on God and on His service, so that they could never fall away. It was through lack of this that the rebellious angels fell; cp. Par. xix. 48, 'per non aspettar lume.'

64–6. **dubbi**: the doubt which is here implied turned on the question, whether the faithful angels had done anything to deserve their blessedness. **Secondo che**, &c.: 'in proportion to the receptivity of the affection.' **gli**: for *le*, referring to *grazia*.

67–9. **Omai**, &c.: 'now thou mayst devote thy thoughts to the full without further aid to the subject of this angelic assembly, if thou hast laid to heart my words.'

70–84. Beatrice now speaks of the nature and faculties of the angels. She affirms that they possess intelligence and will, but denies them the power of memory. Aquinas (*Summa*, i. Q. 54. Art. 5) within certain limits allows them memory.

71. **Si legge**: 'it is taught (in lectures) in your schools.'

74, 75. **La verità**, &c.: 'the truth which on earth men confound, equivocating in such prelections.' By 'equivocating' is meant 'using words in more than one meaning.' The particular word referred to is 'memory,' which sometimes means the knowledge of what is past, sometimes the recalling of what has been—at least for the time—forgotten. In the latter meaning of the term, which is the usual one, angels have no memory, because they forget nothing, since everything is present to them in the face of God. The knowledge of the past, no doubt, they possess.

76–81. **Queste**, &c.: 'the angels, from the time when they were blessed with God's countenance, kept their eyes steadfastly fixed on it; and as God sees all things, they see all past events reflected there, and no object which has presented itself to them at an earlier time can be intercepted by a subsequent one; consequently, there is no need of the process of recollection to recall a forgotten impression.' **vedere**: 'sight'; 'their vision is not intercepted by a fresh object presenting itself.' **per concetto diviso**: lit. 'owing to a thought having been separated from them (put out of sight).'

82–4. **Sì che**, &c.: 'so that on earth, when men make such statements as that the angels possess the power of memory, they dream with their eyes open, some believing that they speak the truth, others not believing; but the latter incur more blame and more disgrace.' **non dormendo si sogna**: this means:—'They talk vaguely on questions involving established truth.' The truth is plain before them, yet they prefer to speculate. **Credendo**, &c.: 'some think that these statements which they extemporize are true,

while others make them only in order to gratify their hearers; the latter class deserve severer condemnation.'

85–126. Beatrice, taking for her text the fanciful teaching that prevailed on the subject of the nature of angels, denounces the devices that were in vogue among the popular preachers of the day to win the favour of their audiences.

85–7. **Voi non**, &c.: the meaning is:—'There is one right way, the way of truth; you on earth in your philosophizing follow a variety of devious tracks instead of it.' **L' amor**, &c.: 'the love of display (**apparenza**, lit. the appearance of cleverness) and the gratifying reflexions which that display suggests (**il suo pensiero**).'

88–90. **Ed ancor**, &c.: 'yet even this is borne in Heaven with less indignation than the neglect or the perversion of Holy Writ.'

91–3. **Non vi**, &c.: 'on earth men do not reflect on all the blood of the martyrs which has been the price of disseminating it throughout the world, or how acceptable to God is he who in humility holds fast by it.' **Seminarla**: **la** is the Christian faith, implied in **La divina scrittura**.

94–6. **Per apparer**, &c.: 'display is what each one aims at, inventing new views of his own, and these are the themes of the preachers, while about the Gospel not a word is said.'

97. **Un dice**, &c.: as an instance of a subject unsuited for treatment in the pulpit, which nevertheless was a popular one in the hands of preachers, Beatrice mentions the various theories concerning the cause of the darkness at the time of our Lord's crucifixion. These are from Aquinas, *Summa*, iii. Q. 44. Art. 2. Dante only mentions them, without raising the question whether they are right or wrong. **si ritorse**: 'returned on its course.'

101, 102. **Da sè**: without being eclipsed by any other body. **però**, &c.: 'in consequence of this disappearance of the light, the darkness (according to them) affected the whole world from farthest West to farthest East.' **rispose**: 'corresponded to,' 'equally affected.'

103–5. **Lapi e Bindi**: 'common men.' These were popular abbreviations of familiar names in Dante's time—Lapo for Jacopo, Bindo for Aldobrando. **per anno**: 'in the course of the year.' **quinci e quindi**: 'now from one side, now from the other,' i. e. giving now one, now another explanation.

108. **non le scusa,** &c.: 'unconsciousness of the harm they suffer is no excuse for them,' because they should not confide in such worthless pastors.

109–11. **convento:** 'band of followers'; the Apostles are meant. **verace fondamento:** the truth as it is in Jesus.

112. **quel tanto,** &c.: 'only that was heard on their lips,' lit. 'in their cheeks, mouths.' For **tanto** in the sense of Lat. *tantum* cp. Par. ii. 67; xviii. 13.

115–7. **con motti e con iscede:** 'with witticisms and buffooneries.' **iscede** is for *scede*; cp. *iscegliendo* for *scegliendo* in Purg. xxviii. 41. **pur che,** &c.: 'if only the congregation laugh well, the preacher's cowl is puffed up (with vanity), and that is all he desires.'

118–20. **tale uccel,** &c.: 'such a winged monster (the devil) nestles in its angle.' The **becchetto** is the point of the cowl. **vederebbe,** &c.: 'they would discover the true value of the pardon (indulgences) in which they put their trust.'

121–3. **Per cui,** &c.: 'by reason of which (indulgences) such folly prevails on earth, that without any evidence of authorization (**testimonio**) on the part of him who makes the offer, men are ready to rush together at every promise of them.'

124–6. **Di questo,** &c.: 'on this (credulity) St. Antony fattens his pig.' The hog which appears in pictures at the feet of St. Antony, the Egyptian hermit, represents the demon of sensuality which he conquered. In the middle ages the swine of the Monks of St. Antony were allowed to feed in the streets of cities, and were fed by devout persons (Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, pp. 750, 751); this is what Dante refers to. **altri:** concubines, and other hangers-on of the monasteries. **moneta senza conio:** 'money without the true stamp,' i. e. unauthorized indulgences.

127–45. Beatrice now returns to the subject of the angels, and speaks of their number, of the degrees in which they partake of the divine effluence, and of the glory of God as manifested in them.

128, 129. **la dritta strada:** the course of the statement which I was pursuing. **Sì che,** &c.: 'so that, as our allotted time draws to an end, we may make corresponding progress with our subject,' lit. 'that our way also may be shortened.'

130–2. **Questa natura:** the nature of the angels. **sì oltre,** &c.: 'is so beyond measure multiplied in number (**s' ingrada,** lit.

increases step by step) as to exceed all power of expression and mortal thought.'

134, 135. **in sue migliaia,** &c.: 'when he speaks of thousands, no fixed number is expressed.' The passage referred to is Dan. vii. 10, 'Thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him.' This only means an indefinitely great number.

136–8. **La prima,** &c.: 'the primal light (God), which irradiates the whole angelic nature, is received into it in as many modes as are the bright beings with which it is mated.' This means, in other words, that in things incorruptible there is only one individual in each species. The principle which is here enunciated is based on Aquinas, *Summa*, i. Q. 50. Art. 4; 'Perfectio naturae angelicae requirit multiplicationem specierum, non autem multiplicationem individuorum in una specie.' See Gardner, *Dante's Ten Heavens*, p. 213.

139–41. **Onde,** &c.: 'whence, inasmuch as the affection is in proportion to the conceptive act (i. e. to the assimilation of the divine light), the sweetness of love is more or less warm in it in different degrees.'

144. **Speculi . . . in che si spezza:** the angels are mirrors, each of which receives its portion of the divine light.

CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT.—Dante in company with Beatrice rises to the highest or Empyrean Heaven. This is first revealed to him under the figure of a river of light, from which bright sparks emerge, and settle on the flowers which adorn its banks. When Dante's mind has been sufficiently prepared by this symbolical imagery, the reality is presented to his view; and he beholds a sea of light, from the circular margin of which rises in the form of a rose the abode of the Angels and the Blessed. Here Beatrice points out to him the appointed seat which awaits the emperor Henry VII.

LINES 1–13. The nine angelic circles now gradually fade from Dante's sight; this is compared to the gradual disappearance of the stars at dawn.

1. **Forse,** &c.: the dawn, instead of being mentioned by name, is here described, by an elaborate periphrasis, as the time when it is about midday 6,000 miles off from us on the earth's surface. This calculation is arrived at in the following manner. Seven hours are approximately the period of time which the sun takes to pass over 6,000 miles of the earth's surface; for, according to the computation of Alfraganus (cap. viii.) which Dante accepted (*Conv.* iii. 5. ll. 80–107; see Toynbee, *Dict.*, p. 522, s. v. *Terra*), the entire circumference of the earth was 20,400 miles, and consequently the amount of that circumference corresponding to seven hours out of the complete revolution of twenty-four hours was 5,950 miles ($20{,}400 \times \frac{7}{24} = 5{,}950$), or in round numbers 6,000 miles. Hence, when Dante says that the sixth hour is 6,000 miles distant from us, he means that with us it is seven hours before noon, or an hour before sunrise, the sun being regarded as rising at 6 a.m. The word **Forse** intimates that the calculation is made in round numbers.

2, 3. **ferve**: 'is glowing,' 'the glowing hour of noon is distant from us,' &c. **China,** &c.: 'inclines its shadow almost to a level (**al letto piano**).' At sunrise the shadow of the earth (i. e. the cone of shadow which it casts opposite the sun) falls *exactly* in a line with the plane of the horizon; but at the time here intended, which is before sunrise, it is only *approaching* that position: this accounts for the qualifying word **quasi.**

4–6. **Quando,** &c.: 'when the mid-heaven, which appears so deep when we gaze at it, begins to assume such an aspect (i. e. gathers light so much), that here and there a star ceases to be visible as far below as our earth.'

7–9. **ancella**: 'the brightest handmaid of the sun' is the dawn. **il ciel,** &c.: 'the Heaven closes, light after light, even to the most beautiful': star after star disappears, and at last even the brightest. For **vista** (lit. 'an object of sight') used of the stars, cp. Par. xxiii. 30.

10–2. **il trionfo,** &c.: the circles of angels, which revolve round the point of light which represents the Divine Unity. **mi vinse**: see Par. xxviii. 16–8. **Parendo,** &c.: the point of light appears to be embraced by the circles, but in reality the Godhead embraces all.

15. **Nulla vedere**: i. e. the disappearance of the objects on which I had been gazing.

18. **a fornir,** &c.: 'to furnish forth this occasion.'

19, 20. **si trasmoda . . . di là da noi**: 'passes the limits of our conception.'

22, 23. **passo**: 'difficult task'; cp. Par. iv. 91. 'By this hard task I confess that I am vanquished.' **punto**, &c.: 'the acme of his subject.'

27. **di sè**, &c.: 'paralyses,' lit. 'deprives of itself.'

30. **Non m' è**, &c.: 'my song has not been hindered from pursuing the theme.' On several previous occasions (see Par. xiv. 79–81; xviii. 8–12; xxiii. 22–4) Dante had professed his inability to give an adequate description of Beatrice's beauty, but now he feels himself obliged to desist from even attempting to do so.

33. **ultimo suo**: 'his ideal'; cp. Cic. *Mur.* xxxi. 65, 'cum ad ultimum animo contendissemus.'

34–6. **a maggior bando**: 'to be extolled in higher strains,' lit. 'to a loftier proclamation.' **deduce**: this with **terminando** means 'is bringing to a close.'

37–9. **espedito**: 'who has accomplished his task'; cp. Par. xvii. 100. **Del maggior corpo**, &c.: from the *Primum Mobile* or Crystalline Heaven, which is the greatest in extent of the material Heavens, to the Empyrean, which is immaterial.

40. **Luce**: observe the 'linkage' in this and the two following lines, the first word of each being repeated from the last of the preceding line. This is the only example of this poetical device in the *Div. Com.*; but it is occasionally found in the troubadour poets; for an instance see Raynouard, *Choix des poésies des Troubadours*, vol. v. p. 219. In the present passage the words thus linked represent in each case an element of the blessedness of the Empyrean, which the Poet has just entered, viz. light, love, and joy. The correspondence here found between the elevation of the style and that of the subject treated of resembles what is found in the description of the Gate of Purgatory in Purg. ix. 70–2, where Dante himself draws attention to this feature.

43–5. **milizia**: the two 'hosts' are the company of the Angels and the company of the Blessed. **l' una**: the Blessed, who in the Empyrean would be seen by Dante in their real form, not concealed, as they had been, hitherto, by an enveloping light. This had already been announced to Dante by St. Benedict; Par. xxii. 58–63.

46–8. **discetti**: 'scatters,' Lat. *disceptare*: 'which paralyses the power of sight.' For the explanation of **spiriti visivi** see note

on Par. xxvi. 71. **sì che,** &c.: 'so that it prevents still more brilliant objects from making an impression on the eye.' **Atto** is 'act,' 'operation,' 'impression.'

52–4. Beatrice is speaking. **l' amor,** &c.: 'the Love (God) which causes this Heaven to repose.' 'This Heaven' is the Empyrean, which is at rest, in contrast with the other Heavens, which are in motion. **Accoglie,** &c.: 'receives a soul into its presence with a salutation of this nature.' **salute** for *saluto*, cp. *Vita Nuova*, § xi. l. 3. **Per far,** &c.: 'to render the taper fit to be kindled by its flame,' i. e. to fit the soul for the beatific vision. This is the result of the initiatory display of brilliant light.

58–60. **vista**: 'power of sight.' **non si fosser,** &c.: 'could not have endured it.'

61. **lume**: the river of light symbolizes the illuminative grace of God, and the flowers on the banks the souls of the Blessed, while the sparks which issue from the river and settle on the flowers are the angels, who communicate to the saints the grace which they derive immediately from God.

63. **primavera**: 'spring,' i. e. profusion of flowers; cp. Purg. xxviii. 51.

65, 66. **d' ogni parte**: 'on either side'; cp. Inf. xxii. 56. **Quasi,** &c.: 'resembling rubies set in gold.'

71. **vei**: for *vedi*.

73, 74. **bei**: drinking with the eyes is meant; see l. 88. **tanta sete**: 'thy great longing' for information.

76–8. **li topazii,** &c.: the bright sparks which pass in and out of the stream. **il rider dell' erbe**: 'the smiling flowers.' **di lor vero,** &c.: 'shadowy anticipations of their reality,' i. e. of the real objects which they represent. A similar instance of the introduction of an unusually impressive sight by the means of an intermediate stage, in order to render it more easy to realize, is the description of the Giants as resembling towers in Inf. xxxi. 20, 31.

79–81. **acerbe**: 'hard to understand'; cp. the use of *agro* in Purg. xxv. 24. The things which are here spoken of as hard to understand are the realities of which these symbols are the anticipations. **viste,** &c.: 'powers of sight so exalted.'

85–7. **per far,** &c.: 'to increase still further my power of sight.' **Che si deriva,** &c.: 'which issues forth, that men may therein be perfected.'

88–90. **sì come**: 'even as'; both this and **così** ('thereupon') below are used of time. **di lei**: of the wave, i. e. the river of light. **la gronda**, &c.: 'the rim (lit. eaves) of my eyelids.' **mi parve**, &c.: from having been long, like a river, it changed its appearance into that of a circular sea of light.

93. **La sembianza**, &c.: 'the alien semblance (of the mask) beneath which they (**la gente**) were concealed.'

94–6. **maggior feste**: 'more radiant sights of joy'; cp. Par. xx. 84. **le corti**: these are the two hosts (*l' una e l' altra milizia*) of l. 43.

97. **vidi**: notice the emphatic statement implied by the triple repetition of this word in the rhyme; cp. *per ammenda*, Purg. xx. 65.

100–2. **Lume**: this is the illuminative grace, which is represented by the river of light in l. 61. **a quella creatura**, &c.: 'to every being, which,' &c.

103. **circular figura**: this is the sea of light.

106–8. **Fassi**, &c.: 'the whole of what is thus displayed (**tutta sua parvenza**) is formed of a ray which is reflected on the outer surface of the *Primum Mobile*.' **vivere**: 'vitality,' i. e. power of movement. **potenza**: the influence which is communicated by the *Primum Mobile* to the lower spheres.

111. **Quando**: *Quanto* is also read, in which case the meaning is—'to see how rich it is.'

112–4. **Sì**, &c.: 'so saw I reflected in that sea of light, as they rose above it all round in more than a thousand tiers, all the souls that have returned from earth to Heaven.' **ritorno**: according to the Creationist view of the origin of the rational soul, which Dante accepted (see Purg. xvi. 85–8), the soul proceeded directly from God, and consequently it is here spoken of as returning after death to God who gave it.

115–7. **E se**, &c.: the circular sea of light is surrounded by the lowest tier of the blessed spirits, and from this the other tiers rise ever higher, and expand ever wider, in the form of a rose, while above all is the Presence of the Blessed Trinity. Speaking of the extent of this Empyrean Heaven Dante says—'If the lowest tier bounds the sea of light, the circumference of which (as we are told in ll. 104, 105) is greater than that of the sun, how vast must be the circuit of the highest and outermost tier!'

120. **Il quanto,** &c.: 'the intensity and the quality of that blessedness.'

121–3. **Presso,** &c.: the meaning is, that in the Empyrean no object is obscured or lessened by distance, because the laws of sight or perspective (**la legge natural**) do not apply in Heaven. Translate:—'there nothing is added by nearness or taken away by distance, for where God immediately rules, the (intermediate) agency of natural law has no force.' **nulla rileva**: 'avails nothing.' Similarly in Fr. and Engl. 'relevant' is used in the sense of 'assisting,' 'helpful' (Skeat).

124, 125. **Nel giallo,** &c.: 'Beatrice drew me (l. 128) into the yellow centre of the everlasting rose.' The sea of light, which is the reflexion of God's glory (see ll. 100–8), is compared to the yellow centre formed by the stamens of the rose. **digrada**: 'descends in steps, grades.'

127–9. **Qual è,** &c.: Dante compares himself to one who is silent though he would fain speak. **il convento,** &c.: 'the assembly of the white robes'; cp. Rev. vii. 9, 'I saw, and behold, a great multitude . . . arrayed in white robes.'

136–8. **che fia,** &c.: 'that on earth shall bear the imperial dignity'; Augustus was the standing title of the Roman emperors. **Enrico**: Henry of Luxemburg, who became emperor in 1308, and died in 1313, consequently eight years before Dante (*Prima che tu*, &c., l. 135). From the point of view of Dante's Vision, which was supposed to have taken place in 1300, his death was regarded as still future (**Sederà**), but Beatrice refers prophetically to the failure of his expedition into Italy (ll. 137, 138). **in prima che**: for the use of this phrase instead of *prima che* cp. Inf. xix. 91, 92.

139–41. **cupidigia**: cp. Par. xxvii. 121, where Dante treats covetousness as the chief source of the evils of the time. **Simili,** &c.: because the Italians were always crying out for a deliverer, and refused him when he appeared.

142–4. **prefetto,** &c.: 'president in the divine Court,' i. e. Pope. **foro divino** means the Church. **tal**: Clement V (1305–1314); on his double dealing with Henry of Luxemburg see Par. xvii. 82. **palese,** &c.: 'both openly and covertly he will follow a different road from him,' i. e. he will oppose Henry.

145–8. **poco**: Clement outlived Henry only by eight months. **detruso**: the punishment of Clement for simony by being thrust

head downwards in a hole in the rock in the third *bolgia* of Malebolge had already been announced beforehand in Inf. xix. 82–4, where it is also mentioned that his arrival would be the occasion of Boniface VIII being forced still further down in the same hole. **quel d' Anagna:** Boniface was a native of Anagni.

CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT.—While Dante continues to contemplate the company of the Blessed, Beatrice leaves him, and resumes her place in the third highest tier of seats within the Celestial Rose. St. Bernard is sent by her to act as Dante's guide, and he directs the Poet to lift up his eyes and behold the glory of the Blessed Virgin, who is surrounded by a multitude of angels.

LINE 3. **sposa:** the bride of Christ is the company of the redeemed, whom He purchased with His own blood.

4. **l' altra:** the angels.

7–9. **s' infiora:** 'descends into the flowers.' **si ritorna,** &c.: 'returns to the place where its labour is turned to sweetness,' i. e. to the hive, where the pollen which the bees have gathered is converted into honey.

12. **Là dove,** &c.: to the presence of God. That this is meant, is clearly shown by the word **risaliva** here, and by *lo interporsi tra il disopra e il fiore* in l. 19, both of which imply that the place between which and the Rose the angels pass and repass is the higher region where God himself is present. It is well to observe this, because in the allegorical vision by which the revelation of the Empyrean is anticipated, the sparks, which represent the angels, pass between the flowers (the saints) and the river of light (Par. xxx. 61–9); and this has suggested to some the erroneous view, that in the present passage the angels go to and fro between the petals of the rose and the sea of light, though that sea was on a lower level, and was a reflexion of the glory of God, and not his very Presence.

13–5. **fiamma:** perhaps the three colours here given represent respectively love, wisdom, and purity. **termine:** 'degree (lit. limit, measure) of whiteness.'

16–8. **banco**: this corresponds in meaning to *soglie*, *grado* of Par. xxx. 113, 115. **ventilando il fianco**: 'by waving their wings,' lit. 'by fanning their flanks.' What is here implied is, that the angels acquired this peace and love when flying upwards to God, i. e. in their aspiration towards Him. If a comma is introduced after **acquistavan**, the meaning is:—'They distributed (imparted) by the waving of their wings the peace and love which they won from the sight of God.'

19–21. **Nè lo interporsi**, &c.: 'nor did the interposition of so great a multitude of flying creatures between the flower and that which was above it (the Godhead) impede the sight of the splendour.' **la vista e lo splendore**: this seems to be a hendiadys.

23, 24. **secondo ch' è degno**: 'according to the fitness of its parts to receive it'; the principle here is the same as that stated in Par. i. 1–3. In the present connexion the words seem to be introduced in order to imply, that in Heaven, since all its inhabitants are worthy, though in different degrees, to receive God's light, it must penetrate everywhere. **nulla**, &c.: 'no object can impede it,' and therefore here the angels cannot.

26, 27. **Frequente**, &c.: 'peopled by folk of the Old and the New Dispensation.' The grouping of the saints who belong to these two respectively is given in Par. xxxii. 22–7. **ad un segno**: 'fixed on one object.'

28–30. **unica stella**: this is used metaphorically to represent the Divine Unity. **appaga**: there is a change here from the second to the third person: 'O Trinal light—the light that so contents them.' **Guarda**, &c.: this is a prayer for God's mercy: 'Look down (with compassion) on our tempestuous life on earth.' Compare the appeal to the saints in the sixth Heaven for their intercession in behalf of struggling humanity; Par. xviii. 124–6.

31–3. **tal plaga**, &c.: the North, where the Great Bear is always high in the Heavens. It does not mean 'the region where the Great Bear never sets,' for that would apply to the whole of Europe, as Dante was aware; cp. *Canz.* xv. 28, 29, 'Dal paese d' Europa, che non perde Le sette stelle gelide unquemai.' **Elice**: the nymph, otherwise called Callisto, who was seduced by Jupiter, and after having been metamorphosed into a she-bear through the jealousy of Juno, was placed by him in Heaven as the constellation

of the Great Bear, while her son whom she bore to him was made the constellation of Bootes. Dante obtained the story from Ov. *Met.* ii. 466–530. The seduction of Helice is alluded to in Purg. xxv. 130–2.

34–6. **ardua sua opra**: 'her lofty edifices.' **quando**, &c.: the period here referred to is probably that of the barbarian invasions of Rome, when the Lateran palace, which was given by Constantine to Pope Sylvester, had become the Papal residence, and the basilica of St. John Lateran was the grandest existing Christian church. In this case the words **Alle cose**, &c. ('surpassed all mortal things') have a double application, referring both to the dignity of the Papal see, and to the sublimity of the building. Others think that the reference is to the Jubilee of 1300, at which time the Lateran was the dwelling-place of the Popes, and that **Barbari** are the 'outlandish foreigners,' who, as Villani tells us (viii. 36), visited Rome on that occasion.

37. **Io, che al**: the scansion here is unusual, **Io** being pronounced as a disyllable, and **che** being unelided. In the case of **Io** the peculiar use is to be explained by its being emphatic and having a pause after it. In l. 47 also the scansion is exceptional, the final *a* of *Menava* being unelided and *io* being a disyllable.

41, 42. **tra esso**, &c.: 'what with the stupefaction and the joy it caused me pleasure to hear nothing and to remain speechless.' **libito** is used substantively; cp. Inf. v. 56.

43–5. **si ricrea . . . . riguardando**: 'takes pleasure in gazing.' **già**: 'ere long.' This word is occasionally used of future time, especially of the immediate future; see *Vocab. Tramater.*

49–51. **suadi**: 'persuasive'; the word is adapted from the Latin. **atti**: 'bearing,' 'mien.'

53. **mio**: this is metrically a disyllable owing to the influence of *sg* following; see note on Inf. viii. 11.

58–60. **Uno**, &c.: 'I had one object in my mind, and another met my glance'; i.e. what I did see was different from what I expected to see. **Beatrice**: Beatrice had now quitted Dante, and resumed her place among the most exalted saints. **un Sene**: St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153). The qualities which caused Dante to select this saint as a person specially fitted to introduce him to the highest mysteries of Heaven, were his intense spirituality, his rare force of character, through which he exercised

an extraordinary influence over his age, his position as a champion of orthodoxy, and his conspicuous devotion to the Blessed Virgin. He is regarded as symbolizing contemplation; cp. ll. 110, 111; Par. xxxii. 1. He takes the place of Beatrice in this part of the poem in the same way as Matelda in the Terrestrial Paradise takes the place of Virgil. **Vestito con:** 'robed like,' i. e. in white robes. For the use of **con** meaning 'corresponding to' cp. Purg. xxix. 145.

61, 62. **Diffuso era**, &c.: 'his eyes and cheeks were overspread (lit. he was overspread, &c.) with benign joy.' **gene:** Lat. *genae*. **in atto pio:** 'affectionate in look'; for *atto* in this sense cp. Purg. xxiv. 27.

65. **A terminar**, &c.: 'to conduct you to the desired end of your journey'; cp. ll. 94, 95.

67, 68. **terzo giro**, &c.: 'the third circle starting from the highest tier'; cp. Par. xxxii. 7–9.

71, 72. **si facea**, &c.: 'was wearing a crown of light formed by the rays which proceeded from God being reflected from her head,' lit. 'formed for herself a crown by reflecting,' &c. At this point, even more than elsewhere in the poem, we must bear in mind that Beatrice represents Theology.

73–5. **Da quella**, &c.: 'from that part of the sky where the highest thunders roll.' In order to give an idea of the inconceivable extent of the court of Heaven, and at the same time of the exalted position of Beatrice, Dante says that the space which intervened between him and her exceeded the distance from the depths of the sea to the highest region of our atmosphere. **Qualunque**, &c.: 'the eye of him who suffers himself to sink into the lowest depths of the sea.' For **s' abbandona** see note on Par. xvii. 108.

77, 78. **nulla mi facea:** 'this affected me not,' i. e. made no difference to me. **per mezzo mista:** 'obscured by any medium,' such as our atmosphere.

81. **In Inferno**, &c.: cp. Inf. ii. 52 foll. 'To leave thy foot-prints in' means no more than 'to visit.'

82–4. **Di tante**, &c.: 'I acknowledge as due to thy might and goodness the grace and power, which have enabled me to see all the objects which I have beheld.'

85–7. **di servo**, &c.: i. e. from the bondage of sin to the glorious liberty of the children of God. Dante's conversion and ultimate

salvation were the primary object of his journey through the three realms of the spiritual world. **Che di ciò,** &c.: 'of which thou couldst avail thyself for that purpose.'

88. **La tua,** &c.: 'continue the bounty of thy goodness toward me.'

92, 93. **come parea:** take with **sì lontana;** 'distant in appearance,' not in reality, because in the Empyrean space does not exist. **fontana:** God.

96. **prego:** on the part of Beatrice.

98, 99. **t' acconcerà,** &c.: 'will qualify thy sight to mount higher along the divine ray,' i. e. to approach nearer to its source, the presence of God.

104. **Veronica:** the likeness of our Lord's face, which according to the story was impressed on a napkin or handkerchief, which was presented to Him that He might wipe the sweat from His face, when He was on His way to crucifixion: cp. *Vita Nuova*, § xli. ll. 3–5, 'quella imagine benedetta, la quale Gesù Cristo lasciò a noi per esempio della sua bellissima figura.' This *sudario*, which is now preserved in St. Peter's at Rome, was exhibited at the Jubilee in 1300 (Villani, viii. 36); and this is no doubt the occasion here referred to. Veronica is another form of Berenice, the name of the woman who was supposed to have presented the handkerchief to Christ.

106. **fin che,** &c.: 'so long as it is being exhibited'; for **fin che** in this sense cp. Purg. xii. 3.

111. **quella pace:** the peace of Heaven.

112. **questo esser:** the life of the saints in Paradise.

116. **la Regina:** the Blessed Virgin.

121–3. **di valle,** &c.: i. e. raising my eyes from the lower to the higher circles. **vidi parte,** &c.: 'I saw a portion of Heaven on the utmost verge (i. e. in the highest and outermost leaves of the Rose) surpassing in brightness all else that faced me.'

124–6. **E come,** &c.: 'and as in that part of the sky where we are looking for the sun to rise the brilliancy increases, while on either side of this the light diminishes,' i. e. shades off, as is seen from ll. 128, 129, the point of which is illustrated by this comparison. **il temo,** &c.: 'the car (lit. pole) of the sun, which Phaëthon guided amiss.' The story of Phaëthon is often referred to by Dante in the course of the poem; cp. Inf. xvii. 107; Purg. iv. 72; xxix. 118; Par. xvii. 3.

127–9. **pacifica oriafiamma**: 'oriflamme of peace,' in contrast with the warlike banner of the French kings which bore that name. 'So did that oriflamme of peace display a brighter light at its mid-point, and on either side (of that point) the brilliancy diminished in an equal degree.' The 'oriflamme' is the part of Heaven in which the Virgin was—the *parte* of l. 122; and the 'mid-point' is the person of the Virgin herself.

130–2. **a quel mezzo**: 'at that mid-point,' i. e. in the presence of the Virgin. **Ciascun**, &c.: 'each differing from the other both in brightness and in forms of joy.' **arte** has been explained in a variety of ways, but perhaps **festanti** above gives the clue to the interpretation, so that the meaning is *arte di far festa*, lit. 'skill in expressing their joy.' The differences which exist between angels are mentioned in Par. xxix. 136–41.

133, 134. **Vidi**, &c.: 'I beheld smiling on their sports and songs a loveliness'; the beauty of the Virgin is meant.

136–8. **s' io avessi**: 'even if I had.' **tentar**: 'to try to express.'

140. **caldo suo calor**: 'the object of his burning love'; cp. ll. 100, 101.

CANTO XXXII

Argument.—St. Bernard explains to Dante the system according to which the spirits of the Blessed are arranged in the Celestial Rose, and points out to him the most conspicuous among them, inviting him especially to contemplate the Blessed Virgin, to whom the archangel Gabriel is singing the *Ave Maria*.

Lines 1–48. The description which Dante here gives of the grouping of the saints in the Celestial Rose is as follows. The tiers of seats which compose it are divided vertically into two halves by two lines running downward opposite to one another from the highest tier to the sea of light. These lines are formed by the most eminent saints, who are seated one below the other, those on one side being female, those on the other male saints. The two portions of the entire area which are thus divided from one another are occupied in their upper part by the saints of the Old and of the New

Testament respectively; but the lower part is devoted to the innocent children who were beatified.

1, 2. **Affetto,** &c.: 'while still absorbed in the object of his love (the Blessed Virgin; cp. Par. xxxi. 140), that contemplative spirit assumed spontaneously the office of instructor.' St. Bernard now enumerates the most conspicuous of the female saints, and afterwards (ll. 28–36) the most conspicuous of the male saints, who form the lines of partition mentioned in the preceding note.

4–6. **La piaga,** &c.: i. e. the curse, which fell on the human race through Adam's transgression, and was removed by the birth of Christ from the Virgin. **colei:** Eve, who is seated immediately below the Virgin. **che l' aperse,** &c.: 'who inflicted and aggravated it (**punse,** lit. pricked).' The Fall of man was caused by Eve's first transgressing God's command herself, and then tempting Adam to do so.

7–9. **sedi:** from *sedio* for *seggio.* **Rachel:** she symbolizes the contemplative life; cp. Purg. xxvii. 104. Beatrice has already been spoken of as sitting by her side in Inf. ii. 102.

10–2. **Judit:** she is introduced as being a typical Hebrew heroine. **bisava:** Ruth; for the relationship between her and David cp. Ruth iv. 13, 17. **per doglia,** &c.: the penitential Ps. li., which commences 'Have mercy upon me, O God,' is headed 'A Psalm of David, when Nathan the prophet came unto him.' **fallo** is David's sin with Bathsheba.

14, 15. **Giù digradar:** 'descend in gradation,' i. e. sit one beneath the other. **com' io,** &c.: 'as I do, who go down along the rose from leaf to leaf, giving each her rightful name.'

16–8. **sì come,** &c.: 'as above it,' lit. 'until reaching it.' **succedono Ebree:** 'Hebrew women follow in order.' **Dirimendo,** &c.: 'dividing all the tresses of the flower,' i. e. dividing the one company of the Blessed from the other, the saints of the Old Testament from those of the New. 'The tresses of the flower' are the leaves of the Rose.

19–21. **Perchè,** &c.: 'because these women form the partition which divides from one another the rows of saints according to the direction in which men's faith in Christ looked,' i. e. forward before Christ's coming, and backward after that event. **fee** is for *fece.*

23. **tutte:** because the number of the saints of the Old Dispensation was complete.

25–7. **Dall' altra,** &c.: 'on the other side, on which the semicircular tiers are interrupted by vacant places, are seated those, whose eyes were turned to Christ after His coming.' In place of **Di voti i semicircoli** some read *Di voti, in semicircoli*; in this case **intercisi** refers to **Quei** below, and signifies 'are separated from one another.' **si stanno:** for other instances of *stare, starsi* in the sense of 'to be,' 'to abide,' cp. Inf. x. 117; Purg. xxii. 85.

30. **cotanta cerna:** 'so marked a division'; **cerna** is formed from the Lat. *cernere*, which is used four lines below in the sense of 'to form a division.'

31–3. **Così:** understand *fa cerna.* **di contra:** on the opposite side of the rose. **Giovanni:** St. John the Baptist. He occupies this position because of our Lord's words, 'Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist'; Matt. xi. 11. **due anni:** as two years elapsed between the death of St. John and that of Christ, that period was passed by him in Limbo.

34–6. **cerner sortiro:** 'were appointed to mark the division.' **quaggiù:** St. Bernard and Dante were standing in the sea of light.

38. **l' uno e l' altro aspetto:** the saints of the two Dispensations; for **aspetto** cp. *sguardo* in l. 19.

40, 41. **dal grado,** &c.: 'downward from the tier of seats which cuts across the two dividing lines in the middle of the area.' The Rose is divided horizontally into two equal parts by a row of seats, which intersects the two vertical lines of division that run downwards opposite to one another from the Virgin and from St. John the Baptist. The part of the area below this row of seats is assigned to the infant saints.

42, 43. **Per nullo,** &c.: 'those who sit there do so through no merit of their own, but through the faith of others, under certain conditions.' It is explained in ll. 76–84 that at different periods in the history of mankind infants could be saved (1) through the faith of their parents, (2) by circumcision, (3) by baptism.

44, 45. **assolti:** 'freed from the flesh,' 'dead.' **vere elezioni:** 'true power of choice,' i. e. the rational exercise of free-will.

46. **Ben te ne,** &c.: 'thou canst clearly perceive that they are infants.'

49–51. **dubbi:** the doubt in Dante's mind is this:—If these

infants were saved by no merit of their own, how comes it that they have different degrees of blessedness? The answer is, that this is not a question of merit, but of God's free gift (ll. 52–75). **legame**, &c.: 'the bonds of doubt, within which thy perplexing thoughts constrain thee.'

53, 54. **Casual**, &c.: 'chance can have no place, any more than,' &c. **Casual punto** means 'a thing of chance,' 'anything accidental.' **Se non come**: cp. Par. i. 137.

56, 57. **sì che**, &c.: 'so that here the ring exactly fits the finger'; i. e. everything that is found in Heaven must be in perfect correspondence with the will of God. The idiom **da . . . a** is the same which is found in Inf. xix. 113; Purg. xxiv. 62.

58–60. **E però**, &c.: 'and therefore this folk, who are called before their time to that life which is the true life, are not without reason in higher and lower grades relatively to one another.' **sine causa**: a phrase borrowed from Scholastic Latin.

61–3. **pausa**: 'reposes.' **ausa**: a Lat. form, for *osa*, 'venturesome'; cp. Par. xiv. 130; hence **di più ausa** means 'eager for more'; 'no desire of man can aspire towards aught greater.'

66. **qui basti**, &c.: 'in this matter let the fact suffice,' without inquiring into the reason. The 'fact' is the difference in the measure of grace with which God has endowed His creatures.

68, 69. **quei gemelli**: Esau and Jacob, who struggled together in their mother Rebekah's womb (Gen. xxv. 22). The preference in their case of the younger to the elder, which was announced before they were born (v. 23), is quoted by St. Paul (Rom. ix. 10–2) in proof of the absolute freedom exercised by God in the bestowal of His gifts; 'the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth.'

70–2. **il color**, &c.: in the case of Esau and Jacob the difference in the colour of their hair formed a marked point of contrast in their personal appearance, the former being distinguished from the latter by his red hair (Gen. xxv. 25). This difference in natural characteristics is here regarded by St. Bernard as emblematical of the difference in the spiritual gifts which were bestowed on the infants now spoken of. Hence 'the colour of the hair of such grace' is equivalent to 'the different measure in which such grace was originally given.' Translate:—'It is fit and proper that the

supreme light should crown their heads (i. e. that their beatitude in Heaven should be) in proportion to the grace bestowed on them at their birth.' **s' incappelli**: lit. 'should be placed as a crown upon them.'

73–5. **Dunque**, &c.: 'consequently, though they have no merit such as proceeds from a godly life, they are placed in different tiers (higher and lower) solely on the ground of their difference in the innate power of beholding the face of God.' **di lor costume**: lit. 'arising from their mode of life'; had they lived and performed meritorious actions, they would have had claims to reward proportionate to them, and therefore different from one another. **acume**: 'keenness of sight.'

76–8. **Bastava**, &c.: 'verily in the early ages of the world the faith of their parents, combined with their own innocence, sufficed by itself for their salvation.' The early ages were the period from Adam to Abraham.

80, 81. **all' innocenti penne**, &c.: 'to acquire power for their innocence to fly to Heaven by means of circumcision.'

83, 84. **perfetto**: this epithet is added, because circumcision was in a sense an *imperfect* form of baptism. **laggiù**: in Limbo.

85. **faccia**: the face of the Blessed Virgin.

89. **menti**: the angels. For their office in communicating God's grace cp. Par. xxxi. 17.

94–6. **quell' amor**: the archangel Gabriel. **che primo**, &c.: 'who first (i. e. before any other) descended on Mary'; the occasion referred to was during the revelation of the Triumph of Christ in the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, Par. xxiii. 94. **Cantando**: take with **distese**.

97–9. **cantilena**: the salutation of the archangel. **ogni vista**: the countenance of every saint.

106, 107. **ricorsi**, &c.: 'I had recourse once more to the instruction of him (St. Bernard), who was gathering beauty (becoming more beautiful) from the face of Mary.'

109. **Baldezza e leggiadria**: 'confidence and grace of movement.'

112–4. **la palma**: in pictures of the Annunciation Gabriel is frequently represented as bearing a palm-branch in his hand. **salma**: 'burden,' i. e. the flesh. This word, like the mod. Ital. *soma*, is derived from the late Lat. *sagma*, about which Isidore remarks (*Orig.*

xx. 16. 5), 'sagma, quae corrupte vulgo dicitur salma.' The original is the Gk. *σάγμα*, 'saddle,' 'pack.'

115, 116. **sì com' io**, &c.: 'following my words.' **patrici**: 'patricians,' i. e. dignitaries; the highest Saints.

119, 120. **Augusta**: the Blessed Virgin, who is *Regina Caeli*. **due radici**: Adam and St. Peter, who are here intended, may be regarded as roots from which the Celestial Rose, or company of the Blessed, sprang—the former as being the head of the family of those who believed in Christ before His coming, the latter of those who believed in Him after His coming.

121–3. **s' aggiusta**: 'is next'; it is derived from Lat. *iuxta*. **amaro**: the bitter consequences of Adam's eating the forbidden fruit.

127–9. **quei**, &c.: St. John the Evangelist, who before his death had the vision (the Apocalypse) of the persecutions and disasters which were in store for the Church. **sposa**, &c.: the bride whom Christ won by means of His Crucifixion. For a similar method of describing the Crucifixion to that here used cp. Par. ix. 123. **chiavi**: 'nails,' from *chiavo*, Lat. *clavus*; from this again is formed the verb *chiavare*. The word is archaic.

131. **Quel Duca**: Moses.

135. **per cantare**, &c.: 'notwithstanding that (lit. for all that) she sings Hosanna.'

136–8. **Padre**: Adam. **Lucia**: St. Lucy represents illuminative grace; on this, and on her appealing to Beatrice to rescue Dante, cp. Inf. ii. 97 and note. **chinavi**, &c.: 'didst droop thine eyelids,' through despondency; this corresponds to 'io perdei la speranza dell' altezza' of Inf. i. 54. **a ruinar**: 'on thy hasty downward way'; cp. *rovinava* in Inf. i. 61.

139–41. **che t' assonna**: i. e. during which thy Vision lasts. **farem punto**: 'we will bring our enumeration to an end.' St. Bernard's reference to the limited time assigned to Dante's Vision as restricting his opportunities of observing the denizens of Heaven is of the same nature as other passages of the poem in which Dante himself speaks of the space at his command being limited; cp. Purg. xxix. 97–9; xxxiii. 136–41. **sartore**: the tailor who 'cuts his coat according to his cloth' is a typical instance of the homely similes which are found in the Paradiso. See note on Par. xxvi. 97–9.

142. **primo amore**: this term is here used of God, not, as in most other passages, of the Holy Spirit.

145, 146. **Veramente**: 'nevertheless'; cp. Par. i. 10; vii. 61. **nè forse**: 'lest haply'; the Lat. *ne forte*: 'lest haply by moving thy wings (i. e. by trusting to thy own powers) thou shouldst recede farther from the presence of God, while thou thinkest that thou art advancing towards it.'

148, 149. **quella**: the Virgin. **affezione**: 'feeling,' not words.

CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT.—St. Bernard offers a prayer to the Virgin, beseeching her to empower Dante to see the face of God himself. His request is granted, and the Poet is enabled to behold in faint outline the mystery of the Trinity in Unity, and that of the union of the Divine and the Human Nature in the Person of Christ. At this point his Vision concludes.

LINES 1–3. The first eighteen lines of this Canto have been paraphrased by Chaucer in his *Second Nonnes Tale*. **figlia**, &c.: because all things were created by Christ; this is further explained in ll. 5, 6. **Termine fisso**: 'predestined object.'

5. **il suo Fattore**, &c.: 'the Creator of human nature did not disdain to become its creature,' i. e. to be born of a woman.

7. **si raccese l' amore**: 'God's love was rekindled,' after it had been quenched by man's transgression.

10. **meridiana face**: 'a noonday beam'; 'noonday' signifying the highest degree of brightness.

14. **qual**: 'whosoever.'

18. **Liberamente**, &c.: 'spontaneously anticipates the asking.'

22. **infima lacuna**: the pit of Hell.

27. **l' ultima salute**: God; cp. Par. xxii. 124.

28–30. **non arsi**, &c.: 'never desired the sight of God for myself more eagerly than I do for him.' **scarsi**: 'insufficient,' 'lacking in efficacy.'

31, 32. **Perchè**: 'that'; cp. Par. xxvi. 95. **nube**, &c.: Dante was thinking of Virg. *Aen.* ii. 604–6, 'Aspice, namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti Mortales hebetat visus tibi et umida circum Caligat, nubem eripiam.'

35. **sani:** 'unimpaired,' 'untainted by corrupt inclinations' (*i movimenti umani*, l. 37).

38, 39. **Vedi,** &c.: 'behold Beatrice and all the saints, who clasp their hands to thee in advocacy of my prayers.' The expression is inverted for *quanti Beati con Beatrice.*

40, 41. **da Dio,** &c.: 'beloved by Christ as God, and venerated by Him as Man.' **dimostraro:** by their smile.

44, 45. **Nel qual,** &c.: 'into the essence of which, we must believe, no eye of created being can penetrate with equal clearness.' **s' inii:** *iniarsi* is formed from *io* on the analogy of *immiarsi* (Par. ix. 81), *inluiarsi* (Par. ix. 73), and means 'to enter into the "I am."' If *s' invii* is read here, the meaning is 'can be directed,' 'can enter'; but, if this were the original, it seems hardly possible that a reading so difficult as **s' inii** should have been substituted for it.

47, 48. **sì com' io,** &c.: 'even as was natural, I felt the eagerness of desire cease within me.' As he approaches the presence of God, desire is replaced by fruition and tranquillity.

51. **tal qual ei volea:** i. e. gazing upwards.

52. **venendo sincera:** 'becoming perfectly clear.' For *venire* with an adj. in the sense of *divenire* cp. Par. xxvi. 102, 'venia gaia.'

57. **oltraggio:** 'immensity,' lit. 'excess.' This is the original (though now obsolete) meaning of the word, which is derived from Lat. *ultra.* The same sentiment as here is expressed in Par. i. 7–9.

58–60. **sognando vede:** 'sees objects in a dream.' *Somniando*, which is found in Witte's A, should probably be read, for it is hard to think that Dante would venture on such a solecism as to make **colui** a trisyllable, except at the end of a line. **la passione impressa:** 'the feeling which it has produced.' **l' altro:** the dream itself.

61. **cessa:** 'is obliterated.'

64–6. **si disigilla:** 'dissolves,' lit. 'is unsealed.' **la sentenza,** &c.: the oracles of the Sibyl, which she inscribed on the leaves of trees, but which were afterwards scattered by the wind; cp. Virg. *Aen.* iii. 444–51.

73–5. **per tornare ... Più si,** &c.: 'through its returning ... a higher conception will be formed of thy surpassing greatness.'

76–8. **Io credo,** &c.: 'so great was the keenness of the living ray which I endured, that methinks I should have been dazed if I had removed my eyes from it.' Dante felt that his hope of seeing

the face of God depended on his continuing to look steadfastly. **sarei**: for *sarei stato*; cp. Inf. xxiv. 36. **aversi**: particip. from Lat. *avertere*.

79–81. **mi ricorda**: for this impersonal use cp. Inf. ix. 98. **Per questo**: because I knew that everything depended on my not averting my eyes. **sostener**: used absolutely, 'to endure.' **tanto, che**: take with **fui più ardito**; 'I was the more emboldened . . ., to such a degree that I fixed my eyes on the infinite Majesty.'

84. **la veduta**, &c.: 'I saw to the full (lit. consumed, exhausted) all that was visible there.' It is clear from what follows that Dante does not mean that his organs of sight were overpowered.

85–7. **Nel suo profondo**, &c.: Dante here means that all created things and the order of Nature exist in God, and that he was now empowered to see them in the light of His presence. 'I saw that within its depths is stored, bound together in one volume by the force of love, all that throughout the universe forms separate leaves.' As the separate leaves are bound up in one volume, so all created things exist in God. **squaderna** means lit. 'is divided into leaves'; cp. Par. xvii. 37, where 'il quaderno (the volume) della vostra materia' means 'the total of all the objects in the material world.'

88–90. **Sustanzia**, &c.: this clause is in apposition to *Ciò che* above. 'Substance (the things which exist) and accidents (the forms which they take) and their mode (their manner of operation).' **Quasi conflati**, &c.: 'seeming to be combined together in such sort, that what I speak of is one simple light.' Others interpret **per tal modo**, &c., as meaning 'so wondrously, that my words are a mere glimmer of it.'

91–3. **La forma**, &c.: 'the all-pervading formative principle of this combination'; for **forma** in this sense cp. Par. i. 104. **Credo**, &c.: as Dante had said in ll. 61–3, the vision itself had disappeared from his memory, and the evidence of it that remained behind was the consciousness of the joy which he felt. **più di largo**: 'more abundantly.'

94–6. **Un punto**, &c.: 'one single moment is greater oblivion to me (**letargo**, lit. lethargy, dulness), than twenty-five centuries have been to the enterprise which caused Neptune to marvel at the shadow of Argo.' In other words:—'I forgot in a single moment more of what I saw in the face of God, than men have

forgotten in twenty-five centuries of the Argonautic expedition.' The reason why this expedition is mentioned is, that it was the earliest important event recorded in history. Scartazzini, on the other hand, takes **letargo** as meaning 'absorbing admiration,' and explains the passage thus:—'A single moment produces in me more absorbing admiration than twenty-five centuries have aroused for the Argonautic expedition.' The meaning thus attached to **letargo** agrees well with what is added in ll. 97–9; but the other interpretation, which connects ll. 94–6 with what precedes, gives a more natural sense to the words. In this case **Così** in l. 97 refers to what is said in ll. 85–90 of Dante's beholding the light of God's presence. It is to be observed that Lat. *lethargus* and Ital. *letargo* are almost always used in a distinctly unfavourable sense. **ammirar**: because it was the first vessel which crossed the sea.

99. **di mirar**, &c.: 'became enkindled by gazing.'

101. **per altro aspetto**: 'to look at aught else.'

103–5. **Perocchè**, &c.: the meaning, in connexion with what precedes, is:—'Since all wishes aim at some good (see Purg. xvii. 103–5, 127–9), and all that is good is summed up in God, so that what exists in perfection in Him is only found in an imperfect and fragmentary form elsewhere, it follows that the attraction which He presents must overpower every other attraction.'

107. **Pure**, &c.: 'even in regard to (in describing) what I remember.'

109–14. Before proceeding to describe how the mystery of the Trinity was gradually presented to him, Dante guards himself against seeming to suggest that any change took place in the countenance of God, who is immutable; the change was in himself. 'Not because there was a variety of aspects in the living light which I was regarding—for that is ever the same as it was before—but because my power of sight gained strength as I gazed, that which had but one appearance presented itself differently to me as I myself changed.' **si travagliava**: it is generally agreed that this signifies 'was changed,' but how this meaning is arrived at has not been explained.

116, 117. **parvemi**, &c.: the combination of a plural subject with a singular verb is apparently intended to signify the Trinity in Unity; cp. Par. ii. 42, 'Come nostra natura e Dio s' unio,' to express the union of the two natures in Christ. **tre colori**,

&c.: the three colours represent the special attributes of the three Persons, the one dimension (**continenza**) the Unity.

118–20. **l' un**: the Son, who is the express image of the Father (**l' altro**), while the Holy Spirit (**il terzo**) proceeds from the Father and the Son.

121–3. **corto**: 'deficient,' 'inadequate.' **questo**, &c.: 'my conceit (my idea of what it was), compared with what I saw, is so slight, that "little" is too weak a word.'

124–6. **O luce**, &c.: addressing the Blessed Trinity, the Poet proceeds to describe how the mystery of the Incarnation was presented to him. **sidi**: from Lat. *sidere*; 'abidest.' **t' intendi**: 'comprehendest (i. e. understandest) thyself.' The expressions **sola in te sidi** and **Sola t' intendi** are used of the Divine Unity; **da te intelletta** of the Son, who is understanded of the Father; **intendente te** of the Father, who understands the Son (cp. Matt. xi. 27); and **ami ed arridi** of the Holy Spirit, who loves and smiles on them both. For the Holy Ghost as representing Love cp. Par. x. 1; xiii. 57.

127, 128. **Quella circulazion**, &c.: the circle which represents God the Son; cp. ll. 118, 119. **concetta**: 'generated,' 'begotten.'

130–2. **del suo**, &c.: 'painted of its own very colour with our likeness,' i. e. with the human form. *Colori* in l. 117 represents the *attributes* of the Persons of the Godhead; and similarly here, when it is said that the circle which represents the Son bears our likeness in its own colour, the perfect union of the human nature with the divine in the Person of Christ is signified. **messo**: 'fixed.'

133–5. **Qual è**, &c.: Dante compares his inability to penetrate by his own unaided power the mystery of the Incarnation to that of the geometrician who attempts to square the circle. **s' affige**: 'is intent.' **principio**: the principle from which to start in the investigation.

137, 138. **si convenne**: 'conformed itself.' **vi s' indova**: 'finds its place there'; i. e. how Christ's Humanity can be united with his Divinity.

139–41. **non eran**, &c.: 'my own unaided wings were not capable of so high a flight, had it not been that my mind was smitten by a bright beam, which contained the object of its desire.'

The grace of God revealed to the Poet the mystery which he could not of himself comprehend.

142–5. **Ma già,** &c.: the meaning is:—'Though my mind could not penetrate farther into the heavenly mysteries, yet God, whose love rules the universe, infused into me a sense of beatitude which tranquillized my desires and my will.' In default of the power of comprehension, his other powers (viz. his desires and his will) were moved and regulated by God; and it is in this perfect conformity to His will that the happiness of the soul consists. **Sì come rota,** &c.: the uniformity of motion in the wheel symbolizes the condition of a soul which is wholly guided by the divine love.

145. **stelle:** the Paradiso, like the two former *Cantiche*, ends with this word, the Poet's object in thus introducing it being to lead his readers' thoughts upwards to Heaven. The entire poem, from this point of view, may be described in Milton's words as a 'star-pointing pyramid.'